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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικήν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

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ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JULY, 1840.

Art. I. *Democracy in America*, by ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Avocat à la cour Royale de Paris.* Translated by HENRY REEVE, Esq. Third edition. Vols. I. and II. Part the Second, vols. III. and IV. London: Saunders and Otley. 1838—1840.

A CELEBRATED minister of state in Sweden once exclaimed to his son, 'See with how little talent the world is 'governed!' Now however mortifying it may seem to admit the truth of such an assertion, it should also be at the same time remembered, that from the earliest ages of society downward, mankind through the consequences of the fall have been subjected to a mighty fraud, which has usurped the name and attributes of government. Patriarchism, despotism, monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy so called, have all and each with slight occasional exceptions, just deluded generation after generation. The art of ruling has been a craft rather than a science;—for the most part an enormous imposture, rather than a substantial or genuine reality. Potentates have too often been monsters or fools in ermine and scarlet: their sceptre has been the wand of a juggler: their premiers or viziers have proved selfish satellites, glorying more or less in the sable livery of Satan: constitutional assemblies have been cunningly contrived machineries for fleecing and peeling an enlightened, gaping, public: so that through nearly the whole of this notable process, very little else has ever been necessary than felicity of fortune, dexterity of hand, some personal courage, and much matchless impudence. Yet it has all won and worn the venerable and dignified appellation of government in the page of history. We admit the exceptions, as

already intimated; although, when the age of the world is recollected, together with its teeming population of immortal beings, their infrequency can scarcely fail to melt even Philosophy itself into tears. They form, indeed, the visible links of a chain, extending from the throne of God to the families of our species; which shines amidst a long night of darkness and corruption, as if to reassure us that His love is boundless and eternal,—and that better and brighter scenes are in store to be developed upon this very earth, and under these very heavens. Thus when the sparks of civilization were about to be trampled out by the foot of the proud Persian in Greece, a few republicans were providentially enabled to rescue the destinies of Europe on the field of Marathon. So also in the subsequent Sicilian and Roman annals, we perceive occasional operations of the popular principle emerging into light for the welfare of living myriads and succeeding millions. Even during the mediæval era, Arnold of Brescia, the consul Crescentius, and the tribune Rienzi, furnished similar examples. Switzerland followed in their train with better success: for heroism and patriotism breathed a purer atmosphere among the Alpine forests and lakes of the Oberland, than in the plains of Lombardy, or along the banks of the Tiber. Then ensued the contests of Holland with Spain; the commonwealth of Vane and Milton in England; the overthrow of feudalism in France; and, lastly, the Declaration of Independence in America. These, as well as several others, are allowed to have been exceptions to the wearisome and protracted farce, performed before the world by hereditary or tyrannical rulers, who in professing to labor for the benefit of their subjects, have in point of fact only lived for themselves. But marvellous changes are at hand. Where individuals, many years ago, exercised their natural rights and faculties either for action or speculation, enormous masses now do the same. Knowledge is everywhere breaking through the external surface of society, to make one universal protest against what Carlyle has designated as the Great Sham, in his History of the French Revolution. Democracy no longer looms in the distance, as an object important to the contemplations of the politician, yet unknown to the multitude. It stands out with gigantic proportions on the opposite shores of the Atlantic, whither the lapse of a fortnight is only now necessary to transport as many thousands as our Grand Westerns can carry, for personal examination of the phenomenon. The author of that remarkable work at the head of our article has not merely surveyed,—but investigated and analysed it. His translator has placed the book within the reach of those unaccustomed to a foreign language: and such has been the interest excited, that we feel happy to furnish our readers with the condensed essence of fourteen hundred pages; to which it is our further intention to add some

remarks of our own, in order that the lucubrations of M. de Tocqueville may be brought more directly to bear upon the state of British society in the present day.

It would appear that during his residence in the United States he was struck with nothing so forcibly as with the general equality of conditions; a fact extending far beyond the political character and laws of the country, and having no less an empire over civil society, than over the government itself. On looking back to Europe he seemed to discern a mighty movement tending towards some result analogous to that presented in the New World: in other words, he arrived at the conclusion that a revolution is going forward throughout the whole of Christendom. The various occurrences of national existence, he thinks, have everywhere turned to the advantage of democracy: the example of America having like the loadstone mountain, in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, drawn all into the same track,—some unwillingly, and others unwittingly. He considers the gradual development of this equality in conditions as an evident providential fact,—as possessing all the characteristics of a divine decree,—as destined to become universal, durable, and eluding all human interference. The impulse, which is bearing us along, he imagines to be so strong that it cannot be stopped,—whilst it is not yet so rapid but that it may possibly be guided. 'The 'first duty imposed upon those who regulate our affairs, is to 'educate the people,—to warm its faith,—to purify its morals,— 'to direct its energies,—to substitute a knowledge of business for 'its inexperience,—and an acquaintance with its true interests for 'its blind propensities,—to adapt its government to time and 'place,—and to modify it in compliance with the actors and 'occurrences of the age.' A new science of politics is thus indispensable. The spell of royalty has been broken. Subdivisions of property have diminished the distance which formerly separated the rich from the poor: though it nevertheless turns out, that the nearer our high and low classes in Europe draw to each other, the greater is their mutual hatred, and the more vehement has grown that envy and dread, with which each resists any claims of the other to power or authority. *On this side* the Atlantic, we are in a transitory state; like a throng of countless persons passing out of one room into another through a very long, narrow, and intricate gallery: almost all are being pushed from our proper places, without having nearly arrived at the desired destination, where dishevelled hair and disconcerted garments may be suitably adjusted to the gravity of the occasion. But *on the other side*, there is a country, where this grand revolution may be imagined to have reached its natural limits. The democratic principle has there been allowed to spread and expatiate in perfect freedom, leaving out of sight for a moment the black spot of

negro-slavery. It has there put forth its consequences in the laws, by influencing manners. Not that it is to be concluded, that though we shall experience some time or other analogous results, we shall be *necessarily* led to derive them from an exactly similar social organization. All that our author means is this: 'that the identity of the efficient cause of laws and manners 'in the two countries is sufficient to account for the immense 'interest we have in becoming acquainted with its effects in each 'of them.'

He first touches on the geographical platform where these phenomena of equality in conditions are now being exhibited on their largest scale, and in their most complete development. We are introduced to North America, as divided into a couple of vast regions, one inclining towards the pole, and the other towards the equator. The valley of the Mississippi is unveiled in all its variety and vastness, as the most magnificent abode ever prepared by God for man, at present scarcely more than a mighty desert, in comparison of what it will one day be, when a hundred millions will live and prosper in it, from the Canadas to Mexico. America, as the single territory in which the starting-point of a great people has been clearly observable, the more excites our curiosity from that very circumstance. The earlier as well as the later emigrants differed amongst themselves in many respects, yet had certain features in common, and were placed in an analogous situation. Their language for the most part, was, or became one and the same. The parochial system was deeply rooted in the habits of the English as a fruitful germ of liberal institutions, carrying with itself in fact the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. Such exiles, as these were, could have had in general no notion of superiority over one another. Their freedom was of that sort which is rocked in the cradle of the middle and lower classes: yet two distinct branches may be distinguished in the Anglo-American nation, which have hitherto grown up without altogether commingling. The Southerns, or Virginia settlers, were seekers of gold, with a plentiful admixture amongst them of aristocratic debauchees, fraudulent bankrupts, and discharged menials; they felt and recognized their equality of condition in having had to leave their native land; but an enervating climate prostrated any rising aspirations after true greatness; and we are not surprised to find slavery established amongst them even in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Hence white labor in the presence of sable servitude became dishonorable. The Northerns, or New-Englanders, on the other hand, had set their foot on the rock at Plymouth, as pilgrims in the best sense of the word. Their eyes were fixed on heaven rather than earth. Their hearts had chosen the wilderness with a view not for time alone, but eternity. They possessed in proportion to their num-

ber, 'greater intelligence than is to be discovered in any Eu-'pean nation of our own time.' Their wives and children accompanied them,—those true Penates of domestic religion, where the face of God has smiled upon the soul, with his throne established in the affections. They had property also,—but they honored every species of manual industry. Their best treasures lay in the elements of order, morality, good sense, and social liberty, which they brought with them. The call, which summoned them from their British homes might not have been without some touch of enthusiasm, but it was religiously intellectual; 'and in 'facing the inevitable sufferings of exile, their object was the 'triumph of an idea!' Hence the difference between the northern and southern states. The former sprang from an immeasurably higher motive, or set of motives, than their fellows: but they now extend an influence over the entire Confederation. 'The 'civilization of New England has been like a beacon lit upon the 'hills, which after it has diffused its warmth around, tinges even 'the distant horizon with its glow.' Patriotism owes more to puritanism than a proud and selfish world will ever be brought to acknowledge. These colonists borrowed their penal code from Hebrew legislation, and doubtless erred in doing so: but their early laws,—their social contract,—their genuine fervor of spirituality,—their so intimately yet naturally uniting vital religion with political liberalism,—rendered them benefactors to their race, and instructors for all posterity.

Should any one hesitate for an instant to admit this, let the preamble to their law for public education be cited from the code of 1650: 'It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from 'the knowledge of the Scripture by dissuading from the use of 'tongues, and to the end that learning may not be buried in the 'graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the 'Lord assisting our endeavors,'—there then follow clauses establishing good common schools in every township, as well as superior seminaries in the principal places of populous districts. Let these obscure legislators in Massachusetts be just contrasted with certain honorable, or right honorable, or even right reverend senators, whom one could easily name. Our philosopher nobly points out how 'religion perceives that civil liberty affords 'a magnificent exercise to the faculties of man, and that the 'political world is a field prepared by the Creator for the efforts 'of intelligence. Contented with the freedom and powers which 'it enjoys in its own sphere, its empire is never more surely 'established than when it reigns in the hearts of men, unsup-'ported by aught besides its native strength. It is no less the 'companion of liberty in all its battles, and its triumphs. It 'forms the cradle of its infancy, and the divine source of its 'claims. The safeguard of morality is religion, and morality is

'the best security of law, as well as the surest pledge of freedom.' So have the New Englanders concluded, the more deeply they have thought about the matter. Some remains indeed of contrary systems lingered long amongst them, nor are yet entirely obliterated. But we must sever what is puritanical, from what was merely of British origin in order to account for such anomalies. In portraying the social condition of America, much may be attributed to an alteration of the laws of inheritance. Our readers will do us the justice of remembering that we have asserted this again and again. De Tocqueville goes so far as to affirm, that when once the matter of descent has been settled, the legislator may rest from his labors! We have always felt that entails and primogeniture constitute the real roots of aristocracy: and that here the axe of our reformers must be aimed when public opinion shall execrate the Upas Tree, destroy its trunk, cut off its branches, shake off its leaves, and scatter its fruit. Our transatlantic brethren, however, have but slightly suffered from it. They from the very first unfeudalized their institutions. They apprehended rightly enough that nobility was incompatible with popular sovereignty. The Revolution only enfoliated what had been for centuries in the bud of promise. Townships, counties, and states, expanded into blossom upon no other principle. Their municipal institutions were to liberty what primary schools are to science. It was conceived that every one is the best judge of his own interests; and that society has no right to control private actions, unless as they get involved in the common welfare. Hence townships in America all govern themselves. There are nineteen chief officers in each, appointed directly both by and from its own community; so that upon an average, every two thousand persons, within well-understood limits, manage their affairs as a large family might do, of brothers and sisters, basking at their firesides! Such townships are to all intents and purposes little states; except so far, as that with a view to security, they have surrendered such a portion of their independence as may be necessary to knead them into the body politic of some one member of the Confederation; or as on a still larger scale, each member of that Confederation has surrendered a share of its independence to form the mighty Union! The states, in fact, form a fasciculus of townships, as the confederation forms a fasciculus of states. Townships are merely subordinate to the state in those interests, which may be termed social, as being common to all American citizens from Penobscot down to Pensacola. But they necessarily win the affections of their inhabitants, having about them nothing beyond the most touching characteristics of home! Authority wears no frown in its administration, except towards vice or impiety. The counties have considerable analogy with the arrondissements of France. They possess each

a court of justice, a sheriff, and a prison; but have properly speaking no political existence, as being without a representative assembly of any kind. There are, however, considerable differences in these respects between New England and other parts of the Confederation. The activity and perfection of the local authorities diminish towards the south. Magisterial power is stronger; electoral influence somewhat decreases. Administration also passes from the townships to the county; which thus becomes central and intermediate between government and its subjects.

The legislative power of each state is well known, as consisting of two houses; that of the Senate being generally elected for a longer term than that of the representatives. The executive is one supreme magistrate, with the title of governor, a suspensive veto, and the command of all military forces. His period of office is short, usually for one or two years. He can often do much good, but rarely any positive mischief. He is the mere mouth and arm of a political machine, being able to exercise very little will of his own. It must be borne in mind that local administration is not centralized in the United States, although there is great general centralization of the government. All citizens have the right of indicting public functionaries before the ordinary tribunals. By political jurisdiction is understood that temporary right of pronouncing a legal decision, with which a political body may be invested. This, however, becomes a most powerful instrument in the hands of a majority, perhaps in consequence of the very great mildness with which it is exercised. In truth the genius of George Washington still pervades the entire Confederation; that is, as to the administration of the laws. As to legislation, or the making those laws, the spirit of Jefferson appears paramount. The people reign: the people obey; they originate the system which governs themselves; and that too, not with long intervals of uniformity, during which matters go on like clockwork,—but they modify the machine almost biennially. The federal constitution just turns upon the division of authority between it and the several states. They form the rule, with all their various powers, both numerous and indefinite: the Union is the exception, with its delegated powers, laid down with jealousy and preciseness, and to be principally exercised on external objects, such as war, peace, negociation, and foreign commerce. Taxation also remains of necessity amongst its prerogatives. As it was foreseen that in practice, questions would arise about the exact limits of this exceptional authority, a high federal court was erected to maintain the balance between the two rival elements of the constitution. The chief justice of this supreme court may remind us of the Ephors of Lacedæmon, or the Justiza of Aragon. He sits as the Minos of America. To strengthen the potency of

the states, and enlarge the distinct independency of each, is the darling object of the democrats, who number in their ranks nearly nineteen twentieths of their fellow countrymen. On the other hand, to put a bridle upon that potency, and yoke the states together in something like obedience to a central executive, is and was the purpose of the federalists, now almost attenuated to a shadow, bewailing its fate amidst the groves of Mount Vernon! Legislation, as is well known, remains with the Senate and House of Representatives assembled in the metropolis. The former is nominated by the legislators of each state; thus being elected by an elected body; and retaining office for six years. Here, therefore, the principle of the independence of the states prevails, Delaware or any other small member of the Union being on a par with the largest. In the latter chamber, the sovereignty of the collected nation predominates; the number of representatives for each state being proportioned to the population; New York having thereby forty times the influence of Delaware; and the representatives being chosen only for two years. The senate, however, not only cooperates in the work of legislation, but also tries those political offences which the other house submits to its decision. It further acts as a grand executive council; since the treaties concluded, or the appointments made by the President must receive its ratification, before they can become valid. The President is chosen for four years, and may be re-elected for a second term. To appoint him, a special electoral college is created. Every state names the same number of electors as it sends to congress; although it is after all a majority of the states, and not of the members, which decides the question. Rhode island, for instance, gives but a single suffrage in the matter: yet New York itself does no more; her forty representatives voting *in solido*. Neither is there any convocation of the electors to any particular place. The several votes, when decided on in twenty-four different cities, are transmitted under seal, before a given day, to the President of the Senate, who opens them and counts them in the presence of both chambers at Washington. If none of the candidates have a majority, the House of Representatives then proceeds to elect; being bound to fix upon one of the three candidates possessing the highest numbers. This mode, although obviously by no means complete, has certainly smoothed away all those obstacles which are not inherent in the elective process.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Federal court is assisted by six colleagues, constituting perhaps the most august judiciary in the world.

‘ The peace, the prosperity, and the very existence of the Union, are vested in the hands of these seven judges. Without their active cooperation, the constitution would be a dead letter: the executive

appeals to them for assistance against the encroachments of the legislative powers : the legislature demands their protection from the designs of the executive : they defend the Union from the disobedience of the states, and the states from the exaggerated claims of the Union : they protect the public interest against the interests of private citizens, and the conservative spirit of order against the fleeting innovations of democracy. Their power is enormous, but it is clothed in the authority of public opinion. They are the all-powerful guardians of a people, which respects law : but they would be impotent against popular neglect or popular contempt. The force of public opinion is the most intractable of agents, because its exact limits cannot be defined ; and it is not less dangerous to exceed, than to remain below the boundary prescribed.'—Vol. i. pp. 175—176.

M. de Tocqueville then proceeds to show that in America, the subjects of the Union are not states but private citizens; that the national government levies a tax not upon the members of the Confederation, but upon the inhabitants. He points out the advantages of federacy, as well as its special utility where it is now in operation. Circumstances have there favored it. Maine and Georgia, separated by a thousand miles, seem more naturally united beyond the Atlantic, than are Normandy and Brittany on this side of it. Their civilization is identical in its origin, opinions, and habits. Their constitution, indeed, allows them to carry on great wars, whenever necessary, whilst Providence has placed them in a geographical position, which will probably render such enterprises at least infrequent. Their parties moreover in politics may be compared to souls without bodies. They contend, like the shadowy images of poetical antiquity, with transcendental fury, yet without bloodshed. Spectators, unaccustomed to the fray, look on with horror, anticipating broken bones, or indiscriminate massacre; when lo ! the bottle bursts, some official, painted by his supporters as an angel from heaven, or by his opponents as a fiend from hell, is seated, rejected, or re-elected ; and then all the fuss evaporates *ceu fumus in auras.* There is happily no aristocracy, nor can there ever be one, according to our author, in those felicitous realms. Plenty of individuals hate the democracy around them : but that very abhorrence is a *secretum pectore vulnus.* They would fain see judges in monstrous wigs of powdered horsehair,—beadles in three-cornered hats and liveries turned up with scarlet,—and above all, carriages blazing with coronets, or covered with the other fopperies of heraldry. But these trifles are pined for in vain. Common sense governs many millions of well fed, well clothed, well lodged, and well educated men, women, and children. Faults enough there are, indeed as plentiful and as black as blackberries. Despairing exclusives detest, but they endure. Nay, in some cases, they even do more ; for it is a profound remark, that 'next to hating

'their enemies, men are most inclined to flatter them.' Meanwhile onward roll the wheels of the busy world. There are neither drawing-rooms, birthday-illuminations, nor right-honorable menials, nor bedizened knights of the Thistle, the Bath, or the Garter. The executive of the United States glories in being a limited monarch, both as to his official existence, as well as the prerogatives and splendors of his situation. His majesty wears plain garments and clean linen, like all other people. His throne is often a three-legged high stool in an enormous room, with active clerks about him, who personally do their duties for their salaries. The honors of an arm-chair may be enjoyed by him, with as great (but no greater) a degree of dignity than any father of a large family may enjoy them, throughout territories as extensive as the old Roman Empire. His official revenues never reach £6000 per annum; his pen may be stuck behind his ear, without a lord of the bedchamber fainting at his side; and General Jackson, we have heard, would frequently help himself, from the horny snuff-box of an operative, to a pinch of companionship and excitability.

There are many points we are compelled to pass over, such as, the liberty of the press, and the rights of associations; the arbitrary power sometimes witnessed under the control of democracy; the instability of cabinets; and the economy or profuseness of popular governments. The following may serve for a sort of summary:—

'We must first understand what the purport of society, and the aim of government, is held to be. If it be your intention to confer a certain elevation upon the human mind, and to teach it to regard the things of this world with generous feelings; to inspire men with a scorn of mere temporal advantage; to give birth to living convictions, and to keep alive the spirit of honorable devotedness; if you hold it to be a good thing to refine the habits, to embellish the manners, to cultivate the arts of a nation, and to promote the love of poetry, of beauty, and of renown; if you would constitute a people not unfitted to act with power upon all other nations; nor unprepared for those high enterprises, which, whatever be the result of its efforts, will leave a name for ever famous in time;—if you believe such to be the principal object of society, you must avoid the government of democracy, which would be a very uncertain guide to the end you have in view.

'But if you hold it to be expedient to direct the moral and intellectual activity of man to the production of comfort, and to the acquirement of the necessaries of life; if a clear understanding be more profitable to men than genius; if your object be not to stimulate the virtues of heroism, but to create habits of peace; if you had rather witness vices than crimes, and are content to meet with fewer noble deeds, provided offences be diminished in the same proportion; if instead of living in a brilliant state of society, you are contented to have prospe-

rity around you; if, in short, you are of opinion, that the principal object of a government is not to confer the greatest possible share of power and of glory upon the body of the nation, but to ensure the greatest degree of enjoyment, and the least degree of misery to each of the individuals who compose it,—if such be your desires, you can have no surer means of satisfying them, than by equalizing the conditions of men, and establishing democratic institutions.

'But if the time be past, at which such a choice was possible, and if some superhuman power impel us towards one or the other of these two governments, without consulting our wishes, let us at least endeavour to make the best of that which is allotted to us; and let us so inquire into its good and its evil propensities, as to be able to foster the former and repress the latter to the utmost.'—Vol. ii. pp. 76—77.

Amongst these latter, no one is more conspicuous than the tyranny of a majority; with regard to which, however, it must not be confounded with arbitrary power. For the real difference we must refer our readers to the original work. Our author has shown, that democratic republics are liable to perish from a misuse of their power; whilst it is also apparent that in America the legal profession constitutes one of the main counterpoises against such a catastrophe there. Yet another still greater lies in the diffusion of spiritual influence. 'There is no country in the whole world,' observes M. de Tocqueville, 'in which the Christian religion re-'tains a greater empire over the souls of men,' vol. ii. p. 144, and it should be recollected that he is a Catholic, as well as an eye-witness and a philosopher. He correctly attributes this state of things, under God, to its proper cause, namely, the absence of any alliance between Church and State. He does not hesitate to affirm that throughout the Union, he never met with an individual, whether of the clergy or laity, who was not clear in his own mind upon this point. His ideas are, and those of the great mass of pious persons there agree with them, 'that when religion contracts 'an alliance of this nature, it commits the same error as a man who 'should sacrifice his future to his present welfare; and in obtaining 'a power to which it has no claim, it risks that authority which is 'rightfully its own. When religion founds its empire upon the 'desire of immortality living in the human breast, it may aspire to 'universal dominion; but when it connects itself with a govern-'ment, it must necessarily adopt maxims which are only applicable to 'certain nations. Thus, in forming an alliance with a political 'power, religion augments its authority over a few, and forfeits the 'hope of reigning over all,' p. 152.

Diffusiveness is at present the most prominent characteristic of American civilization. Westward the great tide of emigration is flowing, where solitudes are pierced, which never before could have known the vestiges, and energies of man. No sooner has the pioneer arrived upon the spot selected, than he fells a few

trees, and builds a log-house. Miserable for months must be the aspect of such an isolated dwelling. By day, the weather finds free ingress in the shape of wind and hail, or snow and rain; or by night, the flare of the hearth-flame flickers cheerlessly through the chinks in the walls, upon the boughs of enormous foliage, which wave to and fro over the roof, that might be so completely buried were they to descend. Yet here may be seen the extremes of barbarism strangely blending with the polish of society. The fourteenth and eighteenth centuries appear huddled together. The inhabitant of this rude hut wears the dress, and 'speaks the 'language of cities; he is acquainted with the past, curious of the 'future, and ready for argument upon the present; he is, in short, 'a highly-civilized being, who consents for a time to inhabit the 'backwoods, and who penetrates into the wilds of the new world, 'with the Bible, an axe, and a file of newspapers.' The following is a striking picture of what De Tocqueville witnessed himself, when he had once availed himself of such a person's hospitality: after mentioning the rough single window with a muslin blind, a table with legs of green wood, and the bark still upon them, the teapot of British ware, silver spoons, and cracked teacups, he thus proceeds: and it must be remembered, that it was noted down, on the spot, and at the time:

'By the side of the hearth sits a woman with a baby on her lap: she nods to us without disturbing herself. Like the pioneer, this woman is in the prime of life; her appearance would seem superior to her condition; and her apparel even betrays a lingering taste for dress: but her delicate limbs appear shrunken, her features are drawn in, her eye is mild and melancholy: her whole physiognomy bears marks of a degree of religious resignation, a deep quiet of all passions, and some sort of natural and tranquil firmness, ready to meet all the ills of life, without fearing, and without braving them.

'Her children cluster about her, full of health, turbulence, and energy: they are true children of the wilderness; their mother watches them from time to time with mingled melancholy and joy: to look at their strength and her languor, one might imagine that the life she has given them had exhausted her own, and still she regrets not what they have cost her.

'The house inhabited by these emigrants has no internal partition or loft. In the one chamber, of which it consists, the whole family is gathered for the night. The dwelling is itself a little world,—an ark of civilization amidst an ocean of foliage:—a hundred steps beyond it, the primæval forest spreads its shades, and solitude resumes its sway.'

—Vol. iv. pp. 358—359.

Such are the agents, who will become more or less the apostles of democracy from New England and the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Ocean. We perceive here the wonderful manner in which human passions and desires work out

the behests of the Almighty. The rapacity with which the Americans rush forward upon the wilderness is indescribable. The arrow of the Indian, the more fatal fever, the wild beast of the thicket, are alike forgotten. Without a touch of romance about them, the pioneers are practical utilitarians, with but one impulse. Half a century has scarcely elapsed since the State of Ohio was organised; it now contains a million! The greater part of its inhabitants were not born within its confines; its capital has only been built thirty years; its territory still comprises immense unbroken districts; yet, nevertheless, its children are moving westward; and most of the settlers on the savannahs of Illinois were citizens of Ohio. Sometimes the progress of emigration is so rapid, that the desert or the jungle re-appears behind it. It is as if the woods had stooped to afford a passage, and closed again to separate the haunts of silence into which a few atoms had dropped, for ever from the haunts of men! Our author mentions, that, in crossing one of the almost unbroken forests, which still cover portions of the state of New York, he arrived suddenly on the shores of a small lake embosomed in trees, that seemed co-eval in their origin with the deluge. No object attested the presence of human beings, except a column of smoke on the horizon, rising from the foliage to the clouds, and appearing to hang from heaven, rather than to be mounting to the sky. An island, invested with, or rather buried beneath, dense robes of sylvan shadow, sat brooding in the centre of the waters. An Indian canoe was drawn up on the sand, which tempted him to cross over to the islet. Its deep silence was only disturbed by 'the hoarse 'cooing of the wood-pigeon, and the tapping of the woodpecker;' when it all at once struck him, that he could discern some traces of an European having once settled there. 'Yet what changes 'had taken place in the scene of his labours. The logs, which he 'had hastily hewn to build himself a shed, had sprouted afresh; the 'very props were intertwined with living verdure, and his cabin 'was transformed into a bower. In the midst of these shrubs, a 'few stones were to be seen, blackened with fire, and sprinkled 'with their ashes; here the hearth, no doubt, had been, and the 'chimney, in falling, had covered it with rubbish. I stood for 'some time in silent admiration of the exuberance of nature, and 'the littleness of man; and when obliged to leave that enchanting 'solitude, I exclaimed with melancholy, Are ruins then already 'here!'

M. de Tocqueville shows how all these circumstances tell upon the instructions, habits, and personal experience of our transatlantic brethren, and then hastens forward to delineate, in the last chapter of his second volume, the present and probable future condition of the Indians, the Negroes, and the Whites; those three races which we see scattered over the new world. The lot of the

first lies evidently upon the uttermost verge of liberty; that of the second on the extreme limit of servitude. Savage independence would seem to be as injurious to the former as slavery is to the latter. Both have been cruelly and grievously wronged; and the European, in dealing with them, illustrates that line of the poet, in bounding forward upon his career of anxious prosperity, *Post equitem sedet atra cura!* His own pride, however, is rapidly rooting the red man out of the land which once belonged to his fathers. With an imagination inflated through idle retrospection of the past, he neither enjoys the present, nor provides for the future. Freedom, according to his notion, signifies nothing more than deliverance from all the shackles of society. He inherits liberty; yet it is only in the abstract; and 'an abstract term,' as is remarked somewhere by our author, 'is like a box with a false bottom; you may put in it what ideas you please, and take them out again without being observed.' Living upon dreams, like a dream the aboriginal tribes of America are vanishing away. Travellers must now penetrate more than a hundred leagues into the interior to find an Indian. Fire-arms, ardent spirits, abhorrence of knowledge and civilization, are bringing about their melancholy destiny. It would seem almost impossible to tame them. An instance is mentioned of one who had been educated at a college in New England, where he had greatly distinguished himself; nor could it be perceived, from his external appearance, that he was aught else than a polished man of the world: yet, as an officer, in the war of 1810, he scalped an Englishman, and concealed the skin and hair, still dripping with gore, 'between his shirt and his body!' Not that this can at all justify the treatment manifested on the part of the American government. That government is accumulating a store of vengeance against itself for some not distant day. The Indians may be and are diminishing fast; but the negroes are multiplying. The sections on slavery we dare do no more than allude to. Mammon, meanwhile counts its dollars, looks every now and then with a most pale visage at what may be hereafter, nourishes each prejudice that it can against throwing down the foulest of all castes, that of complexion, and finally vows that commerce is favourable to democracy, and democracy to commerce. If he hoists not his axe to set off westward, he buys a vessel, and looks eastward. 'He 'starts from Boston to go to purchase tea in China; he arrives at 'Canton, stays there a few days, and then returns. In less than 'two years, he has sailed as far as the entire circumference of the 'globe, and he has seen land but once. It is true, that during a 'voyage of eight or ten months he has drank brackish water, and 'lived upon salt meat; that he has been in continual contest with 'the sea, with disease, and with a tedious existence; but upon 'his return, he can sell a pound of his tea for a halfpenny less than

'the English merchant, and his purpose, therefore, is accom-'plished.'

Great care, however, should be taken not to confound the principle of equality itself with the revolution which finally establishes that principle, in the social condition, and the laws of a nation. In democratic ages, such as our own, that which is most fluctuating, amidst the fluctuation of all around, is the fallen heart of man. We now see anciently constituted powers in a state of dilapidation on every side, and the judgment of the wisest becomes troubled at the spectacle. Trade, legislation, philosophy, and literature, are all getting more and more imbued with elements, which, whilst they are in motion, will never suffer despotism, either in the shape of oligarchy or monarchy. But the present and approaching agitation may possibly not produce precisely those results which philanthropy and Christianity must unitedly wish to see. Hence the importance of watching as well as wondering. We must read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the extraordinary phenomena passing, or about to pass, before our vision. European nations are growing turbulent; yet let it also be made as manifest that they are becoming equally liberal, before we raise the Io Pæan! It has happened already in the world, that at the close of perturbations which have shaken thrones, the domination of sovereigns has waxed more proud and potent than before. During some lull of the hurricane, pilots have changed places; while the helm, in fresh or treacherous hands, has put the gallant ship round, whilst her crew, worn out with toil, have sunk into apathy or slumber. Let it not be so with ourselves. It can easily be demonstrated, that manners are softened as conditions become more equal; that democracy renders social intercourse simple and easy; that the polish even of aristocracies may remain when their monopolies and conventional distinctions have gone their way to the tomb of all the capulets. In fact, nobility does not give up the ghost, like an individual, in a single day; yet, when it has once lost the affections of the people, it is a mere tottering trunk, dead at the roots, the more easily overthrown the higher its branches have spread, and, when fairly down, ready to be cut up into handsome nic-nacs for the amusement of those whom, formerly, it 'would not have deigned to set with the dogs of its flocks.' In the intermediate stages of such changes, many, no doubt, have to suffer exquisite tortures. Democracy raises its head *hic et ubique*. It affects the relations of masters and servants, as well as those of landlords and tenants. It raises rents, and shortens leases, as indifference and contempt come to be betrayed by one class, and jealousy or hatred by another. In aristocracies, 'the hire of a 'farm is not only paid in rent, but in respect, regard, and duty to-'wards the proprietor: in democracies, the whole is paid in cash.' Large properties also get more subdivided; and whilst the lord of

a hundred lettings feels disposed, and is able, to make considerable sacrifices for the sake of homage or popularity, the owner of a hundred acres cares but little to win the private regard of his tenant. With respect also to families, whilst an aristocracy is declining, the austere, conventional, and legal part of parental authority vanishes, and a species of equality prevails around the domestic fireside. In a democratic family, the father exercises no other power than that with which men love to invest the affection and experience of age; his orders would be perhaps disobeyed, but his advice would be, for the most part, authoritative. Democracy, moreover, binds brothers together, instead of separating them; through the unjust and partial operations of primogeniture. 'Such is the charm of these democratic consequences, that even 'the partisans of aristocracy are caught by it; and after having ex-'perienced it for some time, are by no means tempted to revert to 'the respectful and rigid observances of aristocratic families. They 'would be glad to retain the domestic habits of democracy, if they 'might throw off its social conditions, and its laws; but these ele-'ments are indissolubly united, and it is impossible to enjoy the 'former, without enduring the latter.' It may be fairly, in fact, stated, in a single proposition, that while democracy loosens social ties, it draws natural ones more tight; it brings kindred more closely together, whilst it places the members of the community more widely apart.

We would commend the twenty-first chapter, in the third book of the fourth volume to the candid and careful reflections of all honest conservatives. Some of them have recently quoted from the pages of an ingenious Frenchman, very much after the fashion in which the Prince of Darkness might be supposed to cite Scripture—and, indeed, as he did once do it. De Tocqueville proves to our satisfaction that principles of equality, when once established, are not favourable to revolutions. There is a class of eager and apprehensive holders of very moderate property created under a democracy opposed of necessity to change. Aristocratic manners, and habits of thought, are far less really conservative than republican ones. Not that the human mind is at rest in America, 'it is rather in constant agitation; but it is engaged in infinitely varying the consequences of known principles, and in seeking for new consequences, rather than for new principles.' Where great equality of condition prevails, there are fewer idle men. All are more or less thoroughly engaged upon the practical and pressing every-day duties of life. As people grow more alike, each one feels himself weaker in regard to all the rest. There is no need for a majority to constrain him; it convinces him. 'If the principle of equality 'predisposes men to change, it also suggests to them certain inte-'rests and tastes which cannot be satisfied without a settled order 'of things; equality urges them on; but, at the same time, it holds

'them back; it shows them, but fastens them to earth; it kindles 'their desires, but limits their powers.' Although, too, it may be true that democratic armies are naturally desirous of war, it must be borne in mind, that democratic nations are as naturally desirous of peace; and in the hands of the latter, their own military forces are a mere walking-staff. The United States maintain an army, consisting of six thousand soldiers; for the payment of which, thirteen millions of citizens are always sufficiently reluctant to raise the needful taxes. Larger armies, of course, might not be so manageable. Two more brief extracts shall conclude our analysis of the opinions entertained and promulgated by M. de Tocqueville, in his interesting work:

'The manners and laws of the Americans are not the only ones which may suit a democratic people; but the Americans have shown, that it would be wrong to despair of regulating democracy by the aid of manners and of laws. If other nations should borrow this general and pregnant idea from the Americans, without however intending to imitate them in the peculiar application that they have made of it—if they should attempt to fit themselves for that social condition, which it seems to be the will of Providence to impose upon the generations of this age, and so to escape from the despotism or the anarchy which threatens them, what reason is there to suppose that their efforts would not be crowned with success? The organization, and the establishment of democracy in Christendom, is the great political problem of the time. The Americans, unquestionably, have not resolved this problem, but they have furnished useful data to those who undertake the task.'

—vol. ii. p. 174.

His closing words are as follow:

'Providence has not created mankind entirely independent, or entirely free. It is true that around every man a fatal circle is traced, beyond which he cannot pass; but within the wide verge of that circle he is powerful and free; as it is with man, so with communities. *The nations of our time cannot prevent the conditions of man from becoming equal;* but it depends upon themselves whether the principle of equality is to lead them to servitude or freedom, to knowledge or barbarism, to prosperity or to wretchedness.'—vol. iv. p. 353.

This brings us opportunely to some observations, bearing more immediately upon our own times and country, which we proposed to make in the course of the present article. Without at all committing ourselves to a perfect concurrence in the views taken generally by M. de Tocqueville, we nevertheless agree with him as to the certainty of great political changes being at hand throughout Europe. Amongst them, we think, there will be several important modifications of society in Great Britain and Ireland; amounting probably to what most persons would define as a revo-

lution. Our reasons for entertaining such an opinion are as follow:

1. The larger portion of the middle, and nearly all the lower classes, throughout our three kingdoms, constitute one vast mass of open discontent, or sullen and secret dissatisfaction. Feelings of this sort have been making progress amongst them for years; indeed ever since the peace of Vienne; whilst newspapers, demagogues, oppression, poverty, and commercial disarrangement, have incessantly fed the flame. The rights of person, property, and conscience, however faithfully they may have been protected, in and among the rich, have suffered grievous violation as they concern the poor. Suspensions of *habeas corpus*, expensive justice, and ecclesiastical despotism, increased to the utmost limit of endurance, weaned away the affections of the people from government during the leaden administration of Lord Liverpool. That period may be described as the triumph of dulness, ushered in indeed with military glory, but followed up by vacillation and weakness, and terminating in popular contempt. The fact was becoming more and more apparent, that things did not answer to their names; that our monarchy was really a tyrannical aristocracy; that our parliamentary freedom formed part of a delusive drama, acted at high charges, for the benefit of the upper classes; that representation, in other terms, was a mockery; and that paternal sovereignty, rendered into honest language, meant neither more nor less than most unrighteous robbery. As men gradually awoke to a sense of their situation, they began quickly to despise, and soon to hate, those who had cheated and fleeced them. Every attempt at improvement was resisted, until concession lost the possibility of retaining a single conciliatory characteristic. Mobs and multitudes were taught the fearful lesson, that agitation might sometimes gain something; but that to reason or argument the ears of the mighty were deaf, and their hearts, if not their apprehensions, were cold as stones. When the Reform Bill was at length extorted, elements for future strife seemed so carefully kneaded into the measure, that one might suppose the peerage to have been paid for endeavoring to work its own undoing. The member for Sheffield never said a truer word than when he declared, 'where the franchise ends, there Chartism begins.' This is exactly the case; and when it is remembered, that in England not one adult male out of five possesses the elective franchise, whilst scarcely five in a hundred can exercise it with perfect liberty, it will be perceived that our operatives, whether agricultural or manufacturing, are just learning the value of that which they have not got; but which instinct and general knowledge begin to assure them, they ought most certainly to enjoy. We do not believe, that the operative millions, together with three-fourths of our middling classes, will much longer allow themselves

to be trampled down from their rightful political position, either by the coronet, the capitalist, or the mitre. Toryism, Whiggery, or Radicalism, will all presently merge into two very simple subdivisions; namely, the friends, or the foes, of the whole people!

2. The degree of reform, already obtained, has so developed the democratic principle amongst us, that circumstances are favorable to its still further development. The struggle for obtaining Parliamentary Reform kept the country in a fever, through the years 1831 and 1832. Gainers, as well as losers, had both lost by that time their equanimity of temper. Their quarrel was no longer one of the *Amantium iræ*, as to which the happy conclusion *amoris integratio est.* It had rather become that of brethren offended, 'whose contentions,' we are told in the Proverbs, 'are harder than the bars of a castle.' Each party inwardly resolved to do its best still in annoying, irritating, and thwarting the other party. Yet nevertheless much had been actually won to the popular side. There are some senses, in which the measure of Earl Grey has proved a failure, just as was predicted by all sensible persons, except those in a state of hostility or delirium: but on the whole it has marvellously liberalized the anti-constitutional combatants. Conservatives, supported by bribery, corruption, and intimidation, worm their way into parliament even in boroughs: but they frequently succeed in the main by coaxing and cozening the electors. Tories, at the present time, with some exceptions, are incomparably more democratic personages than most of the Whigs, and popularity hunting orators, of the last century. Their professions may be, as they are, to a great extent false and hypocritical on the hustings; but they help to democratize the public mind: and what they do in parliamentary contests, once in three, five, or seven years, their municipal candidates promote annually. Our corporations constitute just so many local republics. Sir George Murray never dreams of going down to Manchester, and avowing himself a supporter of the immaculate and enlightened Lord Castlereagh; or an approver of the glorious massacre at Peterloo! So far from it is the real fact of the matter, that he and his colleagues cuff and cudgel their poor brains, to find in some corner the scrapings and sweepings of friendliness to popular demands; which they then deposit in a prosing speech, with all imaginable prostration and humility, before the majesty of their masters, the unwashed but sovereign people! These are they, whom each declares that he hopes to have the honor of serving day and night, without cessation. Certain after-dinner harangues, delivered it is to be conceived from the inspiration of port and burgundy, before high Tory audiences, would have consigned their propounders to a prison in days not long gone by. Meanwhile the masses are thus let into the secret of their strength; nor dare even the richest aristocrat

venture now upon measures or declarations, which he would scarcely have hesitated about indulging in, for a moment, formerly. There is enough ground made good by the Radicals with which they may work fresh parallels against the fortresses of Abuse and Oligarchy. Each general election brings the awful shadow of democracy nearer and nearer over the entire nation.

3. The corn laws and currency questions are attracting increased attention and concentrating popular indignation against our landed and monetary interests. A titled aristocracy on one side, expatiating in its broad acres, and an untitled body of capitalists on the other, presumed most unjustly to be fattening upon high profits, are imagined by innumerable artizans to be upholding between them a small loaf and low wages. Now as Doctor Franklyn well observed, it is next to impossible to make an empty bag stand upright. Another short harvest would shake our institutions to their foundation: nor can the abolition of the frightful bread-tax be indefinitely postponed. Should it turn out otherwise, then farewell to our manufacturing prosperity,—to our commercial and maritime greatness for ever! In that case, the revolution would steal upon us like a political typhus, with its secret fatality pervading all ranks: their flesh would consume away while they stood upon their feet, their eyes waste into empty sockets, and their tongues be dried up in their mouths. Or should a prospect of starvation, or any crisis favorable to the catastrophe, arouse into action a million sinewy arms, the physical force would no doubt be put down, yet so would the corn monopoly also: and that most probably in such a sudden and wholesale manner, that the remedy for a season would be worse than the disease, amidst the crash of the lesser capitalists, the ruin of our minor landlords, the foreclosure of mortgagees, and the dreadful confusion of rents, prices, and profits, all jumbled together, and scrambling to find their right places. Yet this is what may happen any day of any month in the year. Equally calamitous would be rash or injudicious tamperings with the circulating medium. The number of small independent incomes is increasing: that of large ones is diminishing. Alterations in the value of money would be towards the body corporate, just what quackery would be, were it brought to bear upon the blood flowing through the veins and arteries of a human body. But matters can never continue to go on as they are now doing. The question with ourselves is not whether some considerable change be not at hand,—but whether it will be effected through violence, or after a peaceful manner. The probable grounds for either result we imagine may be easily stated.

Apprehensions of violence will frequently intrude themselves into our minds, when we contemplate the ceaseless irritations

practised upon large and respectable sections of the community by the upper classes and the clergy. We also feel them, when, not as needless alarmists, but when with genuine sorrow, we observe those painful differences, which every day seem perpetually to widen, between the various ranks and orders of society. Moreover we sometimes dread the influence of a certain corrupted portion of the press, acting strongly upon half-informed masses, and ready to take advantage of any rising excitement for its own vile purposes. With regard to aristocratic and ecclesiastical proceedings, let some recent elections, and some spiritual prosecutions, be duly considered. Ale and alcohol, within the last three years, have proved greater plagues in many borough towns than the ravages of Cholera Morbus. We know ourselves more than one instance, in which elections used never to exceed the legal and proper charges of about £250; but where now through the introduction of treating for months beforehand, as well as during the actual contest, punch and politics have so inflamed the passions of the people, that thousands of pounds are scandalously expended, when honest hundreds before would answer every purpose. We solemnly and deliberately lay these iniquities to the charge of Conservatism: and we do so upon the score of its own occasional admission, and even open palliation of such practices, —upon the palpable facts passing before our own eyes and experience,—and lastly upon the evidence adduced before parliamentary committees. It is no answer to say that Liberals have followed the example, although we fear that is too true: nor is their plea of necessity worth a thought, except as demonstrating the mischievous effects of either setting or imitating bad precedents. Between both parties, however, the electoral suffrage is metamorphosed into a positive curse and nuisance. The bribery, corruption, and intimidation, flowing out of it, are poisoning the morals of the lower, and some also of the middle orders. Profligacy pullulates, in an atmosphere of this sort, like the frogs on the banks of the Nile. The constant excitement, whether accompanied by success or disappointment, engenders that state of mind, which broods more upon the fancied sweetness of victory achieved by whatever means, than on the evils of violence or disorder. Then ensues the additional agitation for or against a church-rate: in which sacred names, things, and associations, get mingled with the worst secular objects, as if the struggle were hallowed, instead of religion being desecrated, through the amalgamation of the church and the world. In this manner, as well as by clerical justices, ecclesiastical incarcerations, or exasperating refusals to let even the grave close over a nonconformist in consonance with the wishes of friends, and generally by making Dissenters feel that the law establishes one denomination and barely tolerates others, we conceive that a mine of explosive

materials is being accumulated under the foundations of society, waiting for an opportunity alone to astonish, overthrow, and devastate. Is it not, moreover, apparent, that separations in habits, sympathies, and wishes, are becoming daily more perilously deep and broad amongst the numerous and multiplying sections of the community? Agriculture denounces and plunders manufactures: those connected with either stand drawn up in hostile lines, one fronting the other, *suum quisque intuentes ducem, velut in acie!* Operatives and employers,—gentry and peasantry,—episcopalians and nonconformists,—the aristocracy and democracy, —all do the same, from the stormy profitless deliberations of St. Stephen's to the tempestuous controversies in back-parlors. When besides these symptoms of an approaching contest, which may be little scrupulous hereafter as to the weapons men are to employ, the stings of an able but most inciting press come to be added, —who shall answer for the results? Combinations are now well understood. The country is covered with them, although the meshes of their network may be looser, or less distinct, in some places than in others. Time and circumstances may strengthen them before our rulers are aware. Enormous abuses, still unredressed, and by the higher orders interested in their continuance not allowed to be aught but blessings, can be pointed to by the triumphant Chartists, amidst secret resolutions to use the strong hand for their remedy, when impulses in that direction shall be sufficiently irresistible, or the occasion sufficiently ripe. Violent newspapers are those most read by our artizans; and they peruse them with jaundiced eyes, and through spectacles green with jealousy. The Northern Star alone, we have been assured, circulates and sells eighteen thousand copies of each impression! We say nothing now as to Ireland. That kingdom has frequently been depicted in parliament, and with good reason, as a dormant volcano. Sir Robert Peel seems to have abandoned all hopes of ever governing it. But an eruption could not happen there, without producing powerful corresponding effects in our own island. Those who remember how efficaciously our sympathy with France in 1830 moulded the public mind here for supporting the Grey administration, will readily comprehend the analogy. The fall of aristocracy and the Protestant establishment, between Cape Clear and the Giant's Causeway require no prophet; except indeed to surmise, were it possible, the precise degree and extent to which the triumph or failure of Irish liberalism would vibrate through every county, town, and village within England, Scotland, and Wales!

But, as mentioned before, we have no unnecessary desire to be either alarmists or croakers. If there are grounds for fear, there are also *e contra*, substantial ones for hoping, that those changes, supposed to be unavoidable, may come upon us gradually, and in

the garb of peace. The diffusion of religious and moral principle throughout all ranks, from the palace of the noble to the cottage of the peasant, forms one of the most attractive features of our age. The practice of domestic prayer,—'that border,' as Robert Hall once beautifully described it, 'which keeps the web of daily life 'from unravelling,' has become really general. Many peers might be enumerated, who not merely countenance it, but conduct it themselves. Thousands and tens of thousands have followed the example, as may be known from personal observation, or inferred from the prodigious sale, which almost any manual for family devotion is sure to meet with, whenever tolerably compiled. Our May meetings, with all their imperfections, cannot fail to be deemed significantly symptomatic of the fact that vital and spiritual religion is spreading eastward, and westward, and northward, and southward. So, also, if a portion of the press be excessively corrupt, another portion of it advocates evangelical principles: and even the columns of journals, such as the Standard and the Herald, together with many more, are sometimes occupied with articles or dissertations, which would have been scouted as methodistical a quarter of a century ago. The whole tone of literature, both that which is periodical and that which is not so, has evidently undergone marvellous elevation. Sermons, and all sorts of serious biographies or dissertations, enjoy the most liberal patronage of the public. General opinion has coerced the prelacy of our Establishment, even into the support of anti-slavery! or, at least, they seemed to claim a few leaves of its laurels the other day at Exeter Hall; although, previous to the victory, their venerable cruizers were unhappily always conspicuous on the wrong side. Yet better late than never; and we can afford to forget and forgive. The growth of Voluntaryism, as applied to missions and every kind of good work, denotes assuredly a mighty advance in the career of spiritual improvement; nor should the multiplication of Mechanics' Institutes, Young Men's Societies, and various provincial Book-clubs be forgotten, as betokening similar progress of an intellectual nature. In a word, the schoolmaster may carry a rod, but the sword and firebrand are abhorrent to his disposition, not less than to his precepts. Then again, the multiplication of small properties, whilst it renders tamperings with the currency dangerous, on the other hand interests a larger number of persons in resisting rash experiments. More individuals have now a stake in the hedge (to adopt a homely yet expressive phrase), than used to be the case. There are not, perhaps, so many golden-footed worsted stockings, or guineas lumped uselessly together in leathern bags, hidden under the thatch, as occurred during the good old times of our great grandmothers,—but there are millions upon millions producing four per cent. interest in our Savings' Banks; By the way, M. de Tocqueville well shows the conservative in-

fluence of these institutions, even in democratic countries, where 'the state alone inspires private individuals with confidence;' no other security being deemed equal to it. The augmented complications moreover of society itself, tend to produce amongst its members greater anxiety, and therefore greater watchfulness, with regard to its preservation. Their kettles and gridirons, men, or at least women, will now and then entrust to some travelling tinker, for what they think the needful repairs; but were the gipsy to offer his services towards regulating the silver watch which is half-an-hour too fast, or the antiquated clock with its sun and moon clicking an unquestionable hour too slow; Hodge mutters to Dorothy that 'idle folks had better attend to their own 'business.' The more our masses can be brought to have their sympathies embarked in maintaining the dignity of having something to lose, or that may be deteriorated through social changes, the stronger will the clasps become that hold us all together. Besides, too, these several considerations, presenting an aspect essentially opposed to any but gradual and palpable improvements, a stubborn fact remains, which is worth ten thousand arguments; namely, that *efforts made in these kingdoms, for political ameliorations through appeals to physical force, invariably fail.* Many worthy, though misguided leaders of strikes and combinations, are now learning in confinement this wholesome truism; for want of having duly observed it before, 'their 'passions,' as Burke says, 'have forged their fetters.' We trust they will emerge again into personal freedom, wiser as well as better men. When any one in humble life succeeds as an orator, flatterers get around him without fail; whilst on grand field-days, myriads salute his ears with vociferous applause. His brain whirls at finding himself the object of popular, and as he for the time imagines, universal admiration. Alas! for the fidelity of mobs. Nothing was ever more accurately observed of such, than the aphorism of Livy: *saginare plebem populares suos, ut jugulentur!* The late chartist trials have taught much practical wisdom on this point, in English better than in Latin; which millions, whilst they run, may read. In looking, therefore, at our natural position from opposite quarters, we thank God that our hopes predominate over, without entirely obliterating our apprehensions. Only, as our author warns us, let us make the best of that we cannot avoid.

Electoral reform appears one of the first objects to aim at; so that, from amongst our agitated operatives, the sound wheat may be winnowed from the rotten corn. We contend openly, yet constitutionally, for the concession of Household Suffrage, as being the ancient vote of British Liberty, and the modification most suited to our present exigencies. Difficulties there are and must be on all sides; but by honest endeavors something may be

done,—by supineness nothing. Apathy in governors may be tolerated during the lethargy of their subjects; yet hot fits are apt to succeed cold ones; and the spirit of the many, oppressed by the few, has an account to settle with the few, misgoverning the many. We have often wondered that the American system of electing certain colleges, or sets of electors, whose office it shall be to elect members of parliament, has not attracted more attention than it seems to have done from our intelligent countrymen. We do not say that we are favorable to schemes of this sort, except in so far as they might lay asleep those needless fears, which some persons have, with respect to almost all further extension of the franchise. We are amongst those who have confidence in popular government: whilst, at the same time, we would so adjust ourselves to the approaching crisis, as that the amount of organic modification shall be as limited as possible. Resistance will, we think, beget resistance; the struggle itself terminating, under such circumstances, in subversion and overthrow. Timely concession may so develop the noblest elements of the national mind, as to keep the movement within a safe line; and thus avoid violent revolution. How can honest statesmen close their eyes to the fact, that talk about finality as we may, the stream and tide of years, like the Mississippi descending to the sea, must produce, and have already effected, incalculable alterations? Property has found, or formed for itself a multiplicity of new channels; and by the side of property will flow both knowledge and power. Manufactures, which were only in their germ a generation or two ago, are now spreading over Europe. M. de Tocqueville justly observes, that 'the manufacturing class has been augmented and enriched by 'the remnants of all other ranks; it has grown and is still perpe-'tually growing in number, in importance, and in wealth. Almost 'all those who do not belong to it, are connected with it at least 'upon some one point. After having been an exception in so-'ciety, it threatens to become the chief, if not the only class; 'nevertheless the notions and political precedents engendered by 'it of old, still cling about it.' That is to say, Feudalism still dares to despise it, or rather despises it as far as it dares. At the commencement, we believe, of the last continental war, our agricultural population were two to one, as regarded our operative artizans; yet now the tables are exactly turned, and our manufacturing operatives are double our rural labourers. Here, then, has been a change brought about, tantamount at least to a couple of mighty proportions having just changed places; yet we have an agricultural interest boldly and blindly resisting every proposed alteration of legislative influence. Again we say with Mr. Ewart, that 'we must unfeudalize our institutions.' Let our landlords preserve that portion of weight to which altered circumstances entitle them—but no more. An electoral reform, involving both

Household Suffrage and the Ballot, should be forthwith sought for, and arranged between all parties, in our humble judgment. Then would follow, in proper succession, fiscal and administrative improvements. Public intelligence could not help gradually expanding. Wisdom would descend like a shower, instead of coming in like a deluge. Nor, where an individual might happen to possess a thousand pounds per annum in freehold estate, with one son and nine daughters, would it be thought so monstrous a matter, that each child on the death of the parents should receive 100*l.* a-year, as that the single son alone should engross the whole fortune, and his sisters sink into paupers, which is our present most absurd system! Common sense would thus silently dethrone artificiality; and a beneficent revolution (if that be the proper term for it) so simple and obvious a modification would be! Or again, with regard to national education, and the alliance between church and state, it may possibly fall out, that peasants would be wiser than many peers seem to be now. We should quickly cease to hear, we think, of one religious denomination claiming sole right to be the dispenser of spiritual instruction; that very claim, be it remembered, amounting to neither more nor less than covert opposition to the plan of educating the people at all. Other novelties, no doubt, would lift up their heads. Perhaps such hideous and abominable heresies might be broached, as that incomes of from 10,000*l.* to 17,000*l.* per annum were rather too large for successors to the blessed apostles, some of whom were fishermen and tentmakers! Public opinion might, moreover, unbar the prison doors to those incarcerated for non-payment of church-rates; and, possibly, so obnoxious an impost might soon be thrown aside altogether! Our consolation is, that eternal truth will be certain to prevail at last; and that the announcement of peace on earth, and good-will to men, came down from the Father of lights in heaven, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning!

Art. II. *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations; proved by a Comparison of their Dialects with the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages; forming a Supplement to Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.* By J. C. Prichard, M.D., F.R.S., &c., &c. London: Sherwood. 1831.

THE present and the coming ages seem destined to display more and more the intrinsic value of common things. This is not a lesson only of the chemist, who finds wonders in the dregs of old vessels, and in other matters which all beside throw away; nor of the geologist, who reads history and science out of

the dust we tread upon. It has been learned that there is high poetry in common life, and, before long, dignity will be discovered in labor. At present we design to call our readers' attention to that once despised and neglected topic, the rude dialects of nations whom our forefathers more or less completely conquered. In the minds of barbarian chieftains, be they Turk or Norman, few things move scorn more vividly than the sounds of the tongue of a nation trampled under foot. They are unintelligible to the lordly despot; and, therefore, they are not worth being understood: they are as badges of servitude, which he treats with consummate contempt.

Such has, indeed, been the behaviour of conquering England towards her Celtic population. Awhile the proud Norman played the same part in this island towards the Saxon; but the peculiar, perhaps unparalleled, circumstances of our monarchs at length healed that feud. Becoming masters of extensive continental provinces, the sovereign aimed at being despotic over his own nobles, and forced them to make common cause with the Saxons: a fusion of the two languages, and of the two races, took place, and our modern English was born from the union. No similar intermixture has ever come about between the English and Celtic population: nor has the imperial race concerned itself to learn the language of its vassals. Until a most recent period, it was about as easy to find an Ottoman who could talk Greek, as an English gentleman studying Welsh, Irish, or Highland Scotch. The benefices of the Welsh and Irish Church Establishment have been habitually filled by pastors neither knowing nor caring to know the language of the flock: it is still but a partial practice to read divine service in the Welsh tongue. The courts of justice have carried on all causes in English: in short, public affairs, even of a local kind, have proceeded as though the government did not know the Celtic languages to have existence. We wish that only our parliament, our bishops, our aristocracy, were here to blame; but we fear that *contempt of foreigners* is most deeply rooted in the great mass of our nation. The lower classes of our towns are apt to greet with rude insolence the tongue or even countenance of a German or Frenchman, when his exterior pretensions do not shield him from it: our peasants gaze at him with a scorn half concealed by stupid amazement: our sailors* visit distant countries without learning better feelings or better manners.

This is, however, somewhat beyond our present business. The Celtic languages have become an object of interest at least to scholars, if not to statesmen and divines; and although the study

* It is stated that Lord Nelson's first lesson to young midshipmen was, 'To hate the French, as they hated the devil.'

of them is taken up so late in the day, they have been preserved in such a measure of purity as to afford clues to the knowledge of remote antiquity. It appears to be allowed that there are *two* grand types of the Celtic tongue, broadly opposed to each other, to one of which every other dialect of the same stock may be referred. These are the Welsh and the Irish (or Erse); languages whose relation to each other may be rudely compared to that of Greek to Latin. A Welshman and an Irishman cannot understand each other's speech: and there is reason to believe that they were quite as far from it when Julius Cæsar landed on the British coast. The conjugations of the verbs differ more decidedly than those of Latin from Greek; the principles of declining nouns are related rather by analogy than by resemblance; the exchange of initial consonants in words belonging to both languages (as p for k) obscures, to all but scholars, the real connexion of many of the commonest names of things: and a large part of the vocabulary of each is wanting in the other. Yet with all this diversity, they are beyond a doubt closely akin; though we must ascend to a very remote age for the era when they sprang from a single fountain. In that same mist of extreme and bewildering antiquity, we see issuing from another distant source a group of languages remarkably related to each other, of late named the Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European; whose best known types are the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic. And now, as if to strain our eyesight yet more painfully, we are called upon to look back to a time, yet vastly more distant, we presume, when the Celtic and the Indo-Germanic families were both in so rudimental a state, as to be but modifications of one and the same earlier mother tongue! The more close acquaintance we get with the inner philosophy of the languages themselves, the harder task to the imagination does it seem, to realize the opinion which the judgment here enforces.

The consequence of the neglect of Welsh and Irish by English scholars was, that the Welsh and Irish *literati* had the field of discussion to themselves; and as their acquaintance with foreign languages seldom exceeded a superficial knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while the principles of lexilogical inquiry were everywhere ill understood, it is not wonderful that they drew preposterous inferences from the singular phenomena which they were far from overlooking. It seems to have been a favorite opinion with many, that Welsh was perhaps the primitive tongue of mankind, and certainly very closely connected with the Hebrew. Theological considerations might lead them to yield precedence to Hebrew; but on no account to the classical languages: these had borrowed from the Welsh, but had imparted nothing. Such speculations, which a very slight examination proved to be extravagant, appear to have left on the minds of

classical literati a deep positive impression to the very contrary; insomuch that, not long since, a person might have damaged his reputation, and incurred the imputation of credulity, who ventured an opinion that Welsh and Greek had any thing at all to do with each other.

It is worth observing, that a like exaggeration of the resemblance between Greek and Hebrew, led to a similar result. The infatuation of Parkhurst, and of earlier learned knight-errants in the Hebrew language, provoked a general disgust against all etymological study: chiefly against that of 'Hebrew roots,' which 'thrive best on barren ground.' In consequence, there are still superior classical scholars who nourish great, we think overstrained, incredulity, as to the connexion of words which belong to these two stocks of language. Yet we suppose we are justified in saying, that the learned Germans no longer doubt the fact, when we read the following in Ewald's Hebrew Grammar: 'Hence arises the great connexion* which these [the Hebrew] 'roots have with Indo-Germanic roots; a connexion the less 'astonishing, as the territories of both these families afterwards 'also bordered on one another in Asia.'

It does not, however, appear that any men of eminence now claim for Hebrew and Arabic a close, and as it were vital, connexion with the Indo-Germanic. Their common parts may be compared to boughs of two different trees, which have grown into one at some distance above the ground. The languages may have first existed in separation, afterwards have carried on a *traffic in words* with each other: and the foreign article may have been so new dressed and shaped, as not merely to assume a native appearance, but to give rise to an entire new growth of words, as though it had been home-sprung. To arrive, however, at a sound conclusion concerning such phenomena, requires both a well-trained and experienced etymologist, and very numerous facts of the languages compared. It can hardly be doubted, that for some time to come, every twenty years will increase knowledge on this subject.

But a much larger claim is made on behalf of the Celtic languages in the book whose title heads this article. It is alleged that they had positively a *common origin* with the Indo-Germanic; being like two huge stocks of trees, springing from the same root, and each giving rise to several large trunks. To decide the question, (it will be seen) we need to know, whether that which the languages have in common is, or is not, a vital and primitive part. Two new inquiries then rise upon us; first, what are 'the most 'necessary and primitive elements' of language? secondly, what

* 'To give particular proof of this is the province of the Lexicon. *The fact has been by no means first discovered in modern times; but all depends on the right application of it.*'

are 'the most immutable peculiarities?' of which the former appears easier to answer than the latter. Each is here requisite, because we need to know whether it is possible in a later stage to lose the primitive elements themselves.

Even without making a real induction from the languages of savages (a difficult and unpleasant task), we can judge pretty well by considering the wants and habits of men who approximate to the savage state, what elements are most essential to all language. These are, among substantives, (1) The names of family relations, as father, mother, son, wife, &c., and the names of persons who constitute a household, as man, woman, boy, girl, &c. (2) The names of the principal elements and materials of nature, as water, fire, earth, &c., and of simple astronomical conceptions, as sun, moon, sky, day, night, &c. (3) The names of domesticated or well known animals. (4) Names of parts of the body, as head, foot, eye, hand; other sets of words are equally essential, referring to the food, habitations, and occupations of a people; but they vary too much with climate and situation to allow us to expect great agreement even in kindred languages. But next, (5) there are verbs which no language can want, as live, die, eat, sleep, see, hear, know, go, &c. (6) Simple adjectives, as great, small, good, bad, white, black. (7) A set of miscellaneous words, expressive of number and quantity, as many, few, much, often, &c. (8) Others, that are vaguely called pronouns; relative, demonstrative, &c. (9) The personal or proper pronouns. (10) Prepositions, and a few particles. (11) The cardinal numbers, one, two, &c.

No Englishman need be told that a system of declensions for nouns is not essential to language; but it is not wholly needless to insist that no verbal conjugation is essential. The *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean, and the Negro-English of the West Indies and other parts, would show (if the language of the nursery did not) how well men can make known simple wants and simple tales to one another, by using only the root of the verb. For this reason, it is no proof whatever that two languages have not a common origin, because the system of declensions and conjugations have nothing in common: this will only show that they separated at a very early period, and *afterwards* completed their grammatical systems. Indeed, it has been above remarked how striking is the diversity of Welsh and Irish in this respect, while no one has yet doubted their primitive identity. On the contrary, the more is found to be common in the nominal and verbal formations of kindred languages, the later must have been their separation; and it is this which proves the close relationship of the Indo-Germanic tribe, since, indeed, some of their earliest types, as the Gothic, Sanskrit, and Doric Greek, are far more variously developed as to the verbs and nouns, than are the

modern languages deduced from them; yet the earlier they are traced up, the stronger are their similarities.

It being granted that we have laid down correctly the primary elements of speech, can we infer that any two languages which are from the same source will have all these elements in common? Surely not; for these elements are not immutable. A comparison even of Greek and Latin (the connexion of which was manifest even to those most miserable of etymologists, the classical writers), shows us singular diversities, where we might not expect it. The names for the very primitive notions, man, woman, husband, wife, son, daughter, brother, sister, are wholly different in these two languages; so likewise for heaven, earth, fire, water, sea, mountain, tree, grass, body, soul, breast, hand, nose, mouth, face, &c. We have never seen a computation made, but we are disposed to think, that the two vocabularies have more opposition than agreement, as to the words most essential to speech. Yet their striking similarity (which is often identity), as to the inner structure of their grammar, shows that they did not separate till after the primitive tongue was fully formed.

We are not wandering from our main subject in seeking to account for this. The activity of the human mind in inventing words, is probably greater in a less cultivated state of society, as also it is greater in the early period of life, than afterwards. Witness the readiness of schoolboys to invent and to adopt *slang* terms of every kind. They often love to distort and elongate, or on the other hand to clip, the old names, when they do not bring in what is wholly new. So, when a rude tribe spreads itself over a wide continent, its scattered families gradually add on fresh and fresh words, mere duplicates of the old ones, and wholly useless; nevertheless, in an unwritten language, they are soon all of equal dignity, and their respective antiquity becomes untraceable. In this state a language obtains that which some call great copiousness, but which we should name cumbrous verbosity. At one time the Arabic had eighty names for honey, and 200 for a lion; which are but indications of the monstrous confusion produced when a heap of dialects talked by scattered illiterate tribes is collectively designated a language. Literature and intercourse soon casts off the greater part of this load, and if the nation has one principal centre of government and religion, the later language seems to a casual observer to be merely 'less copious.' But when physical geography parts them into two or more nations, they make different selections out of their vocabulary; and either two dialects,* or two languages, are produced, accord-

* It is a useful distinction of terms to which some scholars adhere, that when two parties have a different speech, yet are able to understand one

ing to the degree in which intercourse has been broken off and diversity generated.

The fact being certain, that in process of time, the vocabulary does change most unaccountably, many lexilogists have been led to the opinion that our principal clue, for judging of the relations of languages, is to be sought in their grammatical peculiarities, chiefly in the mode of conjugating the verbs. This is looked upon as the vital point, the heart and soul of the language. It is allowed that in the later stages of life, a great disorganization may take place, a breaking up of the curious fabric, and the substitution of rude and cumbrous auxiliaries (for this is a fact quite on the surface of history): but it is denied that any language can ever *borrow* from another its principles of conjugation. Hence it is alleged that there is no similarity so decisively proving common origin, as similarity of inflexions; and an unwillingness has arisen to admit that the analogies of mere vocabulary can suffice to constitute a claim to family relationship, unaccompanied by the far more decisive proof drawn from grammatical structure.

Great as is the reputation of the names which may be quoted on this side, we are not able to concur in the opinion. We admit that it is easier to introduce a foreign word than a foreign inflexion; but we think it is not easier to borrow a large apparatus of elementary words in numerous branches, than to borrow the principal inflexions of verbs. No clear historical example, we believe, can be adduced of *either*: hence it is impossible to reject the evidence for the affinity of languages, founded on an extensive agreement of their vocabulary, merely because they have not also agreement in grammatical formations. But beside this, we think it has been too summarily concluded by some of the ablest etymologists, that foreign inflexions cannot be at all ingrafted on another language. Their argument is based on the fact, that nations who have a literature of their own, and a grammatical structure fully developed for every practical purpose, do *not* thus borrow; just as nothing would induce the English to conjugate their verbs on the French model. But it does not follow that a nation wholly illiterate and possessing an exceedingly defective grammatical system, might not learn from more cultivated neighbours at once greater accuracy of thought, and a more accurate mode of expression. It is certain that new methods of conjugating and declining *do not* arise where there is a fixed literature, and *do* arise, from time to time, where there is not: in the latter case, it is too much to presume that no help can possibly be sought from the foreigner, should any contiguity or

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another, they are said to speak *different dialects* of the same language; but when they cannot understand each other, they speak *different languages.*

intermixture of nations facilitate it. Rude tribes of mankind are often remarked to possess great propensity to imitation; a half-formed language has a ductility, which it were as vain to expect in such as have already attained a high development, as to demand the pliability of the tender scion from the aged and knotted bough. We have heard, on most trustworthy authority, cases of English children reared on the coast of Syria, who would introduce Arabic inflexions into their English speech; and we see no reason why a few families of illiterate English, settling on the same spot and wholly cut off from their countrymen, might not permanently ingraft such foreign forms on our noun and verb; much more would this be credible, if our language were hitherto exceedingly ill provided with a grammatical apparatus for expressing the various shades of thought.

For these reasons we are not disposed to allow any *exclusive* importance to similarities of inflexion; but we think the affinity of two proposed languages is to be judged of by their total amount of resemblance. If the likeness is not confined to a part of the vocabulary which is ordinarily imported (namely, to articles of commerce, religion, and literature), if a large fraction of *each division* of its elementary words is found to be common; this appears to us to be in itself so very strong a proof of a single origin, that if they agreed in not even a single inflexion of the grammar, we could not reject the evidence. So harsh a hypothesis as that the common portion of the vocabulary had been imported from the one to the other, after each language was in existence, could at least be justified only by some very strong necessity; some utter want of analogy, and not merely of likeness, in the grammatical systems; some preposterous inversions of principle, and repugnance in their first conceptions of grammar. On this head we say no more, because we do not know that such a case exists.

We have dwelt thus upon the general theory which must guide our judgments, because our immediate question eminently depends upon it. The learned author of the book before us, is the first person who ever set about to investigate the affinity of the Celtic to the Indo-Germanic languages, on just philosophical principles. Alike rejecting the enthusiastic vagueness of the Welsh antiquarians, and the too sceptical rigor of those who would allow to the Indo-Germanic languages no kinsfolk more distant than first cousins, he addressed himself to the problem in the spirit of the great continental etymologists; and the result of his investigation is, that the affinities of the Celtic are such as decidedly prove a common origin with the Indo-Germanic. His conclusion has been disputed by some, on the ground that he has not accounted for the diversities: an objection which might seem to imply a misunderstanding of the whole inquiry. We might

ask in turn, whether the objector can account for the diversity of Greek and Latin: but, indeed, it is manifest that it must depend on causes wholly inscrutable to us.

Hitherto we have named only the Irish and the Welsh, as the two grand branches of the Celtic. Beside these, there is the Gaelic or Highland Scotch, a dialect of the Irish; the Cornish and the Armorican (or language of Brittany), both dialects of the Welsh. Lastly, the Manks (spoken in the Isle of Man), is nearer to the Irish; from which, however, it deviates rather considerably. In Dr. Prichard's vocabularies, the two principal languages are assumed as adequate for exhibiting all facts important to the case; and it is only occasionally that he adduces words from the subordinate dialects.

It appears from his tables, that under almost every elementary portion of the vocabulary, *one* or *other* of the Celtic languages has words identical with *one* or *other* of the Indo-Germanic; and (since the family affinity of each class with one another is universally conceded) this is as useful for the argument as if he had shown the similarity of Welsh to Latin. Nor is this all; but by thus widening the investigation, we effectually obviate the objection which the half-informed so confidently urge; that the words may have been imported into Welsh during the dominion of the Romans. Such objectors either do not know what are our facilities for guarding against error from this source, or give the author little credit for knowing how to use them. The facilities are many. First, when words are imported direct from Latin or Greek to Welsh (which has certainly been the case in ecclesiastical appellations, and probably in the names for gold, silver, and lead), there is comparatively little change of the consonants in passing from one language to another: whereas the native words are generally related to the Indo-Germanic (as those of Latin or Greek to Sanskrit) according to certain characteristic laws of mutation. Again, it has in recent years become more known to scholars, that the Erse * is often decidedly more like to Latin than is the Welsh; yet the Irish were never conquered by the Romans. Indeed, when we consider how large a portion of Latin etymology is wholly dark to us, and how inadequate the language is to its own elucidation, it is natural to look to Celtic as an important help in explaining the non-Hellenic portion of the Latin. Farther, the Welsh is often like to the Greek or some other Indo-Germanic language, where it differs from the Latin. Of this we will give some examples:

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* An interesting paper, which, we believe, has not been published, was read, a few years back, before the Philological Society of London, on the relationship of the Highland Scotch to the Latin: which is very considerable.

	Welsh.	Greek.	Latin.	Irish.	
Four	pedwar	pisur tetor	quatuor	keathair	petor (Oscan) fidwar (Gothic)
Five	pump	pente pempe	quinque	kuig	
Six	chwech	hex hek	sex	se	
Father	tâd		pater		tatah } Sans-
Brother	brawd		frater		bhratre } krit
Sister	kwaher (chwaer)		soror	siur	khauher (Per- (sian)

This is enough to explain to the reader unversed in such inquiries, the *nature* of the evidence by which it is abundantly proved that the similarities discovered in Welsh are not owing to any impression made on that language by the Romans. When this has been established in numerous instances, it becomes unreasonable to insist that words *have* been imported from Latin, which *might have* been, if their sound alone were considered. Again: *the sea* is in Latin *mare*, in Welsh *môr*, in Irish *muir*, in Russian *more*, in German *meer*, in Sanskrit *mirah*. Now if any one only knew the Welsh and the Latin, he might fancy that the Welsh had adopted the word from the Romans. But when we see the entire series, we are forced to abandon the hypothesis; for how did the *Irish* get the word? and as it belongs to so many of the Indo-Germanic languages, the only reasonable conclusion is, that the Welsh and Irish both have gained it from the highest sources, in distant antiquity, and not from the Latin in recent times. Similar remarks may be applied to many other words.

A novice who casts his eye over Dr. Prichard's book (or over any book in which such inquiries are conducted on scientific and accurate principles) is in danger of pronouncing the similarities adduced merely fanciful. It is not always sounds which are most alike, that most certainly indicate words of common origin, even when the sense is similar. The above examples showed Welsh and Greek words beginning with p, corresponding to Latin and Irish words beginning with k. Now, this being once recognized in a sufficient number of cases, an etymologist is justified in regarding a Welsh initial p as a sort of equivalent to a Latin initial k or qu. *But the law cannot be reversed* (Welsh k for Latin p), nor can it be confidently extended to other parts of a word besides the beginning. It is from want of thus jealously *limiting* their inferences, that the etymologists of past centuries ran into such extravagancies. .

Once more, to illustrate this. A practised inquirer, on meeting the Welsh words, *had*, seed; *he*, he will sow; pronounces them to be decidedly identical with the Latin *satum*, *sero*. To

the tiro this seems fanciful; but let the following short list be examined, and the matter will appear in quite a different light.

	Welsh.	Greek.	Latin.	
Salt	hal	hal	sal	
The sun	haul or huan	helio	sol	
A sow	hwch	hu	su	hog (English) / suga (Angl. S.)
Like	haval	homal / hamal	simil	
Gather	hela (or *drive*)	heil / eil, ela		
Willow	helig	helik (*tendril*)	salic	
Old	hên	hen	sen	sean (Irish)

This might be enlarged easily; but we have adduced enough to prove that the initial H of the Welsh and Greeks, answers to the initial S of the Latins. That Irish initial S corresponds to Welsh initial H, is shown by Dr. Prichard in a list of twenty-five words; but we have preferred to make a different selection. Now no person ought to consider himself a judge of the question until he has familiarized himself with all the laws of this nature, which can be proved to regulate the interchange of consonants; and by examining the families of words, as they are found in the dictionary, he will be able to guard himself against any unfair selection of their meanings, which might tend to recommend a desired conclusion. By the same examination, he will perceive whether a word has struck its roots deep into the language and at an early period, by the number of its derivatives;—generally a pretty good means of knowing whether it was felt to be a genuine native. For ourselves, we must profess that a free use of the dictionary, side by side with Dr. Prichard's volume, has exceedingly confirmed his conclusions to us, and has dissipated whatever hesitation we for awhile felt.

In case others should be affected like ourselves, we think it worth while to name, that a table which he has appended at the end, exhibiting points of agreement between Hebrew and the Indo-Germanic family, strikes us as certainly deficient in rigor of investigation. Many of the examples have the appearance of a got-up case; and this somewhat diminished our confidence in the rest of his book, inspiring a suspicion that he had played the advocate. But all such apprehension vanishes the more closely the language itself is taken to task; and we do not hesitate to say, every competent judge will acquit the vast majority of his instances of being forced and made up. Some here and there may, however, be called in question.

The heads under which he examines the Welsh language are

nearly * those which we have given above. He finds, besides, the names of many common words expressing food, certain trees, and the simplest tools of trade, to be the same in Welsh as in Greek. Be the similarity extensive or narrow, strikingly close or distant, it is pretty uniformly spread over the whole substance of the most elementary part of the language. Even some of the prepositions and several of the pronouns agree; a few of the terminations in the tenses of verbs, some also in the verbals. It was not to be expected that the verbal tenses in the Celtic could be more like than they are to any Indo-Germanic type, when the Welsh and Erse are here so strikingly *unlike each other;* yet there is a general sameness of principle to be traced in the mode of formation, and a rather close similarity in a few cases. This may be illustrated by one example (Prichard, p. 108, Note):

1. (Welsh)	Bûm, *fui,*	Buom, *fuimus,*
2.	Buost, *fuisti,*	Buoch, *fuistis,*
3.	Bu, *fuit,*	Buont, *fuerunt.*

Considering all the phenomena thus laid before us, we seem forced to infer, that the Celtic is an offshoot of the vast stock of languages spoken from India eastward to the shores of Spain and France: nor does it appear possible to shake this conclusion by insisting ever so strongly on the *diversities not accounted for.* If they be shown to be ten times greater than we have hitherto supposed, it will only tend to push back farther and farther into antiquity the era when the Celtic separated from the Indian family; but it cannot make us doubt the relationship.

A curious but important speculation seems to be forced upon us when these results have been conceded. The early ancestors of the copiously inflecting Hindoos and musical-tongued Greeks must once have jabbered an indigested interjectionary speech. The language must have begun from a savage unformed state, and proceeded towards a certain perfection, developing itself in different countries by various methods and with various success:

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* Dr. Prichard has not subdivided his catalogue quite as far as his materials permitted. Out of his miscellaneous list we select the following, which might have been classified together, as 'Parts of the Human Body.'

Welsh:	braich (arm);	dant (tooth)	corn (horn);
Latin:	brachio,	dent,	cornu,

Welsh:	croen (skin);	creuan (skull);	cylla (belly);	deigryn (tear)
Greek:	chrot,	karāno, krānio,	koilia,	dakry.

We do not feel able to count on Welsh *pen,* Irish *kean,* as akin to the Greek *kefale.* Analogy would require, Greek *pene* or *penale,* or something of the sort.

and this forms a strong presumption that the early state of these celebrated nations was that of great barbarism and uncultivation; for language is the first material on which man's mind stamps its own improvement. We are led to this conclusion by feeling the very great difficulty of supposing that the Celtic family could *ever* have spoken with the verbal and nominal inflections of the Greeks. Had this been the case, they certainly might afterwards have superseded them by a principle more philosophically simple and easier to acquire, when through collision with foreign tribes their language lost its peculiarities; for this is just what is known to happen in other cases. But we do not see how the Welsh could lay aside the Indian and Greek methods of inflexion, and adopt instead other *more arbitrary* principles, as that of *changing initial consonants.* To exemplify our meaning, we take the following from Dr. Prichard:

Câr, a kinsman.	Pen, a head.
1. Câr agos, a near kinsman.	1. Pen gwr, the head of a man.
2. Ei gâr, his kinsman.	2. Ei ben, his head.
3. Ei châr, her kinsman.	3. Ei phen, her head.
4. Vy nghâr, my kinsman.	4. Vy mhen, my head.

All experience points to the belief, that the changes in grammatical structure must ever be in the contrary direction, from the more arbitrary to the less; from the less philosophical to the more; and that the nation which adopted such an invention as this, was ignorant of any simpler and better.

But to return to our author. The main object which he had in view was, not grammatical, but physiological; this small book being a supplement to his great work on the Physical History of Man. Therein he has contended for the unity of the human species, partly by historical, chiefly by scientific arguments. With regard to all the more remote tribes, history entirely fails us; but *language* here steps in to our assistance, and the philosophical analyst of verbs and nouns is perhaps able to make certain that which the anatomist considered probable. Dr. Prichard thinks himself justified, from the evidence which he has here digested for us, in inferring that the Celtic nations must once have migrated from the East, upon leaving that Indian or Persian nation, of which, in an extremely remote age, they formed a part. And, considering the historical proof otherwise available to us, that Asia, *not Europe*, was the cradle of the human race, we see not how any well-judging person can refuse assent.

Yet the work is not wholly restricted to a demonstration of this one point. The author proceeds likewise to show how the structure of the Celtic may be made to throw light on that of the

more classical languages. Especially, the personal endings in verbs in the Welsh language, can be *proved* identical with the personal pronouns: hence, he strongly urges, we must believe the same concerning Latin and Greek, even in the cases in which it can no longer be directly demonstrated. In the illustration of the Indo-Germanic verb, the author is somewhat diffuse; and, indeed, those who are not German scholars, or who cannot consult the great works of Grimm and Bopp, will find scattered through the whole book much valuable information on general etymology in a highly readable form.

The examination of the subject has brought before our own minds the utility of Welsh for explaining the English language. Here, as usual, the absurd pretensions of the Welsh literati appear to have driven us into the opposite extreme, so that it is with the utmost timidity that an English lexigrapher ventures to hint at a Welsh derivation. The new English dictionary of Richardson, which exhibits so much research and communicates so much information,—a work in almost every point of view so superior to its predecessors,—will nevertheless illustrate this remark. On referring to a short list of words, which have decidedly a Welsh origin, we found only *one* in which he acknowledged this, viz. Basket. His words are these: 'BASKET, Lat. '*Bascauda*, taken by the Romans (Mart. 14, 99. Juv. 12, 46) 'from the British *Basgawd*. Junius acknowledges that if *bass*, 'as applied to rushes, were a British word, *basket* might be sup-'posed to have been derived from it.' Thus he fears to announce nakedly that Basket is from the Welsh Basgawd (although we have evidence of the fact so remarkable), without qualifying it by Junius's hesitation! Yet on opening a Welsh dictionary, there appears not only *Basgawd*, a basket, but its Welsh root, *Basg*, plaiting, network.

We hope our readers hardly need to be told what proof is needed, and is attainable, that certain words have been borrowed from Welsh by the English, and certain others contrariwise from English by the Welsh. The former is assuredly the case when a word is found in English and Welsh, but is wanting in Dutch, German, and other Teutonic languages; much more if it appears at the same time in the Irish. Sometimes the word may be common to Celtic and Indo-Germanic languages, yet the English may have that particular *form* or *sense* of it which the Welsh also have, and other Teutonic languages have not. Sometimes, again, a word is found in Welsh, English, French, and Italian, but is wanting in Latin, German, and Dutch. The probability then is, that the word is truly Celtic, being neither Roman nor Teutonic, and that it has been introduced from Welsh into English, and from the old Gaulish (which was Celtic) into the modern French and Italian. Take one illustration:

Welsh	Barr	bearing the same shades of meaning in all these languages.
English	Bar	
French.	Barre	
Italian, Span., Portug.	Barra	

Yet the root is unknown to Latin, and its German representative is *Sperr*, which has the senses of Bar, yet is in etymology closer akin to the English Spar and Spear. Even the Dutch, which is particularly near to English, does not acknowledge Bar, but says *Sperren*, to bar or block up. The Teutonic preference of the Sp, clearly proves that the form Bar originated in the Celtic. It is thus, by the comparison of numerous languages, more or less akin, that it can often be determined with the greatest decision which has been the borrower and which the receiver; so that etymology becomes an accurate historical science.

In return, it throws the greatest light on history. To this source we must beyond a doubt look for the elucidation of many important problems concerning the early dispersion of our race. The antiquarians of Germany and Italy have applied the most persevering pains to the investigation of their provincial dialects; and yearly progress is to be expected in the enucleation of those Italian languages, which were spoken while Rome was as yet but one out of many great cities in her peninsula. When the French and Spaniards lend their help to the same work, when the fruit of learned investigation into the more anomalous branches of the Celtic and Teutonic languages has been gathered in, the time will at length come when it will be possible from such materials to compile the only history of barbarian nations which deserves to be written, a history of their descent, migrations, and incorporation with each other. Such researches have already sufficed to prove the derivation of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Europe from a common source. The nation which hitherto baffles the most restless inquiry is that of the Biscayans, the inhabitants of the Pyrenees, and of France south of the Garonne; who speak a language wholly peculiar. Besides these, the Magyars of Hungary, the Finns, and the Laplanders, speak languages wholly un-European, the relationship of which is as yet imperfectly understood. All inquiries throwing light on the early condition and history of the human race, are of deep interest to those who, like Christians, profess a historical religion; and there is no individual—certainly in our three kingdoms—perhaps there is no one of the great continental linguists,—whose works have thrown so much light on this profound but interesting topic, as those of Dr. Prichard. The third volume of his new edition of the Physical History of Man is already in the press, and, we

cannot doubt, will sustain the eminent reputation which he has everywhere earned.

While these pages are passing through the press, we are glad to learn from the public journals that there is some prospect of the institution of a Celtic Professorship at one of our Universities.

Art. III. 1. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By CHARLES G. FINNEY. *With Introductory Prefaces* by Rev. J. A. JAMES, Rev. G. PAYNE, D.D., and Rev. N. S. BEMAN, D.D. *With Notes, and carefully revised,* by Rev. W. PATTON, D.D. London: 1839.

2. *The Revival of Religion. A Narrative of the State of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel, during the year* 1839. By ANDREW REED, D.D. London: 1839.

3. *Special Religious Services Improved and Vindicated.* By the Rev. THOMAS MILNER, A.M. London: 1839.

4. *Edwards on Revivals: containing a Faithful Narrative of the Surprising work of God in the Conversion of many hundred Souls in Northampton, Massachusetts,* A.D. 1735: *also, Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England in* 1742. By JONATHAN EDWARDS, A.M. *With Introductory Preface* by JOHN ANGELL JAMES. *And carefully revised, with Notes and Introduction* by Rev. W. PATTON, D.D. London: 1839.

5. *Narrative of the Revival of Religion at Kilsyth, Cambrislang, and other Places,* 1742. By the Rev. JAMES ROBE, A.M. *With an Introductory Essay* by the Rev. ROBERT BUCHANAN. Glasgow: 1840.

6. *Lectures on the Revival of Religion.* By W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D. *With a Preliminary Essay on the Physiology of Religious Revivals.* By a Scottish Minister. Glasgow: 1839.

7. *Lectures on the Revival of Religion.* By Ministers of the Church of Scotland. Glasgow: W. Collins. 1840.

IT will not be necessary for us to express at any length our opinion of all the books which a sense of our critical duty has led us to place at the head of this article. Some of them, as the narratives of Robe and Edwards, are seasonable and valuable reprints of standard works, to which the seal of public approbation has long been attached; and another of them, which is of recent production—the Lectures of Dr. Sprague—has been intro-

duced to the favorable notice of our readers in a former volume of the Eclectic. The introductory matter to these works, the whole of which is new, may furnish us with some topics for remark.

The volume which has excited the deepest and most extensive interest is undoubtedly that of Mr. Finney; and on this we propose in the first place to offer our sentiments. No one can read it without perceiving that the author is of a superior and ardent mind, and great constitutional power. He was born to be among the master-spirits of his age; and we cannot refuse ourselves the gratification of placing on record in this work the principal facts of his history, as we gather them from the short introductory notice by his fellow-countryman, Dr. Patton.

'There are a few items in the history of the Rev. Charles G. Finney, which may be interesting to the churches of England. Previously to the period of his conversion, he was successfully pursuing the profession of the law, as an advocate in the courts of justice. His residence was in the North Western section of the State of New York. From the conviction that he could more eminently serve his Lord and Master by devoting his energies to the work of the Christian ministry, he soon determined to abandon the lucrative profession of the law. After spending some time in the study of theology, he was regularly introduced to the ministry by one of the Presbyteries in the state of New York, in connexion with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America. Instead of immediately settling over a particular congregation as the pastor, he at first labored as an evangelist in the region of his home, among the destitute and feeble churches, and was eminently successful. About the year of our Lord 1824, the field of his exertions was the more central counties of the state, and particularly the larger towns. In this locality, especially in the towns of Rome and Utica, the power and extent of the revival were very remarkable. It was manifest that the style of preaching adopted by Mr. Finney was attended with powerful effects. Men in all the classes of society thronged the house of God, and became the subjects of the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost.

'About the year 1832, the lease of the theatre, known as the Chatham Garden Theatre, in the city of New York, was purchased by a few enterprising Christian men. It was altered for the purpose of religious worship. A church was soon organized, and received under the care of the Third Presbytery of New York. This church unanimously invited the Rev. Mr. Finney to become their pastor. Having accepted their invitation, he was by the Third Presbytery of New York regularly constituted the pastor of the Chatham Street Chapel. It was in this building, and to the church under his pastoral charge, that these Lectures on Revivals were delivered. They were at first published in the columns of the *New York Evangelist*, a religious newspaper issued weekly, and having at that time a circulation of

some 8000 copies. As to the manner in which these Lectures were taken, the Rev. J. Leavitt, the reporter, has briefly but explicably spoken. The reception which the lectures met with was various. The demand for them, however, was such as to render it necessary to put them into the form of a volume. Six editions, of 2000 copies each, were in the course of about three years disposed of.

—Pref. pp. vii. viii.

The production of this eminent and remarkable man which is now before us is characterized, not only by great power, but by great peculiarity. The lectures were taken from his lips by a reporter, and have been so little altered by revision that they afford a vivid representation of the actual preacher. They are far from having been prepared with any view to publication, and are therefore most free and colloquial. They possess generally a strong basis of thought, but are without any effort of composition, or regard to niceties of style. Hence his critics—to whose observations we by no means recommend him to be inattentive—have found abundant scope for their occupation. Nothing, indeed, can be easier than to find fault with him. And hence also his very friends, both American and English, commend him in a tone of apology, and introduce his book with qualifications and censures enough to have ruined the reputation of most authors. At this in the Americans we are not at all surprised. He says of them such dreadfully severe things (which, however, we see that Dr. Patton has expunged from this edition), and departs so totally from the correct and elaborate—not to say frigid—style of New England preachers, that we are quite sure he could enjoy among them only a qualified popularity. His reception among us will naturally be different; inasmuch as we shall not feel sore at the stripes inflicted on our neighbours, and inasmuch also as a free, warm, and even vehement pulpit utterance is less objectionable to us than to some of our transatlantic fellow Christians. There is nothing, indeed, in what we may call the minor faults of the book, for which, in our judgment, the constitutional peculiarities of the man, and the circumstantial peculiarities of the publication, do not afford an available apology. The heart and power there is in it will make way in spite of all these. We cordially agree in the following eulogy from the pen of Dr. Payne.

'This work appears to me more powerfully adapted to awaken the church in this country than any other with which I am acquainted. Read with seriousness and candor, it must produce a most affecting sense of failure in the discharge of duty. It 'clothes' us all—ministers and people—'with shame.' The standard of excellence which it erects is high, greatly above that to which, I fear, any of us have attained; yet not higher than it ought to be, seeing we are commanded to be 'perfect, even as' our 'Father who is in heaven is perfect.' Its grand excellence, next to the general truth and importance

of its statements, is its faithful, and earnest, and bold appeals to the conscience. The author emphatically speaks out, and tells to all, in plain and pointed terms, their sin. As he himself would say, he does not mince the matter at all; nor, with a view to accommodate his language to ears polite, does he so soften and dilute his statements of the guilt and danger, either of the world or the church, as to rob them of all power to touch the conscience. He appears to me to be an eminently honest writer,—a bold, uncompromising teacher and defender of the faith, fearing the face of no man, scorning to temporise, or to adjust his sentiments according to the promptings of expediency; but resolved to state the simple truth, to tell us our faults without circumlocution or disguise; not intending, indeed, to give offence, but more careful not to use flattering words, nor to handle the word of God deceitfully, than to avoid falling under the censure of any man, or any church.'—Pref. pp. v. vi.

There are things, however, of far more importance than style, language, and manner—we mean the sentiments conveyed by a writer; and we can assure our readers that in this respect the volume before us is by no means to be regarded with indifference. It contains, on the contrary, much that is new (to English ears, at least) and striking. It is not merely a powerful treatment of what is commonly believed among us; it challenges many of our current opinions, and throws us into unwonted attitudes. A considerable effect must be produced by such a book, widely circulated and surpassingly cheap as the successive editions of it are; and it becomes a matter of necessity and duty—so we deem it, at least—to afford the community some assistance in the formation of their judgment.

In pursuing this design our path is by no means direct and simple. But we may begin by saying freely, that we think some of the novelties decided and valuable improvements—approximations, we mean, to scriptural truth. Herein we agree altogether with Dr. Payne and Mr. James. Of the twenty-two lectures of which the volume consists, Dr. Payne says 'the last thirteen or 'fourteen appear to me to be the best;' and Mr. James, alluding to three of these specifically, says they 'contain much that is 'calculated to correct some false, and, I regret to add, too pre-'vailing methods of dealing with these classes of persons.' The persons referred to are sinners; and from one of the lectures selected by the estimable minister last mentioned, entitled False Comforts to Sinners, we will exhibit a sample of Mr. Finney's sentiments and manner.

'Sinners often imagine they are seeking *Jesus Christ*, and seeking *religion*, but this is a mistake. No person ever sought religion and yet remained irreligious. What is religion? It is obeying God. Seeking religion is seeking to obey God. The soul that hungers and

thirsts after righteousness is the soul of a Christian. To say that a person can seek to obey God, and yet not obey him, is absurd; for if he is seeking *religion* he is not an impenitent sinner. To seek *religion* implies a willingness to obey God, and a willingness to obey God is religion. It is a contradiction to say that an impenitent sinner is seeking religion. It is the same as to say, that he seeks and actually longs to obey God, and God will not let him; or that he longs to embrace Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ will not let him come. The fact is, the anxious sinner is seeking a hope, he is seeking pardon, and comfort, and deliverance from hell. He is anxiously looking for some one to comfort him, and make him feel better, without being obliged to conform to such humiliating conditions as those of the gospel. And his anxiety and distress continue, only because he will not yield to the terms. Unfortunately, anxious sinners find comforters enough to their liking. Miserable comforters they all are, too, 'seeing in their answers there remaineth falsehood.' No doubt, millions and millions are now in hell, because there were those around them who gave them false comfort, who had so much false pity, or were themselves so much in the dark, that they would not let them remain in anxiety till they had submitted their hearts to God, but administered falsehood, and relieved their distress in this way, and now their souls are lost.'

—pp. 104, 105.

One source of the false comfort often given to sinners is thus noticed and exposed.

'(2.) Telling the sinner to *pray for a new heart.* I once heard a Sunday-school teacher do this. He called a little girl up to him, and began to talk to her. 'My little daughter, are you a Christian?' 'No, sir.' 'Well, you cannot be a Christian yourself, can you?' 'No, sir.' 'No, you cannot be a Christian yourself, you cannot change your heart yourself, but you must pray for a new heart, that is all you can do; pray to God, and God will give you a new heart.' Does God say, 'Pray for a new heart?' Never. He says, 'Make you a new heart.' And the sinner is not to be told to pray to God to do his duty for him, but to go and do it himself. I know the Psalmist, *a good man,* prayed, 'Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me.' He had *faith*, and prayed in faith. But that is a very different thing from setting an obstinate rebel to pray for a new heart. No doubt, an anxious sinner will be delighted with such instruction. 'Why, I knew I needed a new heart, and that I ought to repent, but I thought I must do it myself. I am very willing to ask God to do it; I hated to do it myself, but have no objection that God should do it, if he will, and I will pray for it, if that be all that is required.'

—p. 108.

We could quote much more of the same kind, if our limits would permit; we must however refrain, and say only that (without committing ourselves to every expression) Mr. Finney's view of the methods to be used with sinners, and his sentiments

on the great topic of man's responsibility generally, engage our cordial concurrence and high commendation. Upon these matters we think the English churches stand in need of an extensive reform; and we shall be truly happy if the volume before us be blessed to that end.

The last extract we have made recalls to our recollection a passage in Mr. James's introductory preface, on which we feel it our duty to make a passing remark. Taking up Mr. Finney's idea of responsibility, Mr. James proceeds to suggest a modification of it, as follows. Having mentioned one 'striking feature' of the lectures, he adds,

'Another, and one of great importance to be noticed by the reader, is a constant and emphatic inculcation of the sinner's duty *immediately* to repent of sin, believe in Christ, and turn to God with entire submission and supreme love; while, at the same time, it is shown that there is nothing to prevent this, but the guilty cause which is found in the depravity of his own heart. Mr. Finney resolves human accountability, as all correct theologians must do, not into the possession of renewing and sanctifying grace, or, in other words, into moral ability, but into the possession of natural faculties, of external revelation, and of sufficient inducements, or what is usually called *natural* ability. In doing this, however, he sometimes uses language, and adopts a style of address, which would lead some to conclude, judging only by selected paragraphs, that he denied the necessity of the work of the Spirit in regeneration. This, as the general strain of the book clearly proves, is not the case; but it is certainly to be regretted that a little more caution had not been used in some places, when speaking of this important and mysterious topic. Nor does he appear to me to present, with sufficient clearness or frequency, the offers of the Spirit as an inducement to the sinner to repent. We are under the dispensation of the Spirit; and though we are to remind the impenitent that nothing but a guilty cause prevents them from turning to God, yet nothing short of Divine grace will make them *willing* to turn—which grace is promised to the prayer of faith. It is not enough to tell the sinner he could repent if he would, and will be justly condemned if he do not; this is all true, but it is not the whole truth, for God is ever ready to assist him—a fact which surely ought to be communicated to him to engage him to the work.'—Pref. pp. iv, v.

Mr. James here states very justly the evangelical doctrine that 'nothing but divine grace will make men *willing* to turn' to God; a sentiment which is unequivocally held by Mr. Finney, and by all others, we believe, who maintain the cognate and harmonious sentiment that men *can* turn to God without any influence of his Spirit at all. The current insinuation, that those who maintain the latter opinion 'deny the necessity of the work 'of the Spirit,' is altogether unfounded and inconsiderate; since whoever admits that the influence of the Spirit is the only thing

which will make men willing to repent, clearly holds the necessity of such influence to their repentance. What we wish particularly to observe upon in the passage we have quoted, is the language held by Mr. James in reference to prayer. He represents God as making 'offers of the Spirit as an inducement to the 'sinner to repent,' and laments that Mr. Finney has not exhibited these 'with sufficient clearness or frequency.' We confess we should be surprised if a single passage could be found in which Mr. Finney had presented such offers at all, for we are well convinced that he has no conception of their existence. The very idea of them is so utterly remote from the whole scheme of his theological views, that we are quite sure he would repudiate it without qualification. Holding—and Mr. James agrees with him—that men can do what God requires of them, he holds also that it may justly be, and accordingly is, required of them in a direct manner, without 'offers of the Spirit, as an in-'ducement to repent,' or 'to engage them to the work.' Indeed the throwing in of prayer for the Spirit into an intermediate position between the sinner and the command to repent, is one of the practical mischiefs which Mr. Finney most explicitly denounces. We cannot help expressing our regret that Mr. James does not agree with him, and more especially that the sanction of his name should be so extensively given to a contrary opinion. Nor are we altogether without surprise that so distinguished a divine should have written these few lines without perceiving the inconsistency of them one with another. 'Nothing short of divine grace,' he tells us, 'will make a sinner willing to turn' to God; and then he adds, 'which grace is promised to the prayer of faith.' He has suffered himself, then, to imagine a person unwilling to turn to God, and yet praying to be helped to turn to him—to our judgment a direct and unquestionable contradiction. If a sinner really desires to turn to God, then he has already become willing; if he does not desire it, there is no prayer—the pretence is nothing but hypocrisy. The idea that a sinner may properly be encouraged to pray for help to repent, can proceed only on the ground that he is willing but that he cannot; Mr. James rejects this allegation, maintains that a sinner can turn to God but will not, and yet, with manifest inconsistency, encourages him to pray for help. If, indeed, the Holy Spirit were offered to a sinner 'as 'an inducement to repent,' it could afford no manner of advantage to him, since he is determined not to repent; and no man is ever so preposterous as to ask for help towards a thing which he is resolved not to do. Such encouragement would be as fruitless as it is unnecessary.

There is also another ground on which it has been matter of surprise to us that sinners should have been encouraged to pray for the Spirit. A great evangelical truth is laid down by our

Lord when he says, 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life; 'no man cometh to the Father but by me.' With this, no doubt, Mr. James fully accords, as indeed is apparent from his saying that the Spirit 'is promised to the prayer of faith.' A sinner who has not turned to God, however, and is moreover unwilling to turn, is in unbelief; he is therefore under guilt and the curse, shut out from access to God. It seems to us one of the plainest of gospel verities, that an unbeliever has no access to God, or, which is the same thing, that no prayer of an unbeliever can be acceptable to God. But in our vocabulary an unbeliever and an unconverted man are convertible terms. Faith and conversion are but two aspects of one and the same act. He that has believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, so that his prayer can be accepted, has also turned to God, and has passed the period at which prayer to help him turn could have any propriety. He is no longer a sinner, but a believer; and if he were now to pray for help to turn to God, he would be asking for help to do what he had already done. We hope that in these remarks we shall not be deemed wanting in either respect or courtesy to Mr. James, in regard and affection for whom, as a man and a minister, we yield to none. We have spoken for two reasons: first, because the subject is of great importance, and defective views of it of great prevalence; and, secondly, because the distinct sanction of an erroneous opinion by so distinguished a name might, if passed without animadversion, have produced extensive mischief. If our observations contribute in any measure to the elucidation of truth, we are sure that Mr. James will be the first to tender us his thanks.

To return from this digression. While there is a large class of Mr. Finney's views which we regard as entirely just and eminently valuable, there are others of equal prominence which we contemplate with no satisfaction. Of these, to pass over minor points, we shall mention two. The first which we shall notice relates to a supposed influence of the Holy Spirit on the minds of persons who continue unconverted. Much use is made of this by Mr. Finney, and, we believe, by the American ministers generally. They deem it a sentiment of great importance and practical power; and think they almost shut up a sinner to immediate repentance, if they tell him that the Spirit is striving with him now, and that, if he does not avail himself of the favor, it may never be vouchsafed to him again. Upon this point we entirely agree with the following language of Dr. Payne.

'I dissent, also, from the views entertained by Mr. Finney in respect to the striving of the Spirit with those who, notwithstanding this striving, live and die impenitent. I do not believe that the influence of the Spirit of God, in the specific and proper sense of the term—i. e.,

an influence distinct from the moral or persuasive influence of divine truth—is ever exerted except upon those who were 'afore prepared unto glory.' What Mr. Finney calls the strivings of the Spirit—or, in English phraseology, the common influences of the Spirit—would seem to be an unnecessary influence (since not called for by the principles and exigences of moral government), leading to no result but the augmented guilt and punishment of those upon whom it is supposed to be exerted. I find it impossible to reconcile this notion with the infinite goodness of God. I suspect, also, the existence of some difference of opinion between the most approved writers in this country and Mr. Finney, on the nature and manner of divine influence generally. He speaks in one place of 'the moral power of the Holy Spirit,' of the meaning of which expression I have no conception.'—Pref. p. vi.

The sentiment in question is liable also to other weighty objections. We think it derogatory both to the power and holiness of the blessed Spirit himself; while we can perceive no advantage derived from it in point of motive. No doubt it is true, that those periods of a sinner's life when his conscience and his passions are most deeply wrought on by gospel truths are truly critical periods. They are seasons eminently favorable to decision for God, and should be seized on with avidity for practical improvement, more especially as being of very uncertain recurrence. But in order to this it is not necessary to say that they are the strivings of the Spirit; it is enough to say that they are the strivings of the truth. The reason for a prompt improvement of them is to be derived, not from the sovereignty of the Spirit's operation, but from the inaptitude of the human mind to receive with equal force successive impressions from the same objects. On the passages of Scripture which have been thought to sustain the view we repudiate, we may remark in passing, that they refer (as is clear from the context of each passage, Gen. vi. 3, and Acts vii. 51) to the institution and effects of an inspired ministry, and therefore to the striving, or active influence, not of the Spirit, but of the truth he inspired.

The second of Mr. Finney's leading views to which we object relates to the 'prayer of faith,' a subject undoubtedly of great importance and much experimental interest; but one which we think the author before us has treated by no means judiciously. Before making our own remarks upon his views, however, we will quote those of Dr. Payne.

'Though this powerful writer has stated much in reference to 'prevailing prayer,' and the 'prayer of faith,' that deserves the careful attention of the church in this country, I do not find myself able to go along with him in all his statements and conclusions. The subject, indeed, requires further elucidation. Much obscurity and perplexity in regard to these important subjects seem to me to rest on Mr. Fin-

ney's statements, rendering them the least interesting part of the volume. There is no doubt, indeed, that we frequently fail to exercise that confidence in God which it becomes us to possess, and that on this account God does not answer our prayers; but that *the prayer of faith*—in the sense of the words attached to them by Mr. Finney, viz., not prayer presented to God in the name of Christ, but with entire confidence that the blessing implored will be granted—that such prayer in all cases,—not only when God has *promised* to bestow the specific blessing, but when he has not—is essential to success, I have as yet to be convinced.'—Pref., p. vi.

The source and nature of the obscurity which Dr. Payne thus justly notices may be exhibited in a few words. It is well known to all devout readers of the Bible that the New Testament contains some truly delightful declarations respecting the success of prayer: e. g. 'All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer be-'lieving ye shall receive. If ye shall ask any thing in my name 'I will do it. Whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, be-'lieve that ye receive them and ye shall have them.' Matt. xxi. 22. Mark xi. 24. John xiv. 14. A passage of similar tenor occurs in James v. 16, 'The effectual fervent prayer of a righ-'teous man availeth much.' Very often, without doubt, has the question arisen in the heart of a devout reader of the Scriptures, whether and how far these blessed words may be applied to present exercises of prayer, or whether any peculiar reference separates them from the ordinary experience of the saints. Without doing any justice to this question, Mr. Finney takes two of these passages as texts for two of his lectures, and applies them without scruple or limitation. It was impossible that such a course could be satisfactory. At almost every point a considerate reader finds questions in his mind unanswered, and perplexities which nothing he reads is adapted to remove. All these in fact throw him back on the primary and original question, whether the class of passages—for they are a class—have or have not a peculiar and limited reference. If they have, their whole application fails; and if they have not, still there are wanting clear and definite principles by which their application is to be guided. We shall not, we suppose, be suspected of a wish to rob the church of God of any part of its inestimable endowments, or to diminish the warrant which divine promises may afford us for expecting an answer to our prayers; but we are constrained to say that we think the entire class of passages we have cited are not applicable to the general experience of Christians. If the context be referred to in each case, they will be found to stand connected with verses relating to the removing of mountains and other miraculous operations, and our conviction is clear that the prayer and faith intended were limited in their reference exclusively to the working of miracles. It seems to us that there is

quite as much reason for our saying to a mountain, Be thou cast into the sea, as there is for our praying with an absolute belief that we shall have whatsoever we ask. We have spent too much time, however, with Mr. Finney, whose work, to do justice to its various contents, would require a long review for itself. Commending it to a judicious and discriminating perusal, we now turn to the interesting and gratifying narrative of Dr. Reed.

The 'Narrative of the State of Religion at Wycliffe Chapel 'during the year 1839,' we cannot hesitate to place among the most engaging and valuable publications of its class. With a small abatement on the score of a spice of sentimentalism, by which the respected author is too strongly characterized to be, perhaps, aware of its existence, it is, we think, without fault, or as nearly without fault as human productions may be; containing at the same time very much that is interesting in facts, just in observation, and wise in counsel. The narrative having been subsequently printed in a cheap form, and very extensively circulated, it must be altogether unnecessary for us to enter in detail into its contents. Let it suffice to say, that it unfolds a course of exertion and an amount of success truly admirable and gratifying, and well fitted to act extensively on others, both as an example and a stimulus. We hope that Wycliffe Chapel will long present the aspect of a church in a state of *permanent* revival, and that the pamphlet before us may be the means of introducing many other churches into a similar condition. The few remarks which our space will allow us to add in reference to this subject, will, perhaps, be best devoted to one of the 'cases in illustration' with which the Narrative concludes.

'The next case I would mention is that of a *young man* of a speculative cast of mind, and whose thoughts had been more engaged with religion than either his conscience or his affections. He had been trained in the ways of religion; but since he had been at his own control, he had got into an unprofitable course both of hearing and of thinking.

'He attended some of our special services; his convictions, though still feeble, were strengthened, and he was led to meet me at the vestry.

'I have had,' he said, 'a wish to speak with you, and yet I hardly know what to speak about.'

'You are under some concern, I suppose, for your salvation.'

'Yes, I hope so; but not always. It comes and goes at times.'

'Have you been always as careful as you should be to cherish it by a regular and prayerful use of the appointed means?'

'I fear not; but I have sought and sought, and seem no better, and am disheartened.'

'I fear you will not be better till you feel yourself worse. Let me remind you that you admit you have not used the means as you should.'

'I have sometimes; I remember once especially, that one night I resolved to pray in earnest, and if ever I did pray, it was that night; and yet I was no better.'

'And you were angry with God that he had not heard such good prayers?'

'I thought he would hear them.'

'He is under no obligation to hear true prayer except what his *promise* creates, and I fear yours was not true prayer. True prayer is as humble as it is earnest. It asks what it wants; but confesses it deserves nothing.'

'But if I do my best, is it my fault?'

'Do you really wish to blame God?'

'No: but if I do all I can, can I do more?'

'It is pretty clear that you cannot do more than you can; but it is not so clear that you are willing to do what you can.

'I hope I am.'

'Let us see. What did you chiefly pray for on that occasion?'

'To be converted.'

'Do you think you are converted?'

'No, I fear not; I cannot convert myself.'

'Very true; there is an affecting sense in which you cannot convert yourself; but I think that is not your sense. What is conversion?'

'It is turning from the world to God.'

'Very well; now tell me what is it that hinders you from turning to God with all your heart this moment?'

He paused.

'Does God hinder you?'

'No.'

'Does any thing out of yourself hinder you?'

'No.'

'What is it in yourself that does hinder you?'

'I can hardly tell.'

'Is it any thing—can it be any thing but your *unwillingness* that hinders you?'

'I *wish* to be converted.'

'Do not deceive yourself by an exchange of words. We are speaking of being willing; and let me tell you, that to be really willing to be converted is to be converted. To will to be converted and not to be converted, is a contradiction in terms—an absurdity.'

'There was a pause.

'I continued, 'If, then, you would be truly converted if you were truly willing, is the fault of your conversion with God or yourself?'

'With me, *if* it is only my unwillingness.'

'Be honest with yourself, I beseech you. Do not say if, unless you have some other reason to assign besides your unwillingness. If you were truly willing at this time to turn to God, and to love and serve him, is there any thing to prevent you?'

'I know of none; but I need the grace of God to help me.'

'Exactly so; but still be careful not to mistake. This grace you

cannot claim; it is freely promised. You cannot turn to God because you will not; this unwillingness is your chief sin—it is rebellion; and if you are left to yourself, this unwillingness you will cherish to your eternal ruin.'

'What can I do, then?'

'What can you do? Let me entreat you to retire to your closet this night; meditate deeply on the subject of conversation; humble yourself to nothing before God; confess your pride, your unwillingness, and alienation from him; place yourself in his hands as a creature deserving to perish, and that must perish without his help; look up to him through the only Saviour, for a mind to love and honor him, and the life and peace you have forfeited by sin.''

—*Reed's Narrative,* pp. 84—87.

The preceding case is one of a very important and, we suspect, a very numerous class. It was treated by Dr. Reed much better than it would have been treated by many divines; but his method gives scope, nevertheless, for a few observations, which we shall take courage to make on account of the general importance of the subject. We begin by remarking, that it was not going directly towards a deep conviction of sin, to ask this inquirer in the first instance whether he had been always as careful as he should have been to cherish a concern for salvation by the use of appointed means. It sanctioned him in the erroneous notion which he had evidently formed of his duty, and gave origin and force to the perplexity which immediately followed. 'Though not as I 'ought,' said the inquirer, 'I have sought, and am no better.' To this the instructor had only to reply, 'You admit, however, 'that you have not sought as you should.' To which the prompt rejoinder is, 'I have sometimes sought as I should; and yet I am 'no better.' So far as conviction of sin is concerned, the instructor is here fairly at fault. He accordingly relinquishes the attempt, and betakes himself to the sovereignty of God, who, he assures the disciple, is under no absolute obligation to hear prayer. Now we should regret being reduced to such an answer. First, because it proceeds upon the supposition that the sinner had done every thing incumbent on him, and was liable to perish by an act of divine sovereignty; whereas it is clearly the doctrine of Scripture that God has made full provision for a sinner's salvation, unless by his own fault. And, secondly, because it admits that the thing which a sinner is to do for salvation is to pray; whereas his duty is to repent, and to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. Recalling the necessity, however, of putting the sinner in the wrong, the instructor returns to the charge by saying, 'I fear 'yours was not true prayer.' Not to say that this was little to the purpose, since, if it had been true prayer, it could not have saved him—we observe that it failed altogether to bring home conviction of sin. 'If it was not true prayer,' thought the in-

quirer, 'it was praying the best I could;' and he added, 'If I do 'my best is it my fault?' We think this was directly to the point, and that, although parried, it was not answered by saying 'Do you really wish to blame God?' It is for us to show that the blame cannot justly be thrown upon him. The inquirer very properly nails his teacher to this point, by rejoining, 'If I do all 'I can, can I do more?' and his teacher is again beaten, and obliged to admit that he is right. 'It is clear that you cannot do 'more than you can.' We think so too. A third attempt is then made, namely, to show that the inquirer has not done what he could. In reply to his question the inquirer tells him, that what he had prayed for was 'to be converted,' and that he did not think he was converted yet; adding, 'I cannot convert myself.' This general assertion the teacher admits *in a sense*, of which we shall speak presently, and proceeds to undermine the position by a series of questions properly and successfully directed to show the inquirer that nothing but his unwillingness hindered him from turning to God. The inquirer then changes his ground and affirms, 'I wish to be converted.' Dr. Reed's answer to this is most just and decisive, 'To be really willing to be converted is 'to be converted.' The inquirer afterwards admits the inference, that, if only his unwillingness hindered his turning to God, the fault was his own; and betakes himself to the customary refuge, 'But I need the grace of God to help me.' The reply to this is in our judgment unsatisfactory. 'You cannot turn to God, be-'cause you will not.' We think there is some confusion of thought in this statement.

It is true that a sinner will not turn to God, and that this is the only reason why he does not; but this does not sustain the assertion that he cannot: on the contrary it goes, not only to warrant, but to necessitate the affirmation that he can, since it is only in cases where persons can do a thing that we ever think of saying they will not. No doubt, in various cases of unwillingness we familiarly use the phrase *cannot;* but the phrase in such cases is obviously employed out of its strict and proper sense, and cannot be at all difficult of reduction to its true meaning, which is *will not*. Of this class are all the instances in which it is said in the Scriptures that men cannot come to Christ, or turn to God. The entire meaning is that they will not; and the Scripture doctrine is that men can come, but are unwilling. We think it is important that sinners should be told this, in a manner perfectly free from ambiguity; and not be permitted to conclude that because they will not they cannot, or that their unwillingness constitutes an inability. The sentiment is deeply fixed in the mind, that what cannot be done ought not to be required; and the admission that men cannot repent is fatal to all rational sense of obligation or responsibility. To the averment

of the inquirer in this case there might have been given, we think, a far safer answer. It might have been shown him that there lurked an entire fallacy in it; first, inasmuch as he pretended to want help for a thing which he did not wish to do; and secondly, inasmuch as, if he really did wish to turn to God, by the very necessity of the case the thing was already done. And it might have been added, that, whatever change of mind God was requiring of him, he was quite competent to produce it by the exercise of his rational powers on the facts and truths of the gospel. In his concluding reply, to the question, 'What can I 'do, then?' the instructor scarcely maintains his consistency. Having just said, 'You cannot turn to God,' he immediately adds, 'Humble yourself to nothing before God; place yourself in 'his hands as a creature deserving to perish; and look up to him 'through the only Saviour.' How much all this differs from turning to God we confess ourselves unable to understand. We should think that a sinner who can do the one can do the other.

We trust nothing in these remarks will be construed into disrespect to the distinguished author of this narrative, or will wound either his own feelings or those of his friends. We are sure he will feel that the importance of the subject justifies the freest utterance of our sentiments upon it, and that remarks are more especially called for in a case in which facts are brought out from the privacy of a minister's vestry, and exhibited as exemplifications of the manner in which gospel truth may be best applied to the consciences of men. We have our misgivings that the treatment of inquirers is a department of labor in which the great majority of ministers find themselves continually in painful dilemmas; and we should deem it one of the most valuable services which could be rendered to religion if a series of cases could be put out, which should be really illustrative of critical points, and should exemplify a strict evangelical consistency.

Space does not now remain to us for any extended notice of the other works named at the head of this article. The reprint of Mr. Robe's admirable Narrative of the revival of religion at Kilsyth, and other places in Scotland, in 1742, is eminently seasonable, when, through divine mercy, nearly the same portions of that favored country have been blessed with a renewed work of a similarly gracious character. It cannot be read without interest and advantage. The volume put forth by Mr. Milner is intended, as he informs us, 'to gain attention to special 'religious services,' as constituting an instrumentality of important adaptation to usefulness. It consists first of some general remarks on this topic; and then of a series of addresses to persons of various character—to hearers of the gospel, to the indifferent, to the procrastinating, to the favorably disposed, to the sincere inquirer, to the new convert, to the Christian, and to the

church. The topics brought up in such a course would afford occasion for many remarks, not without interest and importance; but, after our protracted notice of other works, we are compelled to dismiss this volume with a general recommendation, as well as the one which we have placed last on our list.

Art. IV. 1. *Sacred Poetry of the Seventeenth Century. In two vols. With an Introductory Essay, &c.* By the Rev. R. CATTERMOLE, B.D. 8vo. London: Rickerby.

2. *The Works of George Herbert.* In two vols. foolscap 8vo. London: Pickering.

IN spite of Dr. Johnson's rash and dogmatical judgment, Christianity affords the noblest and fittest themes for poetical composition. The dark and unfathomable mine, the boundless ocean, and the starry heavens with their universe of worlds, furnish but feeble emblems of the sublime truths of the Christian system. And the whole subject of religion has an adaptation to our own interests and to all our tenderest feelings, which recommends it to the human heart. The soul of man, even in its fallen and most degraded condition, never abandons its hope of immortality, but clings to it even amidst the most degrading errors and crimes of heathenism itself.

While the poets of the ancient world introduced the gods and heroes of their superstition into all their principal compositions, and wove the fables of their disgusting mythology into the texture of their poems, it is a reproach to Christian nations that our modern bards make so little use of the mysteries and glories of the sacred volume, and that they so seldom even recognize Christianity in their productions. In our own country this has been the case to a disgraceful extent in the poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; even among those authors who are irreproachable on the score of morality. The numerous cantos of Walter Scott have little direct reference to religion. In Southey's poetry, where such reference is far more frequent, it is of a very questionable and latitudinarian kind, coming sometimes in the shape of Romish superstition, sometimes in the disguise of Mahometanism, or in the grotesque and hideous form of the Hindoo mythology; while the pretensions of each creed are urged in turn, as if each were equally true and important, with a gravity unbecoming a Christian and a Protestant. The pages of Wordsworth are pervaded by a beautiful but cold philosophy, which has only a distant and scarcely recognizable affinity to the Christian system. But, what is not less remarkable, Byron and

Moore, two of our poets who have sinned most against the morals and decencies of a Christian country, have made some attempts at sacred poetry, which, as might have been expected, are total failures. Thus by our greatest modern poets little has been done in aid of religion; by those nobly-gifted minds whose works are printed in every foreign country, and translated into all the languages of Europe, and read by all the literary world, how little has been done for the honour of God, and for the best interests of the human race!

We wish to call the attention of our readers to a period in the history of English literature when sacred poetry was not of rare occurrence, but when it was usual for the poet to dedicate some of the efforts of his genius to the service of the temple or the oratory. And there is this remarkable singularity in the sacred compositions of our elder poets, that they have no remote and dubious reference to Christian doctrines; they are not such attempts at praise as may be offered up with equal propriety to 'Jehovah, Jove, or Lord;' but they recognize at once the most distinguishing and peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and are essentially and only Christian.

The following 'Hymn to God the Father,' by Ben Jonson, will show the general character of the sacred poetry of the period we refer to.

'Hear me, O God,
A broken heart
Is my best part:
Use still thy rod,
That I may prove
Therein thy love.

'If thou hadst not
Been stern to me,
But left me free,
I had forgot
Myself and thee.

'For sin's so sweet,
As minds ill bent
Rarely repent,
Until they meet
Their punishment.

'Who more can crave
Than thou hast done?
That gav'st a Son
To free a slave:
First made of nought
With all since bought.

'Sin, death, and hell,
His glorious name
Quite overcame;
Yet I rebel,
And slight the same.

'But I'll come in,
Before my loss
Me further toss,
As sure to win
Under his cross.'

Of our early poets there are but few who deserve to be called very great. Till Chaucer appeared we had no poetical compositions of very general or lasting reputation: and his works, though they continue to be published and read in our own day, are kept chiefly in the libraries of the learned, and, by their antique

orthography and phraseology, repel the curiosity of common readers. A long period elapsed between him and Spenser; but the Faery Queene indicates a vast improvement in the art of poetry. The teeming fancy of Spenser poured forth at will its exuberant stores; ever-shifting visions of chivalry and romance pass before the view of the reader; mingled by turns with scenes of beauty, and with terrible forms of witchcraft and magic. Yet, notwithstanding its universally acknowledged excellence, the Faery Queene palls upon us; and we have rarely known even a determined reader who, in these degenerate days, could achieve a perusal of the whole poem. From his age, till the appearance of Milton, no one, except Shakespeare, can be called a first-rate poet; and, in our opinion, even his glory is lost in the superior lustre of the author of Paradise Lost. Milton carried the art to perfection, and, for beauty and sweetness, as well as for sublimity, in his minor poems, as well as in his greatest work, stands unrivalled and alone. Comus and Lycidas contain passages which could scarcely have been written by any other man.

It is the province of poetry, not so much to give us exact copies of nature, with all its minutiæ and imperfections, as to present us with certain general resemblances. The poet, like the painter, selects and arranges various objects, each of which is beautiful in itself; and the effect of the whole, when combined, is that we have something above nature. The poet creates out of the wealth of his own imagination, but the new world which he forms and peoples, must bear some general resemblance to that which we see existing around us. Thus in the epopee and the drama some of the most beautiful or striking personages are purely ideal, as the Ariel, the Oberon, and Titania of Shakespeare, and the Satan of Milton: for though Satan is a really existing personage, we never suppose that Milton's description of him is correct. It is a purely poetical character, in which the gloomy and repulsive parts are softened, and a certain degree of attractiveness is imparted to the fiend for the sake of effect.

In the poetical hemisphere, as in that of nature, stars of the first magnitude are seen scattered only here and there, with wide intervals. But in the space between Shakespeare and Milton there are some bright constellations which have been little noticed by the common observer. The poets who flourished in the long period extending from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Charles the Second, are almost unknown to general readers; yet their merits are of a high order. Many of them, it is true, we could not recommend, because they are disfigured by the gross indelicacy which belonged to their age. But we will endeavor to give our readers a general idea of the sacred poetry of this period, and will present them with a poetical anthology which (if we may be allowed to change the figure) we hope will induce a desire to

become better acquainted with those fragrant gardens from which we have plucked a few blossoms. This we shall do from one of the two volumes which we have placed first at the head of this article, in the hope that our specimens may lead to the purchase of the whole.

We begin our extracts with two of the Psalms of David, from the version of George Sandys, the well known oriental traveller, who died in the year 1643. The force, and fire, and harmony of the versification ought to have preserved them from the neglect into which they have fallen, and amply justify the eulogy of Bishop H. King.

PSALM XX.

'The Lord in thy adversity
Regard thy cry;
Great Jacob's God with safety arm,
And shield from harm;
Help from his sanctuary send,
And out of Sion thee defend.

'Thy odours which pure flames consume
Be his perfume.
May he accept thy sacrifice,
Fir'd from the skies.
For ever thy endeavors bless,
And crown thy counsel with success.

'We will of thy deliverance sing,
Triumphant King:
Our ensigns in that prayed-for day
With joy display;
Even in the name of God. O still
May He thy just desires fulfil!

'Now know I his anointed he
Will hear, and free;
With saving hand and mighty power,
From his high tower.
They trust in horse, in chariots those;
Our trust we in our God repose.

'Their wounded limbs in anguish bend,
To death descend:
But we in fervor of the fight
Have stood upright.
O save us Lord; thy suppliant's hear;
And in our aid, great King, appear.'

PSALM C.

'All from the sun's uprise,
Unto his setting rays,

Resound in jubilees
The great Jehovah's praise.
Him serve alone;
In triumph bring
Your gifts, and sing
Before his throne.

'Man drew from man his birth,
But God his noble frame
Built of the ruddy earth,
Fill'd with celestial flame.
His sons we are;
Sheep by him led,
Preserv'd and fed
With tender care.

'O to his portals press
In your divine resorts:
With thanks his power profess,
And praise him in his courts.
How good! How pure!
His mercies last:
His promise past
For ever sure.'

Amongst the sacred poets of the seventeenth century, the brothers, Phineas and Giles Fletcher, occupy a high rank. Their father, Dr. Giles Fletcher, was himself an aspirant to poetical fame; and their cousin John, the dramatist, was the associate of Beaumont. The Purple Island, a poem in twelve cantos, by Phineas, well known to students of our early literature, is an allegorical poem, descriptive of the human body and soul. Though this production, as a whole, would not please the more correct and refined taste of the present times, it is the work of a genuine poet, and abounds in fine passages. The following stanzas on the marriage of Christ and his church are from the close of the poem.

'The fair Eclecta, who with widow'd brow,
Her absent Lord long mourn'd in sad array,
Now silken linen cloth'd like frozen snow,
Whose silver spanglets sparkle 'gainst the day;
This shining robe her Lord himself had wrought,
While he her loss with hundred presents sought,
And it with many a wound, and many a torment bought!

'And thus array'd, her heavenly beauties shin'd
(Drawing their beams from his most glorious face)
Like to a precious jasper, pure, refin'd,
Which with a crystal mix'd, much mends his grace:

The golden stars a garland fair did frame
To crown her locks; the sun lay hid for shame,
And yielded all his beams to her more glorious flame.

* * * * *

'Run now, you shepherd-swains; ah! run you thither,
Where this fair bridegroom leads the blessed way:
And haste, you lovely maids, haste you together
With this sweet bride, while yet the sunshine day
Guides your blind steps; while yet loud summons call
That every wood and hill resounds withal,
Come, Hymen, Hymen come, drest in thy golden pall.

'The sounding echo back the music flung,
While heavenly spheres unto the voices play'd.
But lo! the day is ended with my song,
And sporting bathes with that fair ocean maid:
Stoop now thy wing, my muse, now stoop thee low:
Hence may'st thou freely play, and rest thee now,
While here I hang my pipe upon the willow bough!'

This is true poetry: and so is the exquisite gem that follows.

HYMN.

'Drop, drop, slow tears,
And bathe those beauteous feet,
Which brought from heaven
The news and Prince of Peace.
Cease not, wet eyes,
His mercies to entreat,
To cry for vengeance
Sin doth never cease.
In yon deep flood
Drown all my faults and fears;
Nor let his eye
See sin, but through my tears.'

Mr. Cattermole's first volume is enriched with the whole of Giles Fletcher's 'Christ's Victory and Triumph,' 'with the exception of a very few unimportant stanzas.' This beautiful poem is divided into four parts: in the first of which, Christ's victory in heaven, we have the solemn consultation of Justice and Mercy concerning lost man; in the second, Christ's victory on earth, his temptation by Satan; in the third, Christ's triumph over death, a description of circumstances connected with his passion; in the fourth, Christ's triumph after death, his resurrection, ascension, and glory in heaven. It will be seen that here is ample room for the genius of a Milton; and it is great praise not to have signally failed in such an attempt. This, Fletcher has not done. His poem is full of beauties; but it is disfigured

by many of the vices of his age, by forced antitheses, unnatural conceits, and by a most absurd mixture of pagan mythology with the solemn truths of revelation. But from the last mentioned blemish the Paradise Lost is not free. The Fletchers evidently took the Faery Queene as their model.

There is true poetic grandeur in the picture of Justice.

'She was a virgin of austere regard,
Not as the world esteems her, deaf and blind,
But as the eagle, that hath oft compar'd
Her eye with heaven's, so, and more brightly shin'd
Her lamping sight; for she the same could wind
Into the solid heart, and with her ears
The silence of the thought loud speaking hears,
And in one hand a pair of even scales she wears.

'No riot of affection revel kept
Within her breast, but a still apathy
Possessed all her soul, which softly slept,
Securely, without tempest; no sad cry
Awakes her pity, but wrong'd Poverty,
Sending her eyes to heaven swimming in tears:
And hideous clamors ever struck her ears,
Whetting the blazing sword that in her hand she bears.

'The winged lightning is her Mercury,
And round about her mighty thunders sound;
Impatient of himself lies pining by
Pale Sickness, with his kercher'd head up wound,
And thousand noisome plagues attend her round:
But if her cloudy brow but once grow foul,
The flints do melt, the rocks to water roll,
And airy mountains shake, and frighted shadows howl.'

The interposition of mercy is also well conceived, and beautifully painted; but it is too long for extraction, and abridgment would spoil it..

A few stanzas from the fourth part of this poem will be sufficient, we hope, to inspire our readers with a desire to make themselves familiar with the whole. The author treats of the resurrection and ascension of Christ.

'But now the second morning, from her bower,
Began to glisten in her beams; and now
The roses of the day began to flower
In the eastern garden; for heaven's smiling brow
Half insolent for joy began to show:
The early sun came lively dancing out,
And the brag lambs ran wantoning about,
That heaven and earth might seem in triumph both to shout.

* * * * *

'Say, Earth, why hast thou got thee new attire,
And stick'st thy habit full of daisies red?
Seems that thou dost to some high thought aspire,
And some new-found-out bridegroom mean'st to wed:
Tell me, ye trees, so fresh apparalled,
So never let the spiteful canker waste you,
So never let the heavens with lightning blast you,
Why go you now so trimly drest, or whither haste you?

* * * * *

'Ye primroses and purple violets,
Tell me, why blaze ye from your leafy bed,
And woo men's hands to rent you from your sets,
As though you would somewhere be carried,
With fresh perfumes and velvets garnished?
But ah! I need not ask, 'tis surely so,
You all would to your Saviour's triumph go:
There would you all await, and humble homage do.

* * * * *

'There might the violet and primrose sweet,
Beams of more lively, and more lovely grace,
Arising from their beds of incense, meet;
There should the swallow see new life embrace
Dead ashes, and the grave unveil his face,
To let the living form his bowels creep,
Unable longer his own dead to keep;
There heaven and earth should see their Lord awake from sleep.

* * * * *

'Toss up your heads, ye everlasting gates,
And let the Prince of glory enter in!
At whose brave volley of siderial states,
The sun to blush and stars grow pale, were seen;
When leaping first from earth, he did begin
To climb his angel wings: then open hang
Your crystal doors!' so all the chorus sang
Of heavenly birds, as to the stars they nimbly sprang.

'Hark! how the floods clap their applauding hands,
The pleasant valleys singing for delight;
The wanton mountains dance about the lands,
The while the fields, struck with the heavenly light,
Set all their flowers a smiling at the sight;
The trees laugh with their blossoms, and the sound
Of the triumphant shout of praise, that crown'd
The flaming Lamb, breaking through heaven hath passage found.

'Out leap the antique patriarchs, all in haste,
To see the powers of hell in triumph led,
And with small stars a garland interchas'd
Of olive-leaves they bore to crown his head,

That was before with thorns degloried:
After these flew the prophets, brightly stol'd
In shining lawn, and wimpled manifold,
Striking their ivory harps, strung all in cords of gold.

'To which the saints victorious carols sung,
Ten thousand saints at once, that with the sound
The hollow vaults of heaven for triumph rung:
The cherubim their clamours did confound
With all the rest, and clapt their wings around:
Down from their thrones the dominations flow,
And at his feet their crowns and sceptres throw,
And all the princely souls fell on their faces low.'

That both the Fletchers owed much to the study of Spenser is evident to an attentive reader of their works. The author of the Faery Queene has had a commanding influence on many of the poets of after times. Nor were these brothers unworthy of so great a master; and even excelled him in devoting their genius to nobler, because more useful, subjects.

Christ's Victory and Triumph will suffer but little by a comparison with the Paradise Regained. If it wants the majestic conception and the lofty diction of Milton, it is in many places equal in melody and beauty of illustration, while it is superior in variety of incident. To us the whole poem is more full of interest: for the Paradise Regained disappoints the reader, by concluding with Christ's victory over Satan, instead of carrying us through the eventful and awful scenes of the Saviour's life and death. But Fletcher brings his poem to its natural close by accompanying the crucified and triumphant Redeemer to heaven.

The principal and characteristic merit of this poem, however, is not its grandeur as a whole, though in that it is not deficient; but the sweetness of detached passages, the music of its language, and the delicate beauty of its illustrations. Yet these are found, like gems in the mine, in near connexion with much that is rough and unshapely. The glittering spar and the native gold occur amidst masses of dull and unattractive ore; but the sparkling passages of the poet, like the diamonds and the gold, amply repay the seeker's labor. Some of these beauties we have presented to our readers; and will close our notice of Giles Fletcher with the lovely stanzas which open the third book; and which, though sometimes obscure in meaning, yet delight the ear with their music.

'So down the silver streams of Eridan,
On either side bank'd with a lily wall,
Whiter than both rides the triumphant swan,
And sings his dirge, and prophesies his fall,

Diving into his watery funeral:
But Eridan to Cedron must submit
His flowery shore; nor can he envy it,
If when Apollo sings his swans do silent sit.

'That heavenly voice I more delight to hear,
Than gentle airs to breathe, or soothing waves
Against the sounding rocks their bosoms tear,
Or whistling reeds, that rutty Jordan laves,
And with their verdure his white head embraves,
To chide the winds, or hiving bees, that fly
About the laughing blooms of sallowy,
Rocking asleep the idle grooms that lazy lie.'

Of the third-rate poets of this age, Wither and Quarles are two of the most remarkable. Popular in their own day, their voluminous writings have fallen into general neglect; yet it would not be difficult to select from them many beautiful passages. The 'Emblems' of Quarles may still be met with in the poor man's cottage, with their ludicrous accompaniment of prints, which, from their striking oddity, have perhaps generally proved more attractive than the poetry. But this book appears to have met with unfair treatment, having been tampered with and garbled by unprincipled editors, and the purchaser cannot always be sure of obtaining a correct copy. The general style, however, of both these poets is heavy, and wanting in refinement. There is a deficiency of genius, a paucity of those brilliant passages, those electric thoughts, and musical phrases, which are so frequent in the works of a true poet. Even their best passages are too near to mediocrity. They please; but they neither surprise nor charm. Mr. Cattermole has given a few extracts from Wither, and many from Quarles; of which our limited space precludes our making any use.

In passing from Quarles to George Herbert, we are conscious of an emotion like that which the traveller feels when he leaves a tract of country where the landscape possesses no extraordinary interest, and enters upon scenery which is highly picturesque, and which presents new and striking changes at every turn of the road: or, our emotion is like that of the same traveller, when, after the mists and clouds of morning, the sun bursts forth, and gives light and color to the unvarying grey of the picture. The poems of Herbert are full of light. They have much of the sunshine of genius; but more of the brighter and lovelier glow of piety. This is the charm which we feel even in his most trivial compositions. He is as quaint and full of conceits as any of his contemporaries, and there is scarcely one of his poems in which we do not meet with something that offends our judgment; but, however odd the turn of thought may be, the warmth of piety

with which it is accompanied gives it a loveliness which belongs not to itself.

The life also of Herbert was of that devout and holy character which gives an irresistible recommendation to an author's writings. He not only practised what he taught, but in so eminent a degree, as to distinguish him from common men, to fit him for an example, and incline us to listen to his instructions. His biography, by Izaak Walton, is generally known. It is written with all the good old man's gentle enthusiasm, and with his usual felicity of language. But had Herbert not had a tenth of the excellencies which really belonged to him, he would, in Izaak's estimation, have been a saint of the first water: for he was both a Churchman and an angler. To have appeared in either of these characters would have ensured him no mean panegyric; but where both were conjoined there was the last touch of perfection. Walton would scarcely have looked on an apostle with greater reverence; and he himself somewhere intimates that these fathers of the church are entitled to additional respect because of their piscatory occupations.

George, the poet, was the younger brother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, well known to literary men, as a writer of an original but eccentric turn of mind. The early life of the poet was passed at Cambridge, where he attracted considerable notice, and was made public orator, in which capacity he was introduced to King James the First, and received many indications of his favor. Allured by the charms of a court life, he in a great degree abandoned the calm retreats of his college, and the pleasures of literature; till the death of two of his patrons, and soon after that of the king himself, left him without hope of preferment. From that time he devoted himself to the duties of the Christian ministry; and, whether disappointed ambition, or whatever other feeling, was the first motive to this important step, the sincerity of his piety cannot be questioned.

Herbert is the poet of the Church of England, and we confess that this circumstance, more than all his quaintness, lessens our sympathy with his writings. His attachment to his church amounts almost to a disease. It might be a natural consequence of his education and position in society; but we cannot help regarding it as a defect in his mental constitution that he appears to have beheld no beauty in the Christian system but through the medium of the Anglican rites and ceremonies. Christianity is, in his poems, so identified with his own church that a Christian of another communion can sometimes hardly recognize its features in the poet's description.

We are by no means unsusceptible of those sublime emotions produced by the noble style of architecture employed in our cathedrals. We have, in the days of our youth, felt the glow

which is inspired by the gorgeous perspective of aisle and roof; and 'storied windows richly dight;' and by all that may, not unappropriately, be called the romantic in religion. But time and truth, fatal antagonists of romance, have dispelled the charm; and, in place of the splendid illusions of fancy, have left stern and sober realities. The village spire, which is so prominent a feature in British landscape, instead of awakening pleasing emotions, painfully reminds us of a mischievous ecclesiastical system, which has for ages perpetuated ignorance, inculcated fatal errors, hindered the progress of religion, and destroyed the souls of men.*

In some of the following specimens of Herbert's poetry his attachment to the Church of England appears to us a blemish, and not a beauty.

'THE BRITISH CHURCH.

'I JOY, dear mother, when I view,
Thy perfect lineaments, and hue,
Both sweet and bright.

'Beauty in thee takes up her place;
And dates her letter from thy face,
When she doth write.

'A fine aspect, in fit array,
Neither too mean, nor yet too gay,
Shows who is best.

* In the form of baptism for infants, as well as in the catechism, the Church of England teaches that the infant, when baptized, is regenerated with the Holy Spirit, and received as the child of God by adoption. In the order of confirmation, the bishop plainly declares that the children brought to be confirmed have received the forgiveness of all their sins; while the only qualification requisite is their being able to say 'the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten commandments,' and to 'answer to the other questions of this short catechism.' In the Visitation of the Sick, the minister employs the following awful language: 'I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'

But however fatal the influence of these false doctrines may be on an ignorant population, they are probably exceeded in effect by the burial service. There are many thousands of persons who live in habitual neglect of all public worship, and in the commission of almost every crime. The only occasion, excepting marriage, on which these people attend the church is at the funeral of a relative. The deceased person may have been, in all respects, like themselves, ignorant of religion, and practically wicked. Yet they hear the officiating minister pronounce him blessed, and represent him as reposing in certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life; and they return to a life of crime with the assurance that it will end in their admission into heaven. How dreadfully destructive must the teaching of this church be; and how many thousands must have been led, by its false doctrines, to everlasting ruin! These are some of the reasons why we cannot sympathise with its poetry; and why 'the sound of the church-going bell' has for us no charm.

'Outlandish looks may not compare;
For all they either painted are,
Or else undress'd.

'She, on the hills, which wantonly
Allureth all, in hope to be
By her preferr'd,

'Hath kiss'd so long her painted shrines,
That ev'n her face by kissing shines,
For her reward.

'She, in the valley, is so shy
Of dressing, that her hair doth lie
About her ears.

'While she avoids her neighbour's pride,
She wholly goes on th' other side,
And nothing wears.

'But, dearest Mother (what those miss),
The mean thy praise and glory is;—
And long may be!

'Blessed be God, whose love it was
To double-moat thee with his grace;
And none but thee.'

The two little poems which follow, are, in almost every stanza, characteristic both of the beauties and of the conceits of Herbert.

'GOOD FRIDAY.

'O my chief good,
How shall I measure out thy blood?
How shall I count what thee befel,
And each grief tell?

'Shall I thy woes
Number, according to thy foes?
Or, since one star show'd thy first breath,
Shall all thy death?

'Or shall each leaf,
Which falls in autumn, score a grief?
Or cannot leaves, but fruit, be sign
Of the true vine?

'Then let each hour
Of my whole life one grief devour;
That thy distress through all may run,
And be my sun.

'Or rather let
My sev'ral sins their sorrows get;
That as each beast his cure doth know,
Each sin may so.'

'EASTER.

'I got me flowers to strew thy way;
I got me boughs off many a tree:
But thou wast up by break of day,
And brought'st thy sweets along with thee.

'The sun arising in the east,—
Though he give light, and the east perfume;
If they should offer to contest
With thy arising, they presume.

'Can there be any day but this,
Though many suns to shine endeavour?
We count three hundred; but we miss:
There is but one; and that one, ever.'

The fancy of Herbert is so wild that, at every flower or pebble by the roadside it starts, and runs away with him; nor does any rhetorical curb seem adequate to the task of guiding and controlling it. The poem on 'Sunday' very fairly exemplifies the untamed character of his muse; for which purpose a few stanzas from it will be sufficient. But it will be seen that even the extravagance of its conceits does not destroy its beauty, which is of a high order.

* * * * *

'Sundays the pillars are,
On which heaven's palace arched lies:
The other days fill up the spare
And hollow room with vanities.
They are the fruitful bed and borders
In God's rich garden: that is bare,
Which parts their ranks and orders.

'The Sundays of man's life,
Threaded together on time's string
Make bracelets to adorn the wife
Of the eternal, glorious King.
On Sunday, heaven's gate stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rife;
More plentiful than hope.

'This day my Saviour rose,
And did inclose this light for his;
That, as each beast his manger knows,
Man might not of his fodder miss.

Christ hath took in this piece of ground,
And made a garden there, for those
Who want herbs for their wounds.

* * * * *

'Thou art a day of mirth:
And where the week-days trail on ground,
Thy flight is higher, as thy birth.
O let me take thee at the bound,
Leaping with thee from seven to seven,
Till that we both, being toss'd from earth,
Fly hand in hand to heaven!'

Some of the verses of this poet have a sweetness which language cannot surpass; but the delightful effect produced by their melody is weakened by the occurrence of some homely phrase or simile which offends and disgusts the somewhat fastidious taste of more modern times. An instance of this juxtaposition of beauty and defect may be seen in the well known little poem entitled

'VIRTUE.

'Sweet day! so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky:
The dew shall weep thy fall to-night;
For thou must die.

'Sweet rose! whose hue, angry and brave,
Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye,
Thy root is ever in its grave;
And thou must die.

'Sweet spring! full of sweet days and roses;
A box, where sweets compacted lie;
My music shows ye have your closes:
And all must die.

'Only a sweet and virtuous soul,
Like season'd timber, never gives;
But though the whole world turn to coal,
Then chiefly lives.'

These lines, altered and improved, may be found, set to the sweetest music by the Rev. Joseph Jowett, in the second volume of his Musæ Solitariæ.

An instance of Herbert's devout turn of mind must close our extracts from this author.

'GRATEFULNESS.

'Thou, that hast given so much to me,
Give one thing more, a grateful heart.
See, how thy beggar works on thee
By art!

'He makes thy gifts occasion more,
And says, If he in this be cross'd,
All thou hast given him heretofore
Is lost.

* * * *

'Wherefore I cry, and cry again,
And in no quiet canst thou be,
Till I a thankful heart obtain
Of thee:

'Not—thankful when it pleaseth *me;*
As if thy blessings had spare days:
But such a heart, whose pulse may be
Thy praise.

These extracts abundantly show that the sacred poetry of the seventeenth century is not wanting in beauty, though to the mass of readers little known. But this almost untravelled land would amply repay, by its ten thousand sweets and treasures, the devout mind that should penetrate its solitudes. The authors whom we have quoted are but a few out of the multitude who wrote in a similar spirit, and from whom it would not be a difficult task to extract many passages of great beauty.

Mr. Cattermole is entitled to our gratitude for placing so large a portion of these treasures within the reach of common readers: for most of the passages which we have given, are to be found in his first volume, which may be purchased separately for four shillings and sixpence. The second volume, which is yet larger, contains many beautiful poems by a variety of authors, among whom Drummond of Hawthornden, Crashaw, Cowley, and Vaughan, contribute a large number of the most striking. The majority of readers in the religious world know nothing of these names; and we are happy in being able to inform those who may read this article, at how cheap a rate they may furnish themselves with poetical gems more precious than gold; with treasures which, while they delight the mind, will also amend the heart; which will give blessed comfort to the afflicted and mournful spirit, and help the cheerfully pious to sing their Saviour's praise, not only with Christian exultation, but in the language of genuine poetry.

Of the collection of Herbert's Poems and Remains we need say no more than that it is distinguished by the beauty which usually characterizes the publications of Mr. Pickering.

Art. V. *Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, considered in their mutual relations.* By JOHN CAMPBELL, Author of 'Jethro.' Illustrated with engravings by G. Baxter. London: Snow. 1840.

THE title of this work is somewhat larger than its execution. The first portion is occupied with the earlier history of maritime discovery; and the remaining, by far the larger portion, with the progress of the missionary cause under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, up to the period of the departure of the lamented WILLIAMS, to whose charming volume the present "is designed to form a companion." The title of the book is, therefore, more applicable to the former than to the latter part. That which relates to maritime discovery and the popish missions, which accompanied, or closely followed the first enterprises, is as admirably performed as it is strictly in accordance with the title; but to limit the consideration of "Christian missions" in their "mutual relations" to "maritime discovery," to the operations of one society, in one department of this society's labors, however beautifully the relation may be conducted, will scarcely be regarded as a legitimate complement of the author's announcement, although the missionary achievements in the South Seas are among the fairest trophies ever won by Christianity in the wide fields thus nobly opened up. The object may be stated with sufficient clearness in the preface, but it is not set forth in the title, which is indeed a most happy one. The first four 'parts' of the publication (the whole being divided into nine unequal parts) leave us nothing to desire; but after the proofs there given of Mr. Campbell's mastery of the whole subject, we regret the subsequent limitation of his aim, when he might have realized the much higher expectations warranted by the title, and perhaps by the dedication of his work. The ninth and last "part" is made up of biographical sketches of the principal founders of the London Missionary Society. What has all this to do with the "mutual relations?" and even were it as germane to the subject in hand, as it appears to have formed an integral part of the original plan, surely two such chapters were superseded by the recent publication of Dr. Morrison's elaborate series of sketches. To sum up incidental complaints, which are nevertheless rather complimentary than otherwise, we must also vehemently asseverate that the want of maps is a sad perplexity in such a volume. This defect may be readily supplied. Mr. Baxter's neat engravings, some of which we almost think we have seen before, will not compensate for the lack of a general chart; in addition to which we ought to have at least, an accurate map of the "South Seas," with a clear indication of the missionary settlements.

But we forget all these objections, when we return to the work itself. A book of greater interest it has seldom been our lot to meet with; we do not recollect indeed ever to have perused one with more interest. Once fairly enter upon the narrative, and the reader will find it impossible to stop—go on with it he must; and he will proceed to the end with increasing delight. The materials are abundant, and sufficiently accessible to a far less pains-taking student than Mr. Campbell; but the able manner in which he has dealt with them, entitles him to rank with the highest of his predecessors in this instructive department of literary labor, which, if we mistake not, is quite a new field to him. So thoroughly, however, is he imbued with the spirit of his noble subject—so exemplary has been his diligence and so logical his arrangement—so clear, enlightened, and important are his general principles—such are his powers of rapid condensation—such the charm of his earnestness—such the freedom and skill of his vigorous pencil—and so truly does he seize upon the characteristic features of his diversified topics—that he seems quite as much at home in this novel sphere, as when treading the more frequented paths of his profession. What he says of Columbus is not in a measure inapplicable to himself 'that he never seems 'to labor under a weight, to which his strength is not equal.'

The author thinks it necessary to refer to the delay which has taken place since this work was announced; and he hopes an apology will be found, 'in the greatness and variety of the sub-'jects, and the extent of inquiry necessary to their successful 'prosecution, and in the laborious care which has been em-'ployed in its preparation. Of the attention and application 'bestowed upon the undertaking, the author deems it not wholly 'inconsistent with sincere diffidence and due respect for the public 'thus to speak; for if he has failed, it will only deepen his hu-'miliation to avow the extent of his industry.' So far from failure the author has produced a volume of surpassing interest, and we predict for it a very extensive and enduring popularity.

Mr. Campbell dedicates his work to 'The Protestant Missionaries of all Denominations;' and we would fain hope that there is not one man among them, so lost to the dignity of their hallowed enterprise, as not to reciprocate his large, fraternal sympathy. There may not be the actual union of positive co-operation; but where the work is so immense—where all the labourers engaged in it are so few—and where the common aim is the momentous reality of salvation—undoubtedly there are, a goodly number in this devoted band of Evangelists, who feel the duty and rejoice in the privilege, of cultivating a spirit of tender interest in each other's efforts, and deep regard for each other's welfare. To affect a zeal for the conversion of the heathen, and yet to look upon the exertions of others, who may not happen to belong to

our own sect, with feelings, either of indifference or jealousy, is one of the most abhorrent exhibitions under heaven. Let more be thought of the character and less of the creed, of our fellow-laborers, and then the cause of missions will rise to its just elevation. We wish we could think with the sanguine author of the work now before us, in reference to the harmony of 'the Protestant missionaries of all denominations.' That they are essentially united in the prosecution of one great work, we must believe; but there is much reason to fear, that as yet, there is an absence, not a total, but a lamentable absence, of just and systematic mutual appreciation. Until this be realized, the spectacle of 'diversity, distraction, and confusion,' which Mr. Campbell says the European churches now present, must be reflected in all their foreign operations.

To the several societies formed to effect one grand object, through characteristical agencies, we should be able, without exaggeration to apply what Coleridge, in one of his most glowing fits of enthusiasm, said of the states of ancient Greece, while yet free and independent: 'that they resembled a collection of mirrors 'set in a single frame, each having its own focus of patriotism, 'and yet all capable, as a Marathon and Platæa, of converging to 'one point, and consuming the common foe.' But we are now referring, not so much to the respective societies, as to the missionaries: and we have not to complain so much of the conduct of dissenting missionaries towards each other, as to the conduct of what are called 'the church' missionaries towards their dissenting brethren; and this not so much when they are abroad, as when they are at home. The accursed spirit of a national hierarchy is undoubtedly the cause of all this estrangement. The very idea of one minister of the everlasting gospel regarding another with indifference or treating him with contempt! Instances of such conduct are by no means uncommon. We have recently heard of a case which sets the evil genius of a state church in (if possible) a still stronger point of view. A respecable 'church missionary,' comes home, takes orders, and obtains the presentation of one of the new 'voluntary' churches—so far so good—but he finds a regularly ordained, evangelical, dissenting minister of great talents and high character, resident in his immediate neighborhood, who had built a small chapel at his own expense, many years before the aristocracy of the place erected the new church for the missionary, and had long preached to the poor, who heard him gladly. The missionary goes round with the landlords to the cottages of these poor people, and compels them on pain of losing their employments, to go no more to the little chapel, but to attend regularly at his church; and these threats often repeated and occasionally acted upon, are but too successful! This is a fact, for the accuracy of which we

can vouch on our personal knowledge. In times like these, when the hierarchy is getting more rampant the better it is understood, we feel it to be our duty to mention such a circumstance, which is by no means a solitary instance, that we may not be imposed upon as to the real state of the case, so far as *some* of 'the Protestant missionaries of all denominations' are concerned. We hope that Mr. Campbell's emphatic warnings on this subject as well as his animating appeals, may be duly weighed in the proper quarters.

Towards the close of this energetic address to Protestant missionaries, with the whole of which we have been much struck our author contrasts two great authorities, Dr. Adam Smith and Dr. Samuel Johnson, in their respective views of the results of maritime discovery; showing how poor and low were the brightest anticipations of the economist; and how the missionares are actually realising what the moralist feared would never be attempted or regarded. We are not aware that these extracts have ever been presented in juxtaposition before. We quote the passage as a sample of the author's oratorical, not of his narrative, style. Mr. C. says the two illustrious men were "friends;" this, if we may believe Boswell, was by no means the case.

'Had Adam Smith, the great founder of the School of true Political Philosophy in Europe,—the magnitude of whose powers of comprehension, comparison, and analysis, was equalled only by his boundless subject—lived in our day, he would have seen in you the novel instrumentality appointed for realizing his own sublime and glorious anticipations respecting the results of Maritime Discovery, and the future harmony and felicity of our distracted world. His views are thus set forth in his immortal work:—

"The discovery of America, and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind. Their consequences have already been great; but, in the short period of between two and three centuries, which has elapsed since these discoveries were made, it is impossible that the whole extent of their consequences can have been foreseen. What benefits or what misfortunes to mankind may hereafter result from those great events, no human wisdom can foresee. By uniting, in some measure, the most distant parts of the world, by enabling them to relieve one another's wants, to increase one another's enjoyments, and to encourage one another's industry, their general tendency would seem to be beneficial. To the natives, however, both of the East and West Indies, all the commercial benefits which can have resulted from those events have been sunk and lost in the dreadful misfortunes which they have occasioned. These misfortunes, however, seem to have arisen rather from accident than from anything in the nature of those events themselves. At the particular time when these discoveries were made, the superiority of force happened to be so great on the side of the Europeans, that they were enabled to commit

with impunity every sort of injustice in those remote countries. Hereafter, perhaps, the natives of those countries may grow stronger, as those of Europe may grow weaker, and the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force, which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the rights of one another. But nothing seems more likely to establish this equality of force, than that mutual communication of knowledge, and of all sorts of improvements, which an extensive commerce, from all countries to all countries, naturally, or rather necessarily, carries along with it.'

'In this profound passage, philosophical sagacity has done its utmost; it can go no further. Should these means fail, philosophy knows of nothing more by which the wounds of suffering humanity can be healed. But even this lofty flight of the eagle-eyed economist has made only a small discovery compared with the disclosures of God's word. How clear are its communications on the subject of the means! How bright and glorious are its anticipations and infallible predictions, in respect of the end! Oh! how feeble and purblind is the highest philosophy in comparison with the most meagre exhibition of true Christianity!

'Where speculation ends, there revelation only begins. Having listened to the sage, let us now hear the prophet:—'The ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him; for the kingdom is his, and he is the governor among the nations.' 'He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' 'They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'

'Oh! ye servants of the Most High, whom the Prince of Peace hath sent unto the Gentiles, 'to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive the forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in him!' for you the gates of the ocean were opened, and the high-way of the waters, both to the west and to the east, explored by Columbus and De Gama. Those mighty men were your precursors. Their discoveries, at the appointed time, were of God as really as the appearance of John in the wilderness, or the conversion and appointment of the apostle of the Gentiles. Yours is the distinguished honour, to repair the wrongs of distant countries in former ages, and to recompense the 'dreadful misfortunes' which Smith truly declares to have been the accidental attendants of maritime discovery. Those nations of Europe which have so long robbed and oppressed the millions of other climes, shall not destroy for ever! The reign of their rapacity has even now approached its everlasting close! You, their Christian sons! have begun to atone for the inhuman barbarity of them, your cruel fathers! Europe—the emporium of the aggregated wealth of a plundered world—is becoming through you to that very world the fountain of life, and the source of celestial blessings!

'In preparing the earlier parts of the following volume, while sur-

veying the globe as it stands before us, and casting a rapid glance over the expanded field of missionary enterprise, we have read with an emotion, in which you will doubtless participate, the remarkable declarations, the noble views, the withering censures, of the great moralist of England, in relation to missions. The expanded benevolence, and the stupendous intellect, of Johnson have dealt with the question of maritime discovery in its missionary bearings in a manner which will redound more to his honour, in the future and better ages of our world, than all the rest of his works, whether poetry, prose, history, or biography, combined. It is, moreover, interesting to compare the English moralist with the Scotch philosopher, and to see, in this case, the great superiority of the former, although he wrote long antecedently to the latter. Smith and Johnson were friends; but they were men in all points very differently constituted; the moralist, notwithstanding his ferocity, had in his heart greatly more tenderness and benevolence than the calm, but cold and calculating economist. The following are the declarations of Johnson:—

"'In 1463, in the third year of the reign of John II., died Prince Henry, the first encourager of remote navigation, by whose incitement, patronage, and example, distant nations have been made acquainted with each other, unknown countries have been brought into general view, and the power of Europe has been extended to the remotest parts of the world. What mankind has lost and gained by the genius and designs of this prince, it would be long to compare, and very difficult to estimate. Much knowledge has been acquired, and much cruelty committed; the belief of religion has been very little propagated, and its laws have been outrageously and enormously violated. The Europeans have scarcely visited any coast, but to gratify avarice, and extend corruption; to arrogate dominion without right, and practise cruelty without incentive. Happy had it then been for the oppressed, if the designs of Henry had slept in his bosom, and surely more happy for the oppressors. But there is reason to hope, that, out of so much evil, good may sometimes be produced; and that the light of the gospel will at last illuminate the sands of Africa, and the deserts of America, though its progress cannot but be slow, when it is so much obstructed by the lives of Christians.

"'The first propagators of Christianity recommended their doctrines by their sufferings and virtues; they entered no defenceless territories with swords in their hands; they built no forts upon ground to which they had no right; nor polluted the purity of religion with the avarice of trade, or the insolence of power! What may still raise higher the indignation of a Christian mind, this purpose of propagating truth appears never to have been seriously pursued by any European nation; no means, whether lawful or unlawful, have been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages. When a fort is built, and a factory established, there remains no other care than to grow rich. It is soon found that ignorance is most easily kept in subjection, and that by enlightening the mind with truth, fraud and usurpation would be made less practicable, and less secure.'

'Brethren and fathers! you can read these awful paragraphs of the

author of the Rambler, without a blush. Such, however, was his estimate of all missions known in his day; but the dust of Johnson had slumbered eleven years in Westminster Abbey, before the formation of the London Missionary Society—an institution against which not even one of the objections of the moralist can be raised—an institution wanting in nothing which he considered necessary to the efficient prosecution of the mighty enterprise. Nor is that, although among the first, the only institution of which these things may be safely affirmed. The question of missions, like every other appertaining to religion, and the kingdom of Christ, is now more clearly understood than in the days of Johnson; and that which 'nations' had failed to do, voluntary confederacies of believers are energetically and successfully accomplishing. Means have, for more than a whole generation, 'been practised with diligence and perseverance for the conversion of savages,' while 'the light of the gospel' has at last illuminated 'the sands of Africa, and the deserts of America.' The millions of India, and of Polynesia also, awake to the voice of love. The work of missions is at length happily wrested from the hands of blood and rapine, and carried on by the saints of the Most High; kings and commercial companies begin at length to understand more clearly their own province; and it only remains now for the churches of the living God to put on their strength, and to put forth their graces.'—Ded. vii.—xiii.

Let us now turn to the work itself; the contents of which may be thus briefly summed up. The events preparatory to maritime discovery are discussed in part I., in three chapters, on the effects of the Crusades, the progress of eastern travel, and the invention of the compass. Maritime discovery in the East, under the auspices of Prince Henry of Portugal, and the subsequent discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and India, occupy the five chapters of part II. The wondrous achievements of Columbus, with the events succeeding his discovery, are related in the six chapters of part III. The Fourth part embraces the history of discovery in the South. The remaining five "Parts" are occupied with the rise and progress of the spirit of missions in England and America (a series of chapters which certain sneerers at the qualifications of missionaries would do well to study); the two missionary voyages of the ship Duff to the South Seas; a most luminous and comprehensive review of society in the islands of the South Seas previous to the introduction of the gospel; and the biographical sketches of the principal founders of the London Missionary Society, conclude this admirable work.

The noble manner in which Mr. Campbell opens up the vast regions of the earth to the enterprises of commerce and piety, has been already hinted at. On no part of the volume has he bestowed more pains than upon this, which is comprised in the first 150 pages; although every portion of it is labored with extraordinary diligence, fulness, and accuracy. His object is simple, and his method logical; but, from the nature of the subject, he is not

compelled to wander from either in order to sustain attention, or excite admiration. While he rises with the inspiring theme, and narrates, analyses, condenses, moralizes, and combines, with all the plastic power of conscious energy, he preserves the straightforward—*ad rem*—business-like character throughout. He writes to instruct as well as to please—for the many, not for the few. He writes like a man with the vigor of the olden time in his pen, which is rare to be met with in these days of sentimental affectation, and puling refinement. Our author's style is generally in accordance with his matter. If there be a fault about it, it is the fault of over much force, which earnest writers are most apt to run into; but this must not be confounded with the appearance of effort. The style seems only to want softening down a little, by the introduction of a more colloquial modulation, to be more continuously pleasing, and not one jot less effective. But, knowing well, that what is habitual is, for the most part, incorrigible, we do hereby assert, from our critical chair, that the hint we have given to this practised writer and speaker will be lost upon him. He has all the *perfervidum genius Scotorum* in his constitution.

Mr. Campbell asserts that the spirit of missions was the 'principal support' of the enterprises to Africa, India, and America. Is there, then, any such close connection between maritime discovery and Christian missions? That there ought to be 'mutual relations' cannot be doubted. Reasoning beforehand, upon probabilities, without reference to historical facts, any one duly considering of both, would say that the 'mutual relations' would be so intimate as to justify our regarding them as cause and effect. Speculating, *a priori*, it might be asked, With what under the sun can it be truly said that Christianity has nothing to do? No sooner can we suppose it to be proclaimed from heaven, than it would be absurd to conceive of any human effort, or any human interest, being exempted from its supernatural influence. A full and final revelation of the Eternal Will must mingle with every thing; it would fail in the evidence of its divinity, if it did not reflect the universality of its author. While the world shall continue to be a world of relations, so long must such a system continue to regulate, mould, and govern, with either more or less of visibility, all circumstances and all minds, and embrace the whole earth, with all her races, and all her affairs. The truth, like the primeval light, may have to do with a wide-spread chaos; but no sooner is it bade to spring forth, than it must move on the universal heart of this dark world. Its creative beam must expand and permeate, although the inquisitive eye of man may be as blind to its splendor, as his heart is insensible to its healing power. After admitting the gospel to have been sent from heaven, we shall believe that the God of Providence is the God of Grace as well;

and therefore we must believe that all the successive developments of the ways of God to man, revolve upon this Revelation as upon some great axis, on which both the terrestrial and celestial worlds will turn until the consummation of all things. The more intensely this is felt to be the case, the nearer will the Millennium be.

All the new eras, as they are called, whether in science, literature, liberty, or commerce, may be traced to Christianity, as the one grand principle, which, ever since its promulgation, is destined to move upon the face of all sublunary things. But this would be too wide a field for us now to enter upon. Let us glance at the chain of facts in support of the assertion before referred to—that the spirit of missions was the great support of maritime enterprise.

We will go no further back (although a much earlier period might be taken) than the crusades; so called from the cross borne on the right shoulder of each combatant. They began in the year 1096, and the eighth and last of 'these stupendous movements of murderous superstition,' took place in 1270. What were they, but a series of missionary enterprises? They were none other than a 'Holy War,' in the view of those dark ages. The righteousness of these expeditions is not the question. All wars, whether for rescue or conversion, are abominations. This question, however, has more sides than one; and the reader will find it comprehensively handled, in casuistical fashion, by Lord Bacon, in his fragment entitled, 'an advertisement touching a Holy War.' The founders of the new school at Oxford are forward to confess their anxiety for 'a Holy War.' Could the spirit of mere pelf, or mere cupidity, or the mere tricks of priests, or the well-balanced ardor of mere utilitarians, have stirred up the millions of high and low, kings, nobles, knights, and commonalty, to these gigantic enterprises? Let each of these classes speak out, *now;* for human nature, we are told, is the same under all circumstances—and answer 'aye' or 'no.' The depths of the human heart—the yearnings of the immortal spirit—are not such shallows and mere plash-wells of passion, as some of our *savans* pretend to have discovered. Bearing in mind the real character of these tremendous outbreaks, let us see what effects were produced by them on society. The substance of pretty nearly all that has been written on this subject whether by foreigners or Englishmen, is given by Mr. Campbell in his chapter on 'the effects of the crusades.'

'Europe, previously, had for a time been an intellectual sepulchre, till Peter the Hermit sounded his trumpet, every blast of which pierced the mighty tomb, when nations awoke, and the millions of the west started into life. This mighty moral resurrection was the source of all the great European movements on earth and ocean, in religion and politics, which immediately or remotely followed. From this ultimately sprung the glorious reformation from Popery. From this, too, political society in Europe took its regular and permanent forms of freedom, and was cast into a mould entirely new.'—p. 5.

We think with Mr. Campbell, that these expeditions conferred substantial benefits on society. Referring to maritime discovery, the point before us, he says,

'In nothing have the effects of the crusades been more remarkably manifest than in their relation to maritime discovery. Such was their importance with respect to this great subject, that, had no other benefit resulted, we should have deemed it an ample compensation for all their local and temporary mischief. Prior to the twelfth century, the seas of Europe and of Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean, were almost unknown even to those nations who dwelt on their shores. At the commencement of the wars in Palestine, France had only two or three ports on the coast of Normandy, and not one either in the Atlantic or in the Mediterranean. Even England, notwithstanding her insular position, had not made greater advances. The insignificant navigation of that age was in the hands of a very few towns on the coast of the Baltic, in Spain, Flanders, and Holland. But on the commencement of the crusades, the spirit of devotion, such as it was, uniting with the spirit of commerce, imparted a fresh and all-powerful impulse, as well as a more extended scope, to maritime operations. The hardy inhabitants of Denmark appeared in the seas of Syria; and the pirate mariners of Norway assisted in the capture of Sidon. The citizens of Lubeck and Bremen blazed in valor at the siege of Ptolemais; and from all the coasts of the West proceeded vessels, and even fleets, with pilgrims, heroes, arms, and provisions, to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the other principalities in Asia, which had been founded by the bravery of the crusaders. From this cause, navigators of all countries assembled in the seas of the East: and, under the auspices of the Cross, incipient commercial relations were established among the maritime nations of Europe. Early in the twelfth century, a fleet of Pisans, in conjunction with other Italians, assisted the Arragonese in effecting the conquest of the Balearic Islands; and the navigators of Italy thus extended their knowledge to the shores of Spain, of which their previous ignorance was so great, that they mistook the coast of Arragon for the country of the Moors. Emboldened by experience in distant voyages, the navigators of Lubeck, Bremen, and Denmark also explored the hitherto unknown coasts of the Baltic; a communication was likewise opened between the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Spanish Ocean, and the North Seas; an intense spirit of enterprize and emulation united different nations in pursuit of the same advantages; and nautical science received important accessions in almost all its branches. The configuration of coasts, the position of capes, harbors, bays, islands, and headlands, were determined; the direction of winds, currents, and tides, was observed; and considerable approaches were made towards settling and systematising the first elements of the science of hydrography.

'Naval architecture, also, during the crusades, received its first principal improvements. Vessels were more substantially constructed, while their size was likewise increased; and it is also a fact which deserves notice, that they were, for the first time in Europe, provided with several masts, in order to multiply their sails, and enable them to

shape a course upon a wind. During the same period, too, a code of maritime laws was framed which gave protection to navigators, and enabled them to reap the fruits of their lengthened enterprises and perilous toils. In short, it is more than probable that, without the crusades, the science of navigation would not, till at least a much later period, have enabled men to traverse the immense space which separates the Baltic from the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean; and far less to shoot across the mighty waste of waters interposed between the Old and the New World, an event which has proved of the utmost importance to mankind.'—pp. 6—8.

It is clear from Mr. Campbell's deduction and relation, which we regret our inability to extract entirely, that the spread of Christianity was the ruling element in the minds of prince Henry, John II., Emmanuel, and the great Columbus. Superstition might mingle with their religion; but religion, not science, still less cupidity, was the main motive in all their stupendous projects. As to the mere priests, they were as ignorant as the lowest rabble on these matters—in fact they were hostile to every one of these schemes. When the discoveries had been made, the ecclesiastics were, of course, quite alive to the aggrandisement of the holy see. After Columbus had made his first voyage, that generous pontiff, the infamous Alexander VII. conferred on the crown of Castile, vast regions, 'to the possession of which,' says Mr. Campbell, 'he was so far from having 'any title, that he knew nothing of their situation, and was ignorant even of their existence;' yet according to the vain boasting of the wicked impostor, this was done, 'out of his pure liberality, 'infallible knowledge, and plentitude of apostolic power.' The professed teachers of religion can take no credit to themselves in this cause. We are speaking of those who either patronised or accomplished these labors; and we assert that religion suggested, sustained, and supported, their efforts. Our readers will recollect the Latin prayer of Columbus, when he first landed on the shores of the new world.

'O God, eternal and omnipotent, by thy holy word thou hast 'created the heaven, and the earth, and the ocean; let thy name 'be adored and glorified, and thy majesty exalted, which has 'vouchsafed that through thine unworthy servant thy Son's sacred name may be known and proclaimed on the other division 'of the globe.'

The exchangeable faculty in man, the thirst of gain, or the mere love of plunder, rapine, and domination, could no more have originated these high enterprises than they could have projected all Europe upon the holy sepulchre. These passions are too poor, peddling, and cowardly, to undertake such immense risks. When difficulties are either partially or wholly overcome, then, and not till then, do parties influenced by such motives play their parts; and we all know

what sort of a game it is which they play on these distant stages.

Mr. Campbell has drawn in a masterly style the character of prince Henry, who was the first to open the portals of the world. We had marked several other admirable passages for quotation; but having already exceeded our limits, we must forego the pleasure of presenting them, and conclude with a portion of this sketch as a further illustration of the point referred to:

'The religion of the Prince purified his motives, and elevated his designs; and the propagation of the gospel was the sublime object of all his enterprises. It is also a fact of much importance, that, from the first, the prime supporters of the prince in Portugal were the ministers of religion. While the multitude were indifferent, and the nobles and statesmen were opposed, the clergy rose in a body and bore down the opposition; and, inspired with ardent zeal for the diffusion of what they deemed the gospel in new countries, they promoted the prince's projects of discovery to the utmost of their power. If we may rely upon the historic testimony of Caude, Garibay, Quintana, Ferreras, Yriarte, and others, Henry was urged on through life by the resistless impulse of a sincere desire to spread the gospel, according to the imperfect notions which he entertained of its nature and character. This spirit was essential to his office of Grand Master, for it was the duty of his order to use every effort 'to conquer and convert all who denied the truth of their holy religion.' However much we may deprecate conquest as a means of bringing mankind over from idolatry, the fact of the prince's motive remains the same, and that motive was indisputably a desire, both strong and pure, to diffuse a knowledge of Christianity, such as it then existed in his mind, and in Europe. It is not denied, that the desire of gold and empire may have chiefly animated the bulk of the minor agencies employed in the accomplishment of the mighty enterprises carried on by Henry, but it was certainly a principle of a higher order which animated himself; while, at the same time it is not contended, that he was insensible to the temporal good, and the political greatness of his country.

'We have now reached a period in the world's history which enables us to form a very different estimate of the prince's undertakings and achievements, from that in which they were held by his contemporaries. He was the founder of the School of Modern Navigation. He merits, in the highest degree, the praise of invention—the chief attribute and the principal test of genius. Henry had no predecessor, and he was his own patron. He drew on the resources of his capacious understanding at once for guidance and for encouragement. His rank, fortune, and royal relationship were greatly subservient to his glorious objects, and every advantage, arising from these accidents of his birth, was zealously devoted to his maritime enterprize. Forsaking the court, the cabinet, and the camp, he wedded the ocean; and in youth, mature years, and old age, hers was his whole heart, and to her he dedicated all his talents, time, and labors. This great prince was clearly raised up by heaven for the performance of the exalted part

assigned him; and when the last abode of savage man shall have been discovered, when the voice of the missionary shall have sounded the accents of mercy in every ear of the human family, when the gospel of Christ shall have subdued the earth, and blended all nations into one, when an enlightened and Christian commerce shall have waved her flag on every shore and diffused her blessings through every clime, then, an instructed, a liberated, and a regenerated world will exhibit the consummation of the work begun by Don Henry, Duke of Viseo.'—pp. 23, 24.

The work which we have thus briefly introduced to the favorable notice of our readers ought to be in the hands of every Christian philanthropist.

Art. VI. *Prophecy, Types and Miracles, the Great Bulwarks of Christianity: or a Critical Examination and Demonstration of some of the Evidences by which the Christian Faith is Supported.* By the Rev. E. Thompson, M.A., &c. 1 vol. 8vo. London: Hatchard and Son.

THERE are two methods of treating Sacred Prophecy. The one consists in selecting a given passage as clearly foreshowing a certain event or person, and then bringing into comparison with it the historical evidence which exhibits the alleged fulfilment. This method may be called that of *induction* or *detail.* It admits of almost endless variety, and becomes strong by the accumulation of individual prophecies almost without end, and by the special and striking minuteness of many of them. This method is of great importance, and, in fact, constitutes the very nerve of the argument from prophecy, in favor of a divine revelation—since, if each alleged prediction would not sustain the rigid application of such a test, the proof of its inspiration would unquestionably fail. This method of reasoning on prophecy is the one most commonly employed by Christian advocates; perhaps it has proved the most extensively successful. Its validity depends upon the three following conditions. 1. The alleged prophecy must be shown to have been promulgated prior to the event; and the longer the interval the more fully and satisfactorily is this condition complied with. 2. The alleged fulfilment must clearly and palpably answer to the terms of the prophecy, without forced or fanciful construction; and the more minute and complicated the agreement, the more satisfactorily will it fulfil this condition. 3. The nature of the event itself, at the promulgation of the alleged prophecy, must lie remote from human anticipation—and be such as could not be foreseen upon any general principles, or be inferred by the laws of probability or the light of experience. It does not follow that whatever is deficient in any one of these

conditions cannot be a true prophecy—but only that whatever possesses them cannot be a false one—but necessarily proves itself to answer to the idea of a true prediction, because it involves divine foreknowledge.

But there is another method of treating prophecy, which, if less minute and specific, is, perhaps, more commanding; and if less fitted to produce conviction of the truth of particular prophecies, is more adapted to do justice to the entire scope and design of it; and, therefore, becomes a more faithful display of its entire majesty and divinity. This, for the sake of distinction, might be named the *composite method.* If an artist had undertaken to display and demonstrate the symmetry and beauty of any ancient piece of art—say in architecture, sculpture, or painting, though he might justly select separate portions, sections, or limbs out of the whole object, and show by comparison, that they were distinguished by those excellencies which he wished to ascribe to the whole, yet this would not be the most satisfactory and complete way of treating the entire subject. It might be objected, that he had chosen a too favorable specimen, and that a comprehensive judgment could not be formed on so small a portion. And were he even to adopt the laborious process of examining each part of his complex subject separately, and of proving that every one of them was equally beautiful and perfect, still a correct judgment could scarcely be formed without a distinct review of the whole as a composition. For however excellent and perfect the parts taken separately, yet it is the whole sum of the parts in their connexion and grouping that must constitute the perfection of the entire work. Again, if we wished to prove that there existed such a thing as sensation or life in the human body, we might take an individual nerve here, and another there, and show that by their means the presence and action of external objects was perceived, and that this proved what was understood by sensation. But this method of proof would be less satisfactory than an appeal to the general evidence that the entire body is endued with the power of sensation, and that it has at its service certain organs whose functions are appropriated to different kinds of sensation. Both these methods of proof are valuable for different purposes, and so both methods of treating the argument from prophecy, that which we have called the *inductive*, and that which, to distinguish it, may be named the *composite*, are essentially necessary to complete this branch of the evidence of inspiration.

The advantages of this double method of proof are great and important—especially, since we can thereby come to the same conclusion in two different ways—we both show inspiration in each separate prophecy, and we show it of the whole scheme as comprehending an infinite variety of particulars, a vastly complicated subject, and a protracted series of ages through which

both the prophecies and their fulfilment extend. If an objector is dissatisfied with our inference from the whole constitution of the Old Testament—the prophetical, typical, and miraculous departments, and alleges that we ascribe to it a quality in the mass that does not belong to it in its particular sections, then we can take him to any isolated portion, or specific prediction, and point to its distinct and palpable verification as forming a separate and independent proof of the matter in question—just as we could prove to an objector against any work of art, that the selected portion was distinguished by that excellence and beauty which had been attributed to the whole. Then, upon the other hand, if another objector should allege of any particular section of prophecy on which an argument had been founded, that it was only a solitary case, and might be susceptible perhaps of a different construction and application—that it might be a happy guess—that the prophecy might in that case have wrought its own accomplishment, or that the agreement of prediction and fact was only one of those singular and rare coincidences which amidst the vast multiplicity of human events are sure sometimes to occur,—then we should be able to refer such an objector to the more comprehensive and complicated view of the whole scheme of sacred prophecy—we should say, 'Your solution of the case 'cannot be applied to the whole series of prophetic announce-'ments, viewed in their reference to continued fulfilment—viewed 'in their composition: your objection has no force in relation to 'that universal dovetailing and nice fitting of prediction with fact 'which we are prepared to show in the whole case of our argu-'ment, through the whole extent of time which it fills, and the 'vast variety of events and persons which it comprises.' In the case of such an objector, it is manifest, that the efficiency of our reply would arise from being able to present, not an isolated prediction, which he might excuse himself for explaining in his own way, but from a long, continuous, and harmonious series of such predictions, all fitting in time, place, and order with their fulfilments. Hence it will appear, that much of the strength of the argument from prophecy depends on the complexity, continuity, and length of the whole series. The more extended the scheme of predictions, the more complicated the facts to which they point, the more minute and extraordinary the details—the more convincing will be the entire argument arising from the fulfilment. A common jury understands the weight and value of such circumstantial evidence, and frequently, in cases of the greatest importance, they are required to decide when nothing but such circumstantial evidence can be obtained: but yet where such proof is both minute, abundant, and inclusive of a great number of particulars, they find no difficulty in making up their minds to a verdict.

Now the proof of the inspiration of sacred prophecy partakes of the nature both of demonstration and circumstantial evidence. Every separate prophecy palpably fulfilled is a demonstration of divine foreknowledge, and the whole series forms an accumulative force of demonstration, fortified by circumstantial evidence also, which no sophistry can by any possibility set aside; here is a mass of evidence concurrently and multitudinously convincing—absolutely perfect in its kind, triumphant and unanswerable.

It is necessary, however, to observe that the great argument for inspiration derived from prophecy cannot be completed without connecting with it the design and import of the typical economy. Besides what may be denominated pure and direct prophecy, there was a system of worship and religious service instituted by Moses which is alleged, by the sacred writers, to have been 'a shadow of good things to come.' The consideration, therefore, of the typical character of the ancient economy is necessarily implicated in the general subject of prophetic inspiration. In no respect can the Mosaic institution be understood or vindicated, as of divine authority, but as altogether a typical, that is a prophetical dispensation, having neither its end nor its efficiency, in the literal import of its precepts, or the mechanical performance of its singular services and ceremonies—but as deriving all its significancy from its prophetic reference to that which was to come, and on account of which it was introduced and maintained. The feast of the Passover, the tabernacle, and the ark; the temple and the altar, the ablutions and atonements, with numerous other matters, were all emblems and types, of divine appointment, and served the purpose of present instruction in the great principles, doctrines, and facts of the forthcoming dispensation, while by their adumbration of what was known only to the deep councils of the Eternal Mind, they as strictly involved prophecy and proved inspiration, as any of the express predictions which pointed in so many words to future times and events. Hence the principal and, perhaps, the most important view of the typical economy is to be found in this fact—that a divinely instituted type is a prophecy — and, consequently, that the economy of Moses, undeniably typical as it was, and as the inspired writers assume it to have been, in all its leading ceremonies, officers, places, and observances, must of necessity be viewed as one grand, living, and harmonious prophecy from beginning to end. It was a picture not of that which had been, or was—but of that which was to be, and which was yet remotely distant, when the typical dispensation was set up—a rehearsal before the world of those grand and glorious counsels of the divine Mind which in the fulness of the times were to be carried into effect, but not till they had been both symbolically acted and literally foretold.

If, then, the correspondence between the type and the antitype is so close, so obvious, so manifestly the result of previous design and arrangement, the character of inspired prophecy must pertain as strictly to the *doings* as to the *sayings* of the Old Testament; and the entire system must be one continued course of prophecy drawn out into a sacred and divine drama, which finds its reality and its counterpart in the dispensation of Jesus Christ. Here is demonstrably a designed anticipation of future times and things carried out to a vast extent, and preserving a beautiful order which cannot be mistaken. The identity of authorship is thus clearly shown. If the one is divine so is the other. If the one foreshadowed the other, it could do so only because it was the appointment of infinite wisdom—and the very fact of its pointing into distant futurity, and in such a precise and complicated manner, includes essentially all that is involved in a true prophecy emanating from the prescience of the Deity. A system which so wonderfully typified the Christian economy, which pointed to its extraordinary Founder, its leading facts and peculiar doctrines so many ages beforehand, must be of God; and must be acknowledged to have in it a most elaborate and convincing proof of inspiration. In the New Testament we find Jesus Christ making a continued appeal to the inspired authority of the Old. Moses, David, and the prophets are regularly cited as foreshowing those things which are now said to have come to pass. A sanction is given to their writings, and an admission made that they spake and wrote by divine authority. The whole life and ministry of Christ is, indeed, full of appeals to the books, to the men, and to the system. Every claim of his, some way or other, is backed by their authority. This was the most direct and efficient way of convincing his hearers; because the inspiration of Moses and the prophets was with them a settled point. Hence the sanction Christ derived from their writings, and the arguments drawn from them, in support of his own claims, were felt to be unanswerable. These weapons did infinite execution. They were drawn from a divine armoury. Reply became hopeless; objection was set at defiance—and their only resource at last was brute force.

After the death and resurrection of Christ, his apostles Peter James and John, with the proto-martyr, and after them the gifted and argumentative apostle of the Gentiles, uniformly took their stand on the inspiration of Moses and the prophets, and argued alike from the shadows of the law and the words of the prophets. All that had happened to the Messiah, so completely sinister to what might have been naturally deemed probable—especially the rejection and crucifixion of him by the very people who had been for ages sighing and waiting for his approach, was

proved to have been the subject of long antecedent prophecy. The establishment of a new kingdom, comprising both Gentiles and Jews, and the consequent extension of the promised blessing, through the seed of Abraham, to all nations, was demonstrably shown to have been marked out by the most ancient and venerated of the prophets. But besides their citation of the verbal prophecies, they continually appealed to the entire dispensation of Moses, as typical and prophetical. St. Paul, for instance, elaborately sustains the divine authority of the Christian system by showing that it answered to all that had been sketched and designed in the law—that it was but a schoolmaster until or for Christ—that in itself it made nothing perfect—but was made up of pointings, glimpses, and predictions of the better things to come.

These observations will probably suffice to show that the character of sacred prophecy is not simple and limited to oracular sayings, but complex and vast; that its subjects are neither few nor uniform, but numerous and diverse: yet, that from the complexity and variety of the entire subject there arises the most elaborate and satisfactory proof of its inspiration: and this especially by the double course it has pursued from the time of Abraham down to its cessation, thereby supplying ample and immediate means to every age, as time rolled on, of bringing some of its predictions to the test of passing events, while it remained, when Malachi closed and sealed the book, for *the fulness of the times* only to arrive, in order to make that matter of history which had occupied the earliest, the chief, and the most momentous of its oracles.

The principal epochs of prophecy have been distinctly sketched and ably illustrated by many eminent divines and scholars. They are as follows—from the fall to Noah—from the flood to Abraham—from Abraham to Moses—from the national incorporation of the Jews to the time of Samuel—and from Samuel to Malachi. Then the divine vision passed away from the church, and the ascending angel shook beams of celestial light from his awful wings, while he sounded aloud as he went up—'Behold, I will send unto you 'Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible 'day of the Lord.'

Prophecy had been the living spirit, the guardian angel of Judaism, but now its last accents from the lips of Malachi sounded like the farewell and faithful admonitions of a departing but grieved and injured friend. With all its portentous threatenings on a rebellious and unbelieving people, it still spoke of the great and gracious Messenger that was to come, and then delivered the mystic trumpet of prophecy to the immediate precursor of the Messiah—the next messenger of the Godhead commissioned to

herald the advent of the immortal King and Saviour of Zion—and thus, as Mr. Davison has beautifully observed, the oracle of ancient prophecy 'expired with the gospel upon its tongue.'

The mention of this very eminent, but comparatively neglected and unknown author, reminds us of what we have all along been intending to state—that he is the writer who has more successfully than any other treated prophecy in what we have described as the *composite* method. His able arguments and comprehensive views deserve more attention than, we fear, they have yet obtained. The work before us is a specimen of the other method of treating this important subject. Mr. Thompson proceeds entirely upon the *inductive* plan, and scarcely touches at all upon any enlarged and sweeping view of the whole subject. He has made a tolerably good selection of prophetic scriptures. He has treated most of them in too brief and general a manner for our satisfaction. In fact, his plan was much too large for a single volume. The prophecies, types, and miracles to be taken up in detail, and made to bear with any thing like conclusive force of argument upon the grand question of inspiration, demanded much more space than he has allotted to them. The following passage will enable our readers to judge of the manner in which most of that section of the work relating to prophecy is written. He is treating of Isaiah ix. 6, compared with Matthew i. 18—23.

'But the sixth verse has stronger claims on our attention, and must be minutely discussed. 'Unto us a son is born; unto us a son is given,' correspondents to the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter, and is the commencement of a new paragraph relating to the Messiah. 'And the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful.' As King of kings, as Lord of lords, and the ruler of his earthly and visible church, the government belongs to Christ. Power, Might, Majesty, and Dominion are ascribed to him, as Lord of the universe in the Scriptures and pages of the earliest Christians; and to that power, might, majesty, and dominion an endless duration is assigned. This part of the prediction is so obvious, and so verified in the New Testament, that it scarcely requires an explanation,

'Christ's first predicted name is WONDERFUL. The term in the abstract is applied to the wonderful events, in which, through the course of Israelitish history God manifested his glory; and here denotes that Messiah the great King will be elevated beyond the ordinary course of nature, both as to his being and deeds, and that his whole manifestation will be a miracle. So the angel who announced the birth of Samson assumed this title, implying that his whole being was wonderful, and incapable of definition by any human name. If we consider Christ as to his birth—as to his divine and human natures—as to the miracles he performed—as to the atonement which

he effected—as to his resurrection and ascension—it will be evident, that in every sense the title was duly applied to him.

The next title is COUNSELLOR, denoting wisdom and penetration. With this we may compare the spirit of counsel in the eleventh chapter and second verse: 'And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.' It scarcely can be denied, that preternatural wisdom and divine power are here predicted as attributes of the Messiah, and that a knowledge of the whole counsel of God is implied by the epithet. Nor is this every idea that is contained in it; for it also portrays the Messiah as the giver of the counsel, *i. e.*, to fallen man, and hence approaches closely to his character of intercessor. Some have thought that it also signifies Preserver.

'To this succeeds the MIGHTY GOD. The same expression occurs in the tenth chapter, at the twenty-first verse, and has the same form. In the former chapter the Messiah was described as Immanuel, or God-man; here, as perfect and essential God. When the angels appeared to the shepherds, they said, 'for to you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.' Christ the Lord clearly stands here for the title of MIGHTY GOD.

'The fourth title, as rendered in our version, the EVERLASTING FATHER, is scarcely definite, since it confounds the Father with the Son. The title must either mean the Father (or Author) of the future dispensation, as the Septuagint has understood it, or the ETERNAL, just as in other places the strong is called the Father of strength, —the wise, the Father of wisdom,—the peaceful, the Father of peace, and the like, according to the common Hebrew idiom. In either sense it fully applies to Christ. The argument is in favor of the latter.

'The last epithet is PRINCE OF PEACE. And to whom else could this title be so conspicuously applicable as to Jesus Christ? Was it not Jesus Christ who made peace between earth and heaven—between a disobedient race and an offended Father? Did he not, when in this world, bring peace and consolation, in the strictest sense, to those, to whom before there was no peace? Did he not raise up the fallen hands, and brace up the weak knees? Did he not comfort the widow, and bring joy to those who had none to help—none to look unto? And did he not, after he was cruelly and spitefully treated by his enemies, send his holy Comforter to perform those same offices? To whom, then, could these distinguished appellations be claimed, but by Jesus Christ, the Son of God?'—pp. 96—100.

The work is scarcely fitted to the conviction of doubters and unbelievers. The most satisfactory instances of divine foreknowledge, such as are carried out into minute application, and have received indubitable fulfilment, are very inadequately treated, while one most distinguished series of prophecies, those by Christ himself, are entirely passed over. We cannot say that the author has added any thing to the stock of argument already accumu-

lated upon this subject, or that he has materially elucidated or strengthened any previously existing. We have not observed throughout his pages any reference to that distinguished work of a member of his own Church already alluded to, and which every man ought thoroughly to make his own before he attempts to publish on the bearing of prophecy upon the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.

Art. VII. *Narrative of a Journey from Caunpoor to the Boorendo Pass in the Himalaya Mountains, via Gwalior, Agra, Delhi, and Sirhind.* By Major Sir WILLIAM LLOYD. And Capt. ALEXANDER GERARD'S *Account of an attempt to penetrate by Bekhur to Garoo, and the Lake Manasarowara; with a Letter from the late* J. G. GERARD, Esq. *detailing a visit to the Shatool and Boorendo Passes, for the purpose of determining the line of perpetual snow on the southern face of the Himalaya, &c. &c.* Edited by GEORGE LLOYD. 2 vols. London: Madden and Co. 1840.

WE have inserted the title of these volumes in full, long as it is, because it at once presents to the reader a bird's-eye view of the extensive and important districts visited by the travellers, and of the objects for which they encountered the difficulties attaching to so adventurous an expedition. As to the difficulties, indeed, they were on the whole fewer than might have been expected; and although there is a pleasure in an imaginative ascent by means of the descriptive page, of lofty mountains and snow-covered heights, from the securities of a quiet fire-side, many will probably sympathize with the kindling emotion of envy with which we feel ourselves precluded from the real journey amidst the wild sublimities of nature.

Assuredly, the love of adventure is an inherent passion, an instinctive sense in man; and is conferred by the author of our being to answer some valuable purposes. It is by this the antagonist instinct of fear, also given to answer a useful end, is overcome. The latter operates as a salutary check to the former, so as to prevent its becoming absolutely wild and ungovernable, thus frustrating its original purpose by a self-destructive power. It seeks in the preservation of life the means of extending discovery, and of perpetuating usefulness. This is strictly as we have said, an *instinctive* emotion, of which even during its most potent operation, the adventurer himself has little consciousness; for in this pursuit we believe that most of the class risk drowning or breaking their necks with as much readiness as any of the human species. The boldness of the few, however, minis-

ters to the instruction and the comfort of the many. The one class have their pleasures in intrepidity and fame; the other theirs in the enlargement of knowledge, or in the fruits of commercial speculation. Such is the eternal circle of things; or rather, such is the wise ordering of the framer of our constitutional varieties, and of the great scheme of a perfect and universal providence.

Besides the mere instinctive passion to which we have referred, man has an insatiable desire to know what is unknown, and to explore the vast and the distant. We see it in very infancy; and it breaks forth vehemently in childhood. If the boy cannot scale the heavens, he will send up his kite to those unapproachable skies; if he cannot make or buy the telescope, he will pay his penny for a glance at the moon or the planets through the long tube that often meets you by the way-side of the city, erected by some needy man, and always clustered about by curious gazers; if he is to be penned down in his school-days at the desk and to the form with his grammar and arithmetic, he will be sure to ask for an excursion in the holidays; and out of them he will slip into his pocket, and steal furtive glances at the book of tales or travels that lead him into fairy land, carry him to the stormy ocean, the far off island, or the mountain summit. The same feelings operate to impel us to the distant in time as well as the distant in space; and hence we delight in from our birth, as well as cherish by our education, the romance of history, which brings to us cities, sieges, battles, revolutions, earthquakes, shipwrecks, and all great vicissitudes and events.

So long as we can remember the greatness of the Himmalaya range, always hazy, if we may so express it, like a dim but mighty shadow of magnificence upon the horizon of our thoughts, we have wanted to explore the great *something*, the outline of a vastness that seemed to be there, and especially when told what little things were Ætnas, and even Pyrennees and Alps in the comparison. Fancy has often pursued its rapid course over the pathless deep; stretched along the wide-spreading plains of India, and bounded up the steep declivities to the snow-covered heights, and eternal solitudes of this celebrated region. We have often sought to know the elevation, and the characteristics of this wonderful part of the physical structure of our globe—how far up vegetation extends—how far human or animal life—what sounds and echoes, what sights, what cloud or what sunshine are there; well, then, we have now some good information, and shall endeavour to show the inquisitive reader what he may expect in perusing these volumes.

Major Lloyd started from Caunpoor about 638 miles from Calcutta. After some weeks he traversed the plain in which stands the town of Saneeput, in view of the Hurdwar hills. This plain

is remarkable as the site of two battles, which decided the fate of two of the greatest powers of India. The first was in 1525 between the small army of Sultaun Baber, and the large force of the Patan emperor of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodi, in which the latter was killed, and his army defeated and dispersed; the Patan dynasty overthrown, and the Mogul established. The second was in 1761, between the Mohammedan force under Ahmed Shauh Abdaullee, of Candahar, and the Mahrattas, under Bhaw Sidasiva. Abdaullee invaded India six times. This contest almost annihilated the Mahrattas, who, had they conquered, would have seized the Punjaub, and circumscribed their territory only by the Indus. But we hasten on to the chief objects of curiosity.

'The ascent between Syree and Semla was very great, but the road was broad and excellent, though leading over and along the sides of high mountains. The enormous vallies and dells, although they were precipitous descents of 1000 and 2000 feet were occasionally well cultivated, and also abundantly irrigated by streamlets frequently conducted from remote springs. Many of the mountains around Semla, which are the mere vassals of the mighty Himala, would be the boast of other countries, as Wartoo, or Attoo, 10,673 feet, Jungala, between 10,000 and 11,000 feet, the larger Shallee, 9623 feet, the Choor Pahar 12,149 feet, and Jukkoo 8,120 feet. Over these the Snowy Range extends from N. 30 deg. W. to N. 70 deg. E., embracing consequently an angle of 100 deg. The general appearance of this mass of snow is that of a wide undulating plain, from which peaks arise in every imaginable shape. Their general height is from 16,203 to 25,749 feet, from 1,000 to 10,000 feet of which is covered with eternal whiteness, the disputed line of perpetual snow on the southern side of this first high chain being 15,000 feet. Between these peaks are the passes, which lead into Koonawr and Chinese Tartary, the principal of which are those nearest to us, as the Shatool 15,555 feet, the Yoosoo 15,877 feet, and the Boorendo 15,171 feet. This first barrier, however, is but the screen to other assemblages of higher mountains, which again are still the inferiors of the world-like bulwarks on the left bank of the Indus, from whence they slope to the steppes of Tartary, and are, at length, lost in the immeasurable deserts of Cobi, and the deep woods and countless marshes of Siberia. The summits of this highest range have been estimated, upon good grounds, by my most adventurous and intelligent friends, J. G. Gerard, and A. Gerard, who alone have explored many portions of these wild recesses, to rise to the enormous elevation of 30,000 feet. Within these towering bounds, the general appearance of the region is mournful and barren. There, surrounded by the most gigantic pinnacles of the universe, Sublimity sits fettered to Desolation. It awes the mind!'—pp. 141—143.

At Mahhasoo, where there is a small temple of Chinese architecture built of wood and stone, dedicated to Siva, and situated on a peak above the road, our travellers had attained the elevation of 9078 feet. On each side of the crest whence the peak rises

are dells from 1500 to 2000 feet deep, filled with forests of the finest cedars, oaks, and other trees. Many of the cedars are from thirteen to fifteen feet in circumference, and from 120 to 140 feet high. Their tents were pitched upon a fine green sward, enamelled with beautiful flowers, and having the appearance of a large, costly Persian carpet.

'But that which engrosses our attention most, is the far-stretching snowy range which, through the summits of Wartoo, the Choor Pahar, and Sirgool are all hooded in snow, and appear on a level with us, nevertheless fascinates our eyes. We are now completely bosomed in the mountain region which extends from these peaks of everlasting snow, to the fevered plains of Sirhund, which we see from this lofty station, and whilst enjoying the refreshing breeze, pity those whom their heat enfeebles by its intensity. But let us turn to the Himala. The three mighty peaks of Junonotree, bearing S. 88° E., shoot up from the snowy chain to an immense altitude. Two of them are connected by a ridge, the third is at some distance, isolated and black, contrasting singularly with the hoary desert around it. Their elevation respectively is 21,155 feet, 20,122 feet, and 20,916 feet. Other peaks which we presumed to be above the source of the Ganges, are still further east, and on that side close the view. The Shahool, Yoosoo, and Boorendo Passes, though actually more than forty-five miles distant, appear close to us, such is the delicate purity of the atmosphere. Beyond this first barrier we see the sacred summit of Kailas or Raldung, a precipitous, black, triangular pyramid, scantly streaked with snow. Its height is 21,411 feet.'

—pp. 151, 152.

At Sooraan they found hot springs near the bed of the Sutluj. They issue from the side of a dell through which rolls an impetuous stream. This torrent forms a fine cascade, bounding over a narrow rent in a mass of grass, and falls about forty feet. There are five springs, with fifteen paces. The principal one gushes from a projecting rock close to the waterfall, and runs into a small artificial well of mica-slate, made for pilgrims to bathe in. The water is clear, hot, smoking, and has a saline taste, but no smell. The pebbles over which it passes are coated with ferruginous matter, and the spot whence it issues is thickly incrusted with a white salt. The hot vapour has decomposed the rock above, depositing particles of a yellow substance, like sulphur, but emitting no sulphureous smell. The quantity must be great, as a brass vessel whose contents were equal to 2lbs. was filled from the principal rill in seven seconds.

The deepest interest of the work commences at the fifth chapter, where the preparations are begun at Koteghur for the journey to the Boorendo Pass; when the party were about to travel through wildness and desolation, and along the most dangerous paths. They, that is, Captain A. Gerard and P. Gerard, Major Close,

Lieut. Osborne, and Major Sir W. Lloyd, set off on the 5th of June from Sheyl, which is situated at an elevation of 8000 feet. Their track lay through a magnificent forest of cedars and pines; and during their march they saw the Himmalayan peaks towering up from both banks of the Sutluj like freshly riven masses of alabaster. We can easily imagine, as it is stated, that nothing less than seeing them in their native, pure atmosphere, can give a conception of their exceeding brightness. In the woods they found the wild red rose. The prevailing rock was mica-slate. Therm. 59° Fahr. at Koteghur; highest 74° at Sheyl, lowest 60°. From the Punnuoul Pass they descended 2840 feet, sometimes gradually, sometimes abruptly to Rooroo, passing through much cultivation, and remarking several villages in the midst of corn fields. At this place the valley of the Pubbur is about a mile in width. Looking towards the Himmalaya, the mountains sweep down to the river, with their terraced bases girded with yellow crops, in which are numerous hamlets; dark pines patch the slopes; the ravines are filled with bushy woods or covered with exquisite green sward, and through the midst the Pubbur rolls along with a sound that harmonizes with the scene. Above this rise mountain ranges of a deep purple, and capped with snow.

'We find the valley of the Pubbur decrease very perceptibly in width as we advance, Our road, which was as usual a mere foot-path, followed the river closely the whole way, nor had we ascents or descents that were at all considerable to encounter; but when opposite to Buthoolee, the crags descended abruptly into the current. We stopped in surprise; the guide, however, picked his way along their precipitous sides, and we followed with great caution. A little further, the rock overhung the river, which tore its way through the glen with a thundering noise, and bedazzled with spray; here the path was lost. Looking anxiously at the bare block, we perceived little notches, large enough for our toes to rest upon. Pulling off our shoes and jackets, we embraced the smooth mass as widely as we could, stretched out our legs to secure the precarious footing, and thus passed this dangerous spot with the utmost ease. One of the camp-followers, we learned afterwards, was not so fortunate. He fell into the fearful chasm, and was drowned. Peace be with him! for I have travelled sufficiently to feel, that of what creed soever we may be the followers, we are not the less brethren. When safely over, the guide pointed out another path, which led along the cliffs, 800 feet above us. It was by this that most of our party and the baggage came.'—pp. 223, 224.

Although we have marked several other passages for quotation, we must suppress them, and introduce our readers at once to the chief object of curiosity. They will doubtless thank us for a pretty long extract.

'13th June. Camp at the Leetee Torrent, 4 m. 4 f. Early this

morning the weather became clear, and I left my fellow-travellers in the tent, and determined to climb to the summit of the western peak, above the Pass. I experienced much labor in this attempt, as the fragments over which I clambered were but moderately firm. However I persevered, and at length stood on the top. Thy sky was intensely blue, and of a receding vastness. The air was stirless, cold, and oppressively pure. From here I saw the snow-clad ranges of the further Himmalaya, running from N. W. to E., an assemblage, as it were, of all the mountains of the world. To the N. E. the twin peaks of the Purgkeeool, in Chinese Tartary, rose to the skiey elevation of 22,488 feet. It was distant fifty miles. Further to the east, and about ten miles from hence, I recognized Raaldung, one of the pinnacles of the Kaailas, whose height is 21,103 feet, while two others, from the same mass of splintered and bare pinnacles, were 19,990 feet and 18,068 feet. The Kaailas group is above a hamlet called Rispee. Seven thousand feet below me was the glen of the Sutlug, filled with a glowing blue etherial mist, and N. N. E., at the confluence of the Buspa with this river, distant nine miles, was the village of Broang. The descent to it from the Boorendo is by a gloomy ravine, the upper part filled with snow, the lower crowded with woods. But the object that rivetted my thoughts was an immense pyramidical peak almost north, on the stupendous barrier of eternal snow beyond the Sutlug near the Manerung Pass. It stood erect and alone in hoary majesty, like one of the superior powers of the host of white-robed pinnacles around it. The spot I was upon was a heap of decaying rocks, bound together slightly by a withered mossy soil, and a few abortive lichens. The gneiss blocks of which it was composed, were very large. These masses are, as I have already mentioned, constantly breaking away from the firmer crags, and tumbling thundering into the abyss beneath. The snowy peak, to the west of the one I was upon, was separated by a frightful chasm. It is a ghastly dislocation.

'The eastern summit, above the Pass, is higher than the western, more precipitous and compact, but crumbling away, nevertheless, by the ceaseless gnawing of the frosts. The Pass itself is about fifty paces wide, strewn with the shattered rocks which have scaled from its sides. The descent from it to the Sutlug, is so steep, that we did not choose to venture upon the snow-bed, which fills a part of the ravine, lest we should have had an unnecessary slide of three or four hundred yards, with the toil of re-ascending. Looking, but it was not pleasing to do so, to the south, I saw the mountains near the Choor Pahar, and had it not been for the haze in that direction, I should have seen the distant plains.

'I sat down on the summit of the peak. I was alone, and how elevated! The prospect on all sides so vast, that it seemed boundless. Here, indeed, desolation, veiled in mystery, and surrounded by invisible but dreadful ministers, reigned supreme, throned on the sepulchre of countless snow-storms. Above me was the deep splendor of the heavens, around me the winning beauty of serenitude, beneath me the all-gorgeous magnificence of the world! I felt that I was among the lowest under the glowing sapphire footstool of the Beneficent. How

infinite the mind! how finite the frame. The mind infinite for it embraced easily the vision of the earth; the frame finite, for what was I, compared with that which I beheld above, around, and beneath! The pride of human nature broke, and the heavenliness of humility was felt. Alas! why cannot all men smile when they pray; rejoice, when they meet; and for the briefness of this existence, enjoy the gladness of this creation? All that can make us happy has been bestowed on us, without scant or tithe, and the waters of life flow now from the cleared source. Even eternal life has been revealed from His hallowed lips! Away with the craft of worldly consecration! Let man bow his stately form in humility to his Creator, and, in the stedfastness of confidence, trust to His paternal mercy, and rejoice in vitality!

'After these reflections, I arose, and bidding farewell to that distant realm of mountains, which I should never see again, descended, slowly, to my companions.

'Although the Pass is within the limit of perpetual snow on this face of the Himala, we saw several small birds about it, one of which resembled that universal favorite, the robin-redbreast.

'I trust it was an excusable vanity, but I was very much pleased that I had been the first European who had ever stood on the summit of the western peak of the Boorendo, as well as at having attained a greater elevation than Mont Blanc, besides having had a glimpse of the scarce known countries of the Norther Himala.'—pp. 245—249.

We cannot, however, allow this passage to go without remark. Having ourselves visited some of the splendid scenery and prodigious elevations of our globe, we can fully sympathize with the enthusiastic expressions which naturally issue forth amidst the overwhelming magnificence of nature; yet we must not sacrifice or seem by silence to sacrifice the interests of truth. The heavenliness of a real humility is, after all, not to be learned on the mountain top, but at the foot of the cross; nor should persons be led by such representations to imagine that a sense of insignificance, and a moral feeling of unworthiness before God which enters into the essence of the Christian grace, are identical in principle and spirit. How many are humbled under a sense of their littleness who never bowed under a conviction of their guilt? A strange confusion of ideas surely must have suggested the question, 'Why cannot all men smile when 'they pray?' To us the inquiry is hardly intelligible. Prayer is the expression of ardent desire for forgiveness and salvation, intermingled with profound adoration at the footstool of the Eternal. That a believer in the Son of God may be supposed to smile or cherish the cheerfulness of hope when he prays is doubtless theologically true; but that is not the allusion here. It has in fact little or no meaning, and is probably introduced for the sake of the antithesis; but we remark upon it because mere travellers and men of the world must not be allowed to insinuate

error or utter as religion that which is but a vague and unmeaning generalization. The same objection applies with even increased force to the concluding sentences of the aforesaid paragraph. The infinite Being, it is true, in one sense, 'dwelleth 'not in temples made with hands,' like a local divinity, as if he could be restricted by space or limited by time; but from the days when he consecrated by his presence and blessing the Bethel stones and altars of the patriarchs to those of the Mosaic tabernacle and temple; and from Solomon to the period of unfolding the incarnate mystery, when with two or three gathered together in his name the Saviour promised to dwell, the sanctuaries of religious worship have been erected by his authority and pervaded by his glory. We can accompany the traveller, and worship with him in the great temple of nature, and amidst its inexpressible splendors: but we must ask him, instead of disparaging a higher devotion by a false estimate or a self-flattering sentimentalism, to accompany us into the superior and more spiritual temple of truth and religion. Both, indeed, are the workmanship; both the dwelling-place of Deity. These observations have been made, and we may even say extorted from us, for the sake of guarding our young friends especially, against being misdirected by the mere sentimentalism into which travellers are frequently betrayed; and whose valuable communications we wish to see freed from those blemishes which prevent our otherwise almost unqualified approval. If we should be asked, is a book of travels, then, to be like a book of piety? We answer, yes—in this respect, that the principles of religion are to be upheld when referred to, and nothing that is sound in doctrine must be even indirectly impugned. We verily believe that historians like Gibbon, and travellers like Volney (but in the class of the latter we by no means include our author) have done as much or more injury to the truth than many of the most vehement and open patrons of infidelity or persecution. It may be thought that we have read a long lesson on a brief point. Be it so; for we wish it to be lasting, and not to require repetition.

The second volume of this work differs considerably in character from the first; being less occupied in search for the picturesque than in pursuit of science. It is not, however, without its distinct references to the grand and romantic in nature; but is written in a less ambitious style, and more definitely for higher objects than those of adventure. The author is Captain Alexander Gerard; to whose narrative, as the title states, is appended a letter from the late J. G. Gerard, Esq., detailing a visit to the Shatool and Boorendo Passes. We have a valuable series of barometrical measurements of the mountain heights, together with botanical and geological references. Human nature also has its share in the narrative. We must introduce a short passage occurring in a note on

the sixty-first page, because it contains that kind of general information respecting the Himmalayan range, which the scientific inquirer would most estimate, and furnishes that kind of knowledge for which books of travel are most permanently valuable. It is by J. G. Gerard.

'It is a general observation, that the south-west and west aspects of mountain ranges, are precipitous and rugged, while their opposite faces slope less rapidly, and spread out over a great extent of country. These characters are peculiarly striking throughout the various ramifications of the Himalaya, and no where so remarkable as in the central ridge itself. The traveller, in tracing the streams to their source in the snow, observes that the north-west exposures of the ridges present bold and inaccessible masses, heavily wooded, and thick set with plants, till the bare rock and accumulations of snow only stop their growth. On the other hand again, to the south-east, the mountains soften into a sloped and regular surface, where trees are less active, and generally cease to reach their level; on the northern faces, the soil affords the richest pasturage, the limit of which seems only to be regulated by the line of congelation. It is this disposition of the rocks, or what geologists call the dip of the strata, that forms those inclined planes which so much astonish the traveller; the angle of the slope varies from 25° to 55°, they fall down from the highest crests in one pure sheet of snow, and produce an effect which language fails to describe.'—p. 61.

Mention is made of the mildness of the climate, the productions of the soil, and the social character of the people at Soongnum, which is in the Purgunnah of Shooe, on the right bank of the Sutluj, having four divisions once belonging to an independent chief. Most of the people of Shooe, or Shooung, are traders to Ludak, Garoo, and Roodok. They take the produce of the plains, such as matchlocks, sabres, sugar, tobacco, cloth, chintz, indigo, copper, pewter, paper, iron, &c., and bring back salt and wool, some gold-dust, tea, borax, and shawl wool. The salt and borax are dug out of lakes which are numerous in Chinese Tartary and Ludak. All the rivers abound in gold-dust, which is separated by washing the sand in a running stream, and stirring it till all the lighter particles float away. The remainder is dried, and the gold, which is often in grains so fine that the eye cannot distinguish it from the sand, is detected by quicksilver, mixing all together, and observing the particles that are tinged with the metal, which is afterwards evaporated by a heat sufficient to dissipate the mercury in fumes. Gold is found in the ground at Dango Bookpa, to the south-east of Mapang, twelve days; and lately a new mine, producing it in large pieces, was discovered between Goongeoo lake and Mansurowur, but was immediately shut up by orders from Lahassa.

The author gives the Tartars a good character. He says that at first he thought less of them than of their neighbours, but they improved on further acquaintance; and his conclusion ultimately was, that they are the frankest and most honest race of people in India. They possess neither craft nor ingratitude, and they may be trusted, he says, to the world's end. Thieves and robbers, the indigenous inhabitants of mountain-regions, are unknown; and the same character belongs to the interior tracts of Busahir, or to that portion of the interior called Koonawur, lying within the snowy mountains.

We shut the volumes with thanks to the authors for the entertainment and instruction they have afforded us. Many parts of their narratives have, indeed, already appeared a long time ago in publications, which are scattered, ephemeral, or expensive; and we are glad they have been re-issued with important additions and in the connected and complete manner in which they now appear. We hope they will prove but an introduction to other communications; for first journeys are often like first translations, which, however careful and generally correct, are improved by revision. Besides, future adventurers may be able to traverse these mighty regions more extensively; and supply us with new stores of knowledge and amusement. We heartily wish success to all who hereafter climb the lofty rocks of the Himmalaya range, and dip their foot in eternal snows, to minister to the enjoyment of our winter evenings.

ART. VIII. *A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Chivers Everett, late of Reading.* By H. J. CRUMP, Chaplain of the Mill Hill Grammar School. London: Hamilton, and Co.

THE author of this interesting volume has proved himself every way well qualified to do justice to its subject; and that subject is one of no ordinary excellence; requiring for the just, discriminating, and harmonious exhibition of its various features, accurate knowledge, derived from the best sources of information; warmth and yet truth of coloring, produced by the intimacy of friendship and the exercise of a sound judgment, assisted in its decisions by a good taste and a refined moral perception of the good and the beautiful. In all these respects Mr. Everett has been peculiarly fortunate in his biographer, and not less so is the biographer in having to draw his admirable portraiture from an original with whose principles, spirit, and tastes, he is so thoroughly imbued.

THOMAS CHIVERS EVERETT was born at Bull Mills, in the neighbourhood of Warminster, Wilts, on the eighteenth of July,

in the first year of the present century. His early life was spent beneath his father's roof, who was an extensive clothier. A pious and judicious mother watched over those years which are so peculiarly committed to maternal superintendence; and the few fragments of the history of this period which remain sufficiently evince that a mother's duties were faithfully discharged. As a boy he was distinguished for peculiar sedateness and sobriety of character, choosing generally the more quiet pastimes, and fond of solitude and of books. In September, 1809, he entered the excellent seminary of Mr. Bullar, Southampton, of whom he ever after spoke in terms of the highest respect, and to whose judicious plans of instruction, he attributed under God the foundation both of his intellectual and moral attainments. He left Southampton at the close of 1815, and in the commencement of the following year lost his excellent father, at the comparatively early age of fifty. This severe bereavement, young and unexperienced as he was, threw upon him the care of the business and the family. He immediately assumed the place of his deceased parent, and displayed a gravity and a wisdom far beyond his years. His mother more than once remarked this to others. She said on one occasion: 'Thomas is my son, but he has been more than a son to me. I never thought that I should have found a son and a husband in one person.' From the sixteenth to the eighteenth year of his age, he was much confined to the house by a weakness of the spine, and a general delicacy of health. A Christian friend said to him on this occasion: 'Sir, you have borne the yoke in your youth.' 'Oh no,' he replied, 'I have only tasted the cup.' It was during this lengthened illness, that he was led for the first time in his own apprehension, cordially and thoroughly to embrace the offers of divine mercy. Of the commencement and progress of this momentous change in his principles and character, he gave a very interesting and satisfactory account at his ordination. It was towards the close of this period when about eighteen years old, that his religious views acquired decision and permanency. From the death of his father in the fifteenth year of his age, there were two points to which his mind perpetually turned, and from which it was never for a moment diverted. The first was the payment of his father's debts, who, in consequence of a series of misfortunes had died insolvent. This he hoped to accomplish at the death of an uncle from whom he expected an ample legacy. The second object which he contemplated was, the solemn and unreserved dedication of himself to the service of the Lord in the ministry of the word, either in home or foreign labor; but the latter was always preferred, if the state of his health and the circumstances of his family admitted of such a choice. It is believed that in this determination his motives were among the highest and the purest that ever dwelt in the

bosom of fallen man.' Placed at the head of his mother's establishment, he became possessed of some considerable influence in his native village, which the weight of his character greatly augmented, and he began immediately to employ it for the benefit of those around him. He circulated tracts, visited the sick, and taught reading and writing to those who were willing to learn. At a small Baptist Chapel, the only one in his immediate neighbourhood, he constantly attended, and there among the children of the Sabbath School, he made his first public efforts for the instruction of others. 'The solemn sense of responsibility which he felt whenever he delivered God's word, always prevented him from uttering any thing which had not been the subject of previous meditation; and he esteemed it a task of unusual difficulty to speak rightly to the young.'

From the eighteenth to the twenty-third year of his age, he was engaged in agricultural pursuits; and living in comparative obscurity, but few incidents of any importance gave variety to this period of his life. He was induced after mature inquiry and reflection to join the Congregational Church at Warminster; and in September of the same year entered Hoxton as a student for the ministry. Prior to this period, a valuable living in the establishment was offered to him which he respectfully declined. The question of establishments he had well sifted, and there was in his character an utter contempt of those golden lures, by which such multitudes are fatally decoyed.

What were his impressions and feelings on entering upon the arduous engagements of a college life we learn by the following extract from a letter to his uncle at Warminster.

'I hope I feel more of the importance of the work on which I have entered, since my residence here. I look forward with anxiety, while sometimes hope predominates and sometimes fear. I would be dependent on a superior power; but I find that unbelief loves to dwell on the weakness of the instrument rather than on the omnipotence of the great agent. I hope you remember me in your best moments. I am sometimes afraid that places of public education are not so often mentioned in prayer, by Christians and ministers as they should be. We are here exposed to many and peculiar temptations; and I am sure that unless constant divine aid be abundantly afforded us, we shall disappoint the expectations of our friends, and the hopes of the churches.'

His biographer, who knew him most intimately, and was with him through the whole of his academical course, describes his influence over his fellow students as commanding and most beneficial in its nature. He observes of him at this period, 'Mr. Everett had none of the vices of the student. With mental powers which were of no common order, and which fitted him for any situation in the church of Christ, there were none of those follies

and eccentricities which so frequently throw a shade over the early years of ministerial life. His piety was eminent, and was never for a moment clouded by the peculiar temptations of college life. His conduct was most exemplary; so exemplary that one of his fellow students thought it the result of a singularly successful effort to *maintain a character in the house.* But a greater mistake could scarcely have been made. Having heard that such an opinion had been expressed, he seemed surprised that any one should give him credit for such a character; and said, that 'he was not conscious of any *habitual* motive, but a desire to do the will of God; and thought any other motive wholly inadmissible as a rule of conduct.' His conduct as a student was as praiseworthy as his conduct as a Christian was exemplary.

'His habits were not loose and changing. His plans having been maturely considered and arranged, were adhered to with an inflexible decision, which sometimes looked like pertinacity; but it was the pertinacity of principle. Loiterers and vagrants are to be found in every community; but his study was not open to them; and those who had wearied the energies of their minds, and were seeking recreation, frequently found that his tale of labour was yet incomplete. He never omitted, or gave but a superficial attention to the lectures of the tutors, under the idea that they were unnecessary, or not immediately connected (as some have too hastily supposed) with the sacred functions of a minister of Christ; and his proficiency therefore was of no doubtful or partial kind. His correspondence with his relatives and friends, while he pursued his studies at Hoxton, proved his enlightened piety, his intellectual vigor, and his entire consecration to the work upon which he was about to enter. His last act before he quitted this seminary more than sustained his high character as a man of superior moral worth, and shows what an ennobling principle justice is when refined and sanctified by religion.

'In the month of May, a short time before he left Hoxton, his maternal uncle, Mr. Noah Chivers, of Bath, died, and left him a considerable legacy. This property, as was intimated in an earlier part of the narrative, he had nobly resolved to devote to the payment of his father's creditors. Eight thousand pounds, on every ground of honor and of justice exclusively his own, was cheerfully sacrificed to rescue the memory of a parent from the reproach of a censorious world. He had many calculating and prudential advisers on this occasion; and every argument was employed in order to convince him that an act of generosity so costly, would be an injustice to himself, would impoverish the collateral branches of his family, should the state of his health forbid, as it was too probable, a matrimonial alliance; that it could neither be claimed nor expected by the creditors, and would certainly be misinterpreted by the world. His reply was brief, straightforward, and

pronounced with a firmness of tone, which showed that in his own judgment it was unanswerable. 'That it was an act of the plainest duty—an act for which no credit was due to him—that his father was expecting this money, and with it would have met his pecuniary obligations; and that the mere transfer of this sum into his hands in consequence of his father's death, ought not to alter the channel in which it was intended to flow.' This explanation of the matter, if it failed to satisfy his friends, certainly redeemed the act from any charge of Quixotism, or forgetfulness of the claims of himself or of his relatives. It is but proper to add, that his deceased sister, and his surviving brother also, contributed, though in a small proportion, towards this object.'

As the honesty of the world goes, this was indeed a noble instance of doing justly, and though it ought to flow from the honestum which the light of nature teaches, and conscience approves; yet, in the case of Mr. Everett, there was superadded a sacred regard to the precept of his divine master, 'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them;' and we know not how any person who has really imbibed the spirit of this injunction, derived from the authority of the Being whom he professes to love and to obey, can act differently. But alas! the annals of the transactions of trade and commerce afford lamentable evidence, that Christians, so called, have found out another standard by which to determine what is right, or at least by which to regulate their conduct, than this simple rule of Christianity, which every man can understand, and which is of universal application. That the creditors on this occasion appreciated the high-minded principle of Mr. Everett's conduct, we have evidence in the following entry, copied from the cash book of one of them, the late William Hubbard, Esq., of Crockerton:—

'To Nathaniel Everett's Estate, in discharge of my claim thereon, by the payment of his sons, Thomas Chivers, and John Everett. After the united arguments and conversations of their relatives and friends, urging every prudential motive why it should be only done in part; still their high sense of honour, and filial regard to their father's memory extinguished every other consideration, and induced them magnanimously to resolve to discharge in full every debt proved on their Father's estate, although it required the sacrifice of the whole of the legacy of one brother, and a great proportion of the legacy of the other brother, left them by their maternal uncle, the late Noah Chivers, Esq., of Bath, to the extent of £10,000. So noble an act, exceeding every thing of the kind that I ever heard of I cannot refrain from thus particularly recording . . 362 10 0

That human nature may not be too much elated by its alliance

with excellence so bright and beautiful, it is right that we subjoin the contrast. In more than one instance when Mr. Everett paid down the principal, he was coolly asked for the interest!

Brief was the period of Mr. Everett's stated labors as a pastor. The sphere of those labours was the highly respectable and populous town of Reading. In 1827, he entered upon his charge as co-pastor with the Rev. A. Douglas, over the church assembling in Broad Street. The invitation was unanimous, which had considerable influence in inducing him to comply with it. Addressing Mr. Crump, who had recently settled under similar circumstances, he says, 'Among other calls for gratitude, this is one with respect to us both;—God has employed us as instruments in uniting two divided churches. To his name be all the praise.'

Another trait of his disinterestedness is disclosed in his answer to the call which conveyed to him the wishes of the people and their venerable pastor. 'As to your assurances of consulting my comfort, I fully rely on them. I do not wish any stipulations (the principle of equality being understood) that might give to an union so sacred the aspect of a commercial transaction. My temporal support I leave in the hands of Him, who has inclined your hearts generally to desire the continuance of my very imperfect services among you. That unanimity, indeed, including the wishes of your respected pastor, has been the most powerful inducement to my acceptance of your invitation. May the spirit of holiness and love increase our mutual candour and affection." In less than three years this union, so happily commenced, and opening to the youthful evangelist the brightest prospects of usefulness and comfort, was terminated by the rapid decline of his health. Even previous to his ordination, he thus writes, 'I move heavily. Extreme languor often unfits me for labour, and chains me to the bed when I would fain be in the study. But God is merciful. I have, on an average, three public services in the week; sometimes four. Visiting pastorally, attention to the school and to the young, &c. occupy much time, and often constrain me to feel that I have 'girded on the harness.' Several extracts from his letters written at this period, show that he entered upon the sacred duties of the ministry with an humbling sense of responsibility. His ordination vows embraced the whole circle of Christian and ministerial duty, and these he religiously kept through all the painful vicissitudes he was doomed to pass. He had an admirably disciplined mind, as to the right improvement of time; and as he set a high value on it himself, he taught others with whom he came into contact the same important lesson. In addition to the duties of the pastorate, he imposed upon himself others of a more general character. He entered cordially into a plan for preaching on the Lord's day to the bargemen and others, in the open air; he was the zealous advocate of the measures adopted by the Anti-Slavery

Society, and took an active part in the formation of the Christian Instruction Society. The particulars of his first marriage, and the touching incidents by which this brief union was marked and closed will be read with deep interest. His character comes out finely while under the influence of the bitterest trial he was ever called upon to endure. Mrs. Everett was a woman of singularly eminent endowments, both of intellectual and spiritual character. She was suddenly removed from the bosom of affection, and a sphere of duty she was so admirably qualified to fill. 'Before she had laid aside her bridal attire, and immediately after having paid her first and last visit, symptoms of pleurisy, which she had before exhibited, again appeared, and she never afterwards left her house, till she was borne by others to her long home. This was an hour of dreadful laceration to the heart of her husband; yet he was just the man to stand in the midst of suffering with a tearless eye, an unquivering lip, a tongue that was dumb with silence, because God did it.' 'His heart was so upborne by divine consolation on the day of interment, that his was almost the only placid countenance. His friends around him wept with a double emotion. They wept in sympathy with his deep but unbetrayed grief—they wept still more to see the heavenly calmness of that pale but peaceful countenance.' Unremitting were the labors in which he persevered with apparently augmented vigor, till warned by four months' struggling with disease, he preached his last sermon at Reading, on the closing Sabbath of the year 1829. To Clifton and to Ilfracombe he retired, for the purpose of recruiting his strength, and wooing back health to the attenuated frame she had so long deserted. But all was in vain. Finding it impossible to return to his charge with any prospect of efficiently performing its duties, he resigned it altogether in September, 1830. 'It need scarcely be stated that the church parted with their esteemed pastor with the most unfeigned regret.'

That portion of the work which embraces his correspondence during the interval of his resignation and departure for the continent, affords many striking evidences of Mr. Everett's depth of principle, and the ardor of his piety.

In the spring of 1832 his health having somewhat rallied, he supposed himself capable of some little exertion for the diffusion of scriptural knowledge. The weakness of his lungs rendering public speaking impracticable, the work of *distribution* appeared best suited to his ability. In connexion with this mode of labor the destitute state of France presented itself powerfully to his mind; and, together with its proximity and salubrity, appeared to offer an attractive field for exertion. How weak he was in body, how strong and irrepressible in principle and spirit, the following extract shows, while it awakens our deepest sympathy.

'Having much, and, I trust, prayerfully, weighed the subject, and having made the necessary arrangements, I parted with my friends at Southampton, on Tuesday, the third of April, and the same evening embarked on board the Camilla steamer for Havre de Grace. At this point of time, the packets from Dover, on account of the appearance of the cholera in London and its neighbourhood, were subjected to quarantine regulations, on their arrival at Calais. The same restrictions were not imposed at Havre, on the Southampton packets;—and the result was, that every one going to France chose to make the voyage by the last named conveyances. This circumstance will account for the crowded state of the Camilla. We carried one hundred and thirty-six passengers, including the American ambassador to France, and, as I subsequently learned, the celebrated Washington Irving. Four or five gentlemen's carriages, and an immense quantity of luggage crowded the deck; and below, every berth, and every inch of floor that could be converted into a place of repose, were occupied. The night was, happily, exceedingly calm and mild; and this circumstance, added to my fatigue, induced me to attempt gaining a little repose *on the deck.* Drawing on my cloth boots, wrapping myself in my cloak, and employing my travelling-bag as a pillow, I crept under one of the chariots, and, thinking of Jacob at Bethel, and of Jacob's God, I enjoyed some intervals of slumber. Towards the morning, however, a pain in my chest appeared to indicate, that exposure to the night air had proved injurious to me,—a suspicion that was soon confirmed by an expectoration of blood from the lungs. This somewhat startled me, as presenting a probable obstacle to my plans. Hoping, however, that the symptoms would speedily disappear, I made arrangements on my arrival at Havre, about noon, for my journey to Paris, and experienced all a traveller's annoyances in passing my luggage through the Custom-House, and in obtaining a passport at the Hotel de Ville. In the night, however, I experienced a severe bowel attack, which left me in a state of great weakness, and, in addition to the expectoration from my lungs, which still continued, induced the resolution, after a severe conflict of feeling, to return to England. The Camilla left Havre on Friday evening, and at two o'clock on Saturday I was dining with my brother in Salisbury; grateful to God that I was not lying on a sick bed in a foreign land, and yet so overwhelmed with the apparent frustration of my hopes, and with the rapidity of my changes during the week, that I could scarcely persuade myself that I was not under the influence of slumber or of delusion.

'So terminated my first effort for the benefit of France, in which, having been disappointed of an expected supply of French tracts, both from London and Southampton, I left in that unhappy land only *three* specimen tracts, which I happened to possess, and my own French Testament. And yet, who shall say, that He who chooses 'the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty,' will permit those *grains* of truth to perish?

'Having recruited my strength a few weeks among my friends, and arranged that my sister should accompany me, I started for Jersey on

the 9th of May, 1832, from Weymouth, hoping that the proximity of the Norman Isles to the coast of France, would permit frequent visits to that country, even while I secured to myself those domestic comforts which my delicate health rendered indispensable. I remembered, too, that when the first preachers of the gospel were forbidden to preach the word in *Asia*, they immediately 'assayed to go into *Bithynia*.'

'Having safely arrived at Jersey, and made some little efforts for the dissemination of the Scriptures, among the French and other foreign vessels which frequent the port of St. Helier's, I thought myself sufficiently recovered, about the end of June, to attempt an excursion to the French coast; partly by way of experiment as to the facilities for the circulation of truth in the northern departments of France, and partly, to try my own capabilities for the requisite exertion.'—p. 139—141.

Of this second attempt Mr. Everett has given a very interesting account. Never for a moment did he seem to lose sight of his object. Unwearied, indefatigable in the highways, in the streets from house to house, and in market-places on all occasions, public and private, auspicious, or apparently the reverse, the work of circulating tracts and testaments occupied his whole time. St. Malo and its neighbourhood were the principal scene of his exertions. On the sixth of July he embarked on board the Télémaque, a French sloop trading to Jersey; and concludes his Journal of this trip with the following characteristic sentence, 'I left my last 'tract with the captain, being determined to carry home to a land 'of plenty no spiritual food which might nourish an immortal 'spirit in a moral wilderness. After a voyage of nine hours with 'a very light breeze, I reached Jersey, at once thankful for the 'countless mercies I had received, and, exhausted with the fatigue 'and excitement of the week. May the rain of Heaven descend 'on the seed which has been so feebly scattered!'

In August of the same year, after many struggles with bodily weakness, and much mental hesitation as to the path of duty, he availed himself of an interval of returning strength to visit again the shores of France, and embarked for Granville; where, on his arrival he soon commenced his operations. The 15th of the month was the fête of the Holy Virgin:—

'The shops were far more generally shut than on the Sabbath; the ships hoisted the tricolor; grand masses were performed in the churches, and the day was kept as a holiday. I this morning carried my tracts into the neighbouring parish of St. Nicholas, and fixing my station in the vicinity of the church, supplied the worshippers on their way thither. As I went to the proposed spot, a man from the door of a public-house, called after me, 'Mr. Englishman, will you bring some of your books hither?' a request with which I subsequently complied. On the road I met the diligence, which I stopped, and gave tracts to a gentleman and lady who were travelling in the coupé. The driver and conductor also requested some. A French officer, to whom I gave some books,

stopped and conversed with me ten minutes. He asked me, 'if we believed in the Virgin, in England;' observing that he was himself 'a Christian,' but he thought all these ceremonies and holidays 'a silly thing' (une bêtise). He appeared much pleased with my occupation, said it was very laudable thus to disseminate correct sentiments, and on my giving away a tract, while we were conversing, to a passenger, he replied to the inquiry, 'What does it contain?'—'Truths!' (des verités.) On parting, he shook me very cordially by the hand. May he prove to be one of that 'little flock' in France, which rejects Catholicism, and yet cleaves to Christianity! Finished my distribution in a suburb of the town. Here I met one respectably-dressed woman returning from church. On my offering a tract, she inquired, 'how much?' 'Nothing; it is a gift.' Viewing me with surprise and suspicion, she exclaimed, '*nothing!* surely no one *gives away* any thing for *nothing!*' Pointing upwards, I rejoined, 'Madam, there is *another* world.' The change of her countenance indicated that she understood me, and, stretching out her hand, she received the book. Distributed two hundred and fifty.'—p. 167, 168.

At the close of the month he returned to Jersey, and from thence to England. From October, 1832, till April, 1833, Mr. Everett resided with a near relative at Bristol. But 'though compelled,' says his biographer, 'for a season to inactivity, nothing could divert 'his attention from the land of popery and infidelity, which he had 'been constrained so early to abandon.'

The last melancholy chapter of this instructive narrative, which every young Christian, and especially every aspirant to the Christian ministry, ought to read and study till he catches the spirit which it breathes, is occupied with accounts of Mr. Everett's fluctuating health, his attainment of comparative convalescence—his second marriage—his settlement at Bristol, in a school, where he carried, for the benefit of his pupils, all his piety, acquirements, and energy; and his death, the effect of a sudden rupture of a blood-vessel, and therefore unexpected, yet to him peaceful and happy, and to his dearest friends consoling and most satisfactory. But we have already quoted more than we intended. We have dwelt the longer on this memoir because it is just now the fashion to give the Biography of saints that might figure very well in a Roman calendar, but who in these times were totally unfit for the labors and ministrations of a protestant church. Mr. Everett is a fair specimen of the kind of men that ensure esteem as pastors of our congregational churches, and which we are in the habit of sending as missionaries to the heathen. Mr. Everett is worth a thousand St. Froude's. And for our parts, with such practical evidence of the inutility of apostolical succession, we can readily dispense with it, leaving it to those on whom it confers no sanctity, while it involves them in all the guilt of a most fearful responsibility. They are the successors of the apostles, who aim to evangelize the world, and regard success as their noblest reward!

Art. IX. 1. *Glances at the Times, and Reform Government.* By John Wade. London: Effingham Wilson. 1839.

2. *A Bill to make further Provision as to certain rights of voting for Members of Parliament in England and Wales.* By Lord John Russell. 1840.

3. *A Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Registration of Voters in Ireland.* By Lord Stanley.

THE publication placed at the head of this article is devoted to a retrospect of all the reforms,—organic or administrative,—civil, military, or ecclesiastical,—effected within the last ten years; the bill placed second, proposes further progressive movement, to perfect and secure those reforms; the object of the last is to back the paddles of the state ship, and return stern-foremost to the point from which we started at the beginning of the eventful epoch referred to. We have arrived at a critical juncture; and before a long period of time elapses, the nation will be called upon to choose between reform or no reform, advancement or retreat, between progress *pari passû* with the spirit of the age, and a return to exploded principles, ancient corruption, and the bigoted prejudices of former times. Lord John Russell justly as well as forcibly described the quality of Lord Stanley's proposition when he said, 'The proposition was to begin a *retrograde* course, 'to diminish, to restrict the franchise of one part of this united 'kingdom; and thus to show that hereafter it would be their 'endeavor and the aim of their legislation, to go back from that 'franchise which the people had obtained from their hands; to 'make that franchise more difficult; to consider the man who 'asked for that franchise as a public enemy; and, though at first 'by slow degrees, to diminish and destroy that franchise which 'as he contended had been most liberally bestowed.'

There is a party in the country like a certain animal that will swim against the stream, when compelled to take the water; and return, when washed, to her wallowing in the mire.

But are the people of this country prepared to go back to Tory principles? Is the tide of intelligence, now swelled by a thousand tributary streams, and rolling on like a majestic river, diffusing blessings to the right and to the left, and gladdening the eyes and hearts of men, to be turned *backwards?* Are profligacy and extravagance in all the public departments again to take the place of scrupulous economy and jealous regard to the interests of the people? Are the halcyon days of pensions and sinecures —the former bestowed behind the ministerial curtain on men and women who deserved nothing from their country but contempt, the latter created for the benefit of the Roses, Ardens, Beresfords, Ryders, Bathursts, Seymours, Scotts, and Crokers—to

return once more? Are toleration and a regard for the rights of conscience to be exchanged for the fierceness and pride of a dominant hierarchy? When we see prelates, who during the course of a long public life never voted against negro slavery, and an ex-minister who invariably opposed the efforts in favor of black emancipation, coming forward and joining at the eleventh hour a society for the civilisation of Africa and the extinction of the slave-trade, one would think that we might fairly say, No, to these questions, and confidently predict that nothing could prevent the triumphant march of intelligence. But we cannot close our eyes to strange indications on the political horizon. When we mark the general conduct of the party to which Sir Robert Peel and those bishops belong, we cannot fall into the mistake of imputing the new-born zeal in this cause, to anxiety for the advance of great regenerating principles, rather than to a desire to gain the good graces of the Queen's husband. Every thing we hear and see convinces us that ere long the people must make their election between a retrograde and a progressive policy—between a liberal and a Tory administration. The enemies of popular rights already are busied in preparations for a return to the position from which they were driven amid the execrations of the whole kingdom; and the programme for the retrograde procession is arranged in the following order:

I. Church extension.

II. Contraction of the franchise in Ireland.

III. 'National' education administered by the clergy of the established church.

IV. The organization of a general system of bribery, intimidation, and demoralisation at elections.

V. The publication of the claims of the state priesthood to 'apostolical succession;' and the denial to all Christian ministers beyond the pale of the Episcopal Church of England (saving always *Romish priests*) of the name or character of true pastors.

Dissenters call for relief from compulsory payment to the establishment, demand the destruction of those engines of persecution called the *spiritual* courts, and press upon the country the necessity of many church reforms:—Sir Robert Inglis rises and proposes that their claims shall be met by a vote from the public purse to the amount of some few millions *for church extension!* Sir Robert treats the Dissenters as Miss Tabitha Bramble treated her maidens. When they grumbled that they were pinched by reason of the scarcity of sugar and butter, that paragon of virgin housekeepers protested that they were pampered with good living, and ordered them to be placed on short commons. Just so, when the children of Israel complained of the grievousness of their tasks, their Egyptian tyrants exclaimed, 'Ye are idle,' and dou-

bled the tale of bricks. The Tories hope to make the country forget one wound by inflicting a fresh one:—

Atqui
Emovit veterem mire, novus; ut solet, in cor
Trajecto lateris miseri capitis que dolore:
Ut lethargicus hic, fit pugil et medicum urget!

A new disease expelled
My old distemper: as when changing pains
Fly to the stomach from the head and reins,
Thus the lethargic, starting from his bed
In boxing frenzy, broke his doctor's head.

Lord Stanley legislates for Ireland on the same principle. The Irish petition for reform and a redress of grievances: the member for Lancashire declares he will abridge the privileges which they possess. They ask for food, and he gives them a 'scorpion.'

It needs no further demonstration, that the inclination of the Tory party tends towards a RETROGRADE course.

A certain class of unscrupulous partizans are very fond of asserting that nothing has been done for the country by a reform government and a reformed parliament; and another class declare that they can see no difference, as far as the people are concerned, between a Whig and Tory government. Mr. Wade's Glances at the Times supply a refutation to these two assertions. We are not amongst those who are prepared to praise every act of Earl Grey's and Lord Melbourne's cabinets—who are able to recognise the wisdom and sound policy of all the declarations volunteered by the statesmen who composed them, or who think that they left nothing undone that ought to have been done; still that man can have small claims to candor, or must have an imperfect conception of the business of a government, who can refuse to admit, that within the last ten years a series of political changes have been made, unequalled in extent and permanent value. During the ten years from 1830 to 1840, an absolute revolution has been effected; and no epoch in British history will occupy a more prominent position in the annals of this country. 'There 'is no instance, perhaps,' observes Mr. Wade, 'of a country 'achieving so peaceably, yet in the main so efficiently, a 'reform of old and inveterate abuses; of effecting so radical a 'change in every department of her domestic polity, without 'running the risk and detriment of a revolutionary convulsion.' To estimate fairly what has been effected, we must recollect what were the grievances and abuses, for the removal and correction of which, reformers were accustomed to ask, prior to 1830. Mr. Wade enumerates them as follows: *first*, corruptions in the representative system; *second*, a lavish public expenditure, and the

unequal allocation of taxes; *third*, commercial and chartered monopolies; *fourth*, tithes and ecclesiastical abuses; *fifth*, defects of the laws and judicial administration; *sixth*, close and decayed corporations; *seventh*, pensions and unmerited grants of public money; *eighth*, a foreign policy belligerent and favorable to despotic governments; *ninth*, abuses of patronage in Scotland, and the mal-administration and neglect of Ireland.

Now there is not one of these grievances or abuses which has not been grappled with. Some have been thoroughly reformed; others have been partially improved; and against all have endeavors at amendment been directed.

We are free to admit that, nothwithstanding the Reform Bill, the aristocracy will (as long as we are without the Ballot), still be able to command, in ordinary times, a powerful influence in the House of Commons: but if the aristocracy choose to challenge a trial of strength, or attempt any bold invasion of popular rights, the Reform Bill has given the people power to prevail. As long as the Reform act remains, the electoral body will possess a security against oppression for any length of time; but the danger is, lest it should be insidiously and imperceptibly undermined, and neutralized in detail.

Again, the advantages bestowed upon the community by the reform of the municipal corporations cannot be too highly prized. Before the act of 1835 there prevailed a general distrust of the *self-elected* municipal councils, whose powers were subject to no control, and whose acts and proceedings being secret were unchecked by the influence of public opinion—a distrust, too, of the local magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law was administered. To this must be added public discontent under the burden of local taxation; for under the state of things which existed before a liberal government reformed municipal abuses, revenues that ought to have been applied for the public advantage were diverted from their legitimate use, and were sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of private individuals—often squandered for purposes injurious to the morals and character of the people.* Trade and commerce have been the better for the removal of the grievous restrictions laid upon the enterprise of men desirous of engaging in commercial pursuits: formerly no man could commence business in a town of which he had not the 'freedom,' without the payment of heavy pecuniary fines, which often absorbed half the capital of young industrious beginners. If we look to the Irish towns which are cursed with unreformed corporations, we see trade withering

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* See Reports of the Corporation Commissioners.

under the restrictions imposed on it; while those towns that have no such incubus are displaying energy and life. Take, for example, Limerick and Belfast. The latter is not governed by a self-elected corporation—the former is: and what is the result? Belfast is rising in importance and opulence, and takes the lead in enterprise and improvement. On the other hand, Limerick, seated on the banks of one of the noblest navigable rivers in the world, so situated that it might command nearly a monopoly of the trade with the western world, is almost at a stand-still. The revenues which ought to be spent in making improvements are squandered in secret, upon officers and policemen; and the inhabitants are crippled with the weight of tolls, dues, fees, and taxes! The Whigs relieved England and Scotland from the municipal evils under which Ireland now suffers; and would have remedied the wrongs of Ireland, if the Tories had not six times interfered to mar their design.

We do not propose upon the present occasion, to follow Mr. Wade through every step in his interesting and candid retrospect of the benefits conferred on the nation and civilization by the present government; but we cannot omit to notice five measures of reform which are enough to render the authors of them illustrious. We allude, *first*, to the extensive reforms in our criminal law, and the mitigations of the penal code; *second*, to the extensive reductions in salaries of public men—the abolition of useless offices—the consolidation of other offices—the purification of the pension-list, and the submitting it to public scrutiny; *third*, to the establishment of the data for registration of births, deaths, and marriages, a boon of the highest value to dissenters; *fourth*, to the reduction of the stamp-duty on newspapers; and *fifth*, the establishment of a uniform penny postage. These are changes, the beneficial effects of which will be felt for generations to come. Reductions in the public expenditure have been effected to an extraordinary extent. Fees to the amount of £30,000 per ann. were abolished in the King's exchequer; and in the first two years of the Grey administration, the estimates for the effective naval service were two millions below what they were in 1830. Mr. Wade supplies the following table of reductions, which shows that the ministers did not hesitate to begin reform by retrenching their own salaries:—

	Emoluments in 1829.	Emoluments in 1833.	Saving.
	£	£	£
Treasury	20,900	14,800	6,100
Home, Foreign, and Colonial Departments	52,828	36,100	16,728
Admiralty	19,940	7,500	12,440
Army	17,876	8,455	9,421
King's Household, &c.	11,286	2,000	9,286
Customs	64,520	18,400	46,120
Excise	14,300	7,200	7,100
Judges and Courts of Law	52,492	38,000	14,492
Ireland	49,903	32,989	16,914
Colonial Agents, &c.	5,305	1,300	4,005
Ambassadors	55,300	45,900	9,400
Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary	50,200	38,900	11,400
Ministers resident abroad	14,200	10,750	3,450
Secretaries	15,000	11,375	3,625
Consuls, &c.	44,450	21,800	22,650
Miscellaneous	6,298	..	6,298
General Total	494,898	295,469	199,429

Savings to a considerable extent have also been effected by the reduction of establishments in the various colonies and plantations. In the years 1831-2 there were 414 offices in the customs abolished, and during the same period, 507 offices in the excise. Comparing the salaries in the various public departments of the kingdom in 1815, with those paid during the first five years of Whig rule, we find a difference of 14 per cent in number, and 26 per cent in charge. The average expenditure of the first three years of a liberal administration were three millions per ann. below the average expenditure of the three years preceding their accession to office. The repeal of taxes, too, upon those articles most necessary to the working-classes must not be forgotten. The following table will refresh the memory on this subject:

Years.	Imposed.	Reduced.	Excess of Reduction.
	£	£	£
1830	696,024	4,070,742	3,374,718
1831	627,586	1,588,052	960,466
1832	44,526	747,264	702,738
1833	..	1,532,126	1,532,126
1834	194,394	2,064,516	1,861,122
1835	5,575	162,877	157,292
1836	3,721	1,021,786	1,018,065

Now we repeat the question which we have already proposed, Are the people of this kingdom prepared to undo all these reforms?—to establish the old system, with all its hostility to civil and religious liberty, and all its disregard to the interests of the state? Are they prepared to abandon a system of government grounded on a gradual removal of grievances and an introduction of beneficial changes; and embrace a system that declares its object to be *retrogression?*

No friend to civil and religious liberty can look at the position of parties in the legislature without serious apprehensions. According to the calculations of the most sanguine there is only a majority of fifteen standing in the way of the return of the Tories to power. The enemies of popular freedom have succeeded in obtaining a majority of three in favor of a bill framed for the purpose of narrowing the franchise; and within the last month the strength of the *retrogradists* has been reinforced by the return of Tory members for Ludlow and Radnorshire,—places hitherto represented by Reformers. All this indicates a coming crisis. The alternative must sooner or later be proposed to the electors of Great Britain and Ireland—A progressive or retrograde movement? The friends of free institutions must hold themselves prepared. Every thing will depend upon their courage, energy, and fidelity. Their enemies are waiting *faucibus siccis* for office; and, urged on by vindictive desperation, may inflict grievous wounds upon public peace, if they attain their hearts' desire.

We cannot conceal our opinion, that if her majesty's present ministers had been more decided, more straightforward, and less anxious to purchase the approval of their inveterate enemies by the neglect of those who were their real friends, matters would now have stood in a different position. Still in the integrity and ability of many of those statesmen we repose confidence; and we make no doubt that an appeal to the country, coupled with a definite exposition of great principles, and a pledge of adherence to a broad and liberal course of action, would yet rally round them a powerful body of supporters. Without this they are lost, and the cause for which they once pleaded so eloquently, and to which we doubt not that some of them are still honestly attached, must suffer temporary loss. We fear not the issue,—that is certain; but we would not have the enemies of our liberty permitted even for an instant to throw back the sacred cause of reform.

However this may be, the people must do their duty to themselves; and that duty is to protect their Irish fellow subjects from violence and injustice; to guard the rights and liberties which they at present enjoy; and to take security that that nation shall not be kept back in the course of mental, moral, and political

improvement. If it is asked, how is this to be attained? Our reply is, *keep the enemies of public freedom and intelligen e from the possession of power!* 'Prevention is better than cure!'

Brief Notices.

Sabbath Musings and Every Day Scenes. By the Author of Souvenirs of a Summer in Germany, &c. London: Seeley and Burnside. 1839.

The scenes are well selected and beautifully sketched. They exhibit genuine piety in its most attracting forms. Its lively style, evangelical sentiment, and useful tendency cannot fail to secure for the volume an extensive circulation.

Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an Engish Protestant: wherein the principal Points and Arguments of both Religions are truly proposed and fully Examined. By Matthew Poole, Author of the Synopsis Criticorum. London: Religious Tract Society. 1839.

This little volume is a reprint of an old and valuable work. It deserves a place in every library, and merits an attentive perusal by every Protestant. It is a defence against the insidious doctrines of Puseyism and the more glaring errors of Romanism.

Sermons to Youth. By the late Joseph Hague, Darwen, Lancashire. With a Memoir of the Author. London: Ward and Co. 1839.

We regret that this interesting and valuable volume should have remained so long unnoticed. The subject of the Memoir required to be known in order to be loved, and whoever knew him could not help loving him. Affection and tenderness were the substratum of his mind. And often when he appeared inattentive or indifferent to objects which claimed his immediate attention, it has been ascertained that his feelings were absorbed in some scene of sorrow, and his inventive faculties tasked to the utmost to devise some measures to alleviate the sufferings he had witnessed. His vigorous firmness of mind was equal to his affectionate disposition. His preaching was distinguished by a perspicuous exhibition of divine truth, delivered with a pathos, energy, and application, which seldom failed to attract the attention and affect the heart of the careless hearer. His style is accurately described by his biographer. 'His epithets were not barren blossoms. His flowers were employed, like the selected and arranged nosegays of

the East, to speak the language of passion, and to embellish, recommend, and enforce truth. His ministry was attractive and impressive. His public prayers were distinguished by a simplicity and earnestness eminently adapted to excite devotion.' The sermons now presented to the public are rich in devotional thought, evangelical sentiment, and admirably adapted for usefulness among the young for whose benefit they have been published.

Memoir and Select Remains of the Rev. W. Nevins, D.D., of Baltimore; with an Introductory Essay. By the Rev. Octavius Winslow, A.M. London: A. and J. Matthew. 1839.

This is an interesting addition to those valuable specimens of transatlantic biography which have previously reached our country. 'The Remains,' like those of our own Cecil, are replete with perspicuous views of divine truth, sound evangelical sentiment, and practical maxims which have been the result of much observation and deep Christian experience.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Free-will Offerings versus Tithes and Teinds. A Reply to the Lectures of Dr. Chalmers on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches. By Thomas Dixon, Esq.

A Letter to the Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn, M.P., on the Danger to which the Constitution is exposed from the encroachments of the Courts of Law. By Sir Graves Chamney Haughton.

Lectures on the Revival of Religion. By Ministers of the Church of Scotland.

Poems. By Mrs. Boddington, Author of 'Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine, &c.

The Universal Tendency to Association in Mankind Analyzed and Illustrated. With Practical and Historical Notices of the bonds of Society, &c. By John Dunlop, Esq.

Poems By William Henry Leatham.

The Illuminated Atlas of Scripture Geography; a Series of Maps, delineating the Physical and Historical Features in the Geography of Palestine and the adjacent Countries, &c. By W. Hughes, F.R.G.S.

Ward's Standard Divinity—The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems examined and Compared, as to their Moral Tendency. By the Rev. Andrew Fuller.

On the Principles of Common, or Inceptive Discipline. The Eighth of a Series of Letters to a Brother Curate on Professional Topics of Various Interest and Importance. By a Supernumerary.

Democracy in America. Part the Second. By Alexis De Tocqueville. 2 Vols. Translated by Henry Reeve, Esq.

An Introduction to the Modern Classification of Insects ; founded on the Natural Habits and Corresponding Organization of the different Families. By J. O. Westwood, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

Ward's Library. An Exposition of the Gospel according to John. By George Hutchinson. Reprinted from the Edition of 1657.

A New and Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures. On the basis of Cruden's. With a Preface by the Rev. David King.

Letter to Thomas Phillips, Esq., R.A., on the Connexion between the Fine Arts and Religion, and the Means of their Revival. By Henry Drummond, Esq.

Triplicity. In two volumes.

Travels in Germany and Russia : Including a Steam Voyage down the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople, in 1838, 1839. By Adolphus Slade, Esq., R.N.

The Inquirer Directed to an Experimental and Practical View of the Work of the Holy Spirit. By Octavius Winslow.

The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome during the 16th and 17th Centuries. By Leopold Ranke, Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by Sarah Austin. 3 vols.

The Pictorial History of Palestine. By the Editor of 'The Pictorial Bible.' Part XI.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. King Henry VI. Part I. Part 20.

Continental Sermons ; or Nine Discourses, addressed to Congregations on the Continent. By J. Hartley, M.A.

The Life of Thomas Burgess, D.D., late Bishop of Salisbury. By John S. Harford, Esq.

A Narrative of the Persecutions of the Christians in Madagascar ; with details of the Escape of the six Christian refugees now in England. By J. J. Freeman and D. Johns, formerly Missionaries in the Island.

The Bible Translation Society of the Baptists shown to be uncalled for and Injurious : in a series of Letters to W. B. Gurney, Esq. By a Baptist.

Letters on India : with special reference to the Spread of Christianity. By the Rev. W. Buyers, Missionary at Benares.

Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823. Commanded by Lieutenant, now Admiral, Ferdinand Von Wrangell, of the Russian Imperial Navy. Edited by Major Edward Sabine, R.A., F.R.S.

A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Lancashire Congregational Union ; and of the Blackburn Independent Academy. By R. Slate. Published at the request of the Pastors and Delegates of the County Union.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For AUGUST, 1840.

Art. I. 1. *Lectures on the Church of England, delivered in London, March,* 1840. By the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M. A., Minister of St. Jude's Church, Liverpool. 8vo. pp. 116. Hatchard and Son.

2. *Christianity against Coercion; or Compulsory Churches Unscriptural and Antichristian: a Lecture delivered on Wednesday, March* 25, 1840, *at the request of the Evangelical Voluntary Church Association, in Freemason's Hall.* By George Redford, D.D., L.L.D. 12mo. pp. 47. Ward and Co.

3. *Righteousness Exalteth a Nation: a Lecture on Church Extension (partly in reply to Mr. M'Neile), delivered in the Weigh House Chapel, London, on Friday Evening, April* 24, 1840. By T. Binney. 12mo. pp. 40. Jackson and Walford.

THE more zealous defenders of our Established Church have betrayed a great deficiency of wisdom for some time past. They have shown themselves bad judges of times and seasons. They have not known when to speak or when to be silent; and their speakings, when they have determined to make themselves heard, have been, for the most part, anything rather than the utterances of discretion. Some two, or perhaps three years since, there was a considerable disposition evinced by some Dissenters in England, to rest upon their arms awhile, and in some degree to suspend the mode of controversy which took them so often to Downing Street and St. Stephen's. These moderate men, as they were called, were far from concluding that the points at issue between us and the Church of England should be allowed to fall out of sight. They were, on the contrary, never more

satisfied concerning the importance of those questions, and the duty of laboring to make the arguments for the better cause more and more familiar to our whole people. Still, if the friends of the hierarchy had known how to improve the signs of the times which were then sufficiently visible, they might certainly have made some return, though we cannot say for exactly how long, toward that state of dignified repose which had so long fallen to them, but which had been somewhat rudely broken in upon by recent events. Folly, however, came in the place of wisdom. Moderation was interpreted as weakness. The disposition evinced to prosecute the controversy with more calmness, deliberation, and circumspection, was eagerly proclaimed as the sign of exhaustion and defeat. The moment, accordingly, that should have been characterized by conciliation, was at once and eagerly seized as the most felicitous juncture for aggression. From that day the extravagancies of ecclesiastical intolerance and ambition have been forced upon us with new spirit from all points.

The church-extension scheme of the north, was then made to spread itself southward. The fame of Dr. Chalmers was put into requisition for this object. Plans the most unjust, oppressive, and preposterous on that subject, were gravely propounded, day after day, in our metropolis. The intellect of all men opposed to these plans,—that of the gravest philosophers and the most profound statesmen not excepted,—was blown upon by the reverend orator in a manner, and with a tone, which seemed as though meant to proclaim to the very stars that nothing more than the breath of his eloquence could possibly be needed to scatter all opposition as the chaff, to be no more heard of for ever. It is true there was a strange disparity between the might of all this pretension, and the weakness of the orator's own performance. It was, indeed, not a little amusing to perceive how small a man on such topics it really was, who had assumed these airs of lofty scorn in reference to our country and our times—our 'age of 'little men and little measures'! If loudness and boldness could have done the work, done it surely would have been; but these are qualities which have no necessary alliance with wisdom of any kind, and in this connexion it soon became apparent, that the tendency of our divine to pour scorn on the capacities of other men, was in strict proportion with his inability to take any just measurement of his own. But who cared for that? Did he not denounce voluntaryism as a novelty, as a vulgar fraud, and its abettors as a mixture of the driveller and the rogue—and should not a man be applauded for that? Aye, verily—and applauded he was, as though voices, no less than gunpowder, were meant to send roofs into the air! We can assure our friends of the Established Church, that there were some 'pious' Dissenters who witnessed this display of moderation, and were very much

edified at the sight. Since the first exhibition in Hanover Rooms, the spirit of that scene has been everywhere manifest. Not only are church-rates to be upheld, but efforts have been made to enforce that impost on grounds, which, if acted upon consistently, would annihilate every vestige of popular freedom, and substitute the despotism of the throne in its place. Our people are everywhere liable to be slandered, insulted, wronged, and plundered if they venture any show of opposition to this exaction. Not content with her hard measure to Jones of Llannon, it appears to be the determination of our amiable mother, that the blood of John Thorogood shall be also upon her skirts.* With the more rigorous enforcement of church-rates, has come the bolder announcement, and the wider diffusion of the Oxford Popery; the arrogant pretences of the clergy on the matter of popular education; the insolent crusade on the subject of church-extension; the manifest disposition to pursue a retrograde course on all questions affecting the equal rights of British subjects; and lastly, this second aggressive movement from the Hanover Rooms, the results of which we have before us in the published lectures of Mr. M'Neile.

Now has the Church of England gained anything by this policy? We think she is beginning herself to see that she has not. Her opponents have been challenged, not merely to an examination of her outworks, but to a scrutiny of her very foundations; and all this with the advantage of appearing to act purely on the defensive. As the result, we speak with confidence when we say, that we consider the principles opposed to all state-establishments of religion, as having made greater way upon the popular mind in this country during the last three years, than during any similar space of time in our history. Our comparative indifference to the temporary fate of public questions has been an indifference in appearance only. The principles which make our grievances what they are, were never so well understood by us as now; and we were never more free from misgiving as to their ultimate efficacy to sweep away every vestige of barbarism of which we complain. This confidence, too, we owe, in great part, to the necessity which has been laid upon us to prosecute this great controversy, and to prosecute it to its very root. It is prejudice, proscription, and injustice, not religion,

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* It cannot be published too widely, that, admitting it to have been the act of John Thorogood to have placed himself in the Ecclesiastical Court, by pleading the invalidity of the rate—*there still rested with that court the option to take the goods of John Thorogood, or to send him to prison.* In choosing the latter alternative, and persisting in it, that court has hitherto pursued the course of a wanton torturer, and should John Thorogood die under its hands, the guilt of murder will be there.

truth, or humanity, that may be in danger from discussion. We mean, then, to say, that during the last two or three years the praise of self-government belongs to Dissenters, much more than to their opponents, and that the result has been an unprecedented advance of Dissenting principles.

In some respects, perhaps, this more cautious policy has been indulged too far; and we must confess that we know not how to exonerate the body of Deputies from the charge of a criminal negligence in not having adopted means to secure a complete and effective reply to the lectures of Mr. M'Neile. Having taken this duty upon them in the instance of Dr. Chalmers, it was natural for our churches to confide in the same body to make a similar arrangement in the present case. We hear nothing, however, of any such arrangement as having been made, nor have we heard anything of the reasons which have been thought sufficient to justify this unexpected course. We only know, that if nothing further be done, an occasion for vindicating our principles and practice, and of instituting a free examination of those of our opponents, much more favorable than is likely soon to occur again, has been lost. Bodies which do not the work expected from them, are in such cases worse than useless, as they naturally prevent others from doing it. We do not scruple to say that we think our old organizations had better be altogether broken up, if they are not found capable of moving with the promptitude and energy required by the altered spirit and circumstances of the times.

Mr. M'Neile's lectures are six in number, and we scarcely need remind our readers that they were delivered, in common with those of Dr. Chalmers, in the Hanover Square Rooms, under the direction of the Christian Influence Society. The first lecture is occupied, for the greater part, with discussions concerning the nature of the church of Christ. Preliminary, however, to this discussion, our author informs us, that he means to demonstrate the 'fundamentally scriptural' character of the Church of England, and expresses his conviction that the present perilous position of that Church, is to be attributed mainly to the real or apparent abandonment of this high ground of defence on the part of her advocates. But the writer does not proceed beyond his third page, without involving both himself and his readers in no little difficulty by his assumption of this ground; for it seems that easy as it is to show the scriptural character of the Established Church as a whole, there is scarcely a part of it about which Churchmen themselves should be expected to be of one mind. It is, it seems, the glory of her articles, that they may be signed equally *ex animo* by the Calvinist or the Arminian; and a great beauty of her system in other respects, that while all who would minister at her altars must profess to approve of every thing contained in

the Book of Common Prayer, it is not to be understood that such persons mean what they say on that subject, but that, on the contrary, 'each exercising his own judgment,' makes inwardly his own exceptions, and that the tendency to make exceptions is so strong, that it is difficult to fix on any one detail or formulary about which the said subscribers may be said to be agreed. They all protest, both by what they say and what they do, against exception even in the smallest matters, but all have their exceptions nevertheless, and commonly in such abundance, that it is next to impossible to fix upon any thing to which exception is not made! We must confess that we see not how a system of which this may be said can be shown to be—at least so far as its effects are concerned, either scriptural or moral. Can that which operates over so large a surface as a bounty upon insincerity and falsehood, be acceptable to him who desireth truth in the inward parts? We have no wish to make out a case against our brethren of the Established Church on this point, but if they have managed to conceal these enormities from themselves, we must be allowed to assure them that the shrewd men of the world around them are not at all deceived in this matter. Mr. M'Neile may protest against submitting to 'a slavish uniformity,' but these terms describe the system which he would defend, and men who belong to it cannot in consistency, or even in honesty, harbor the slightest exception to it. The obligation resting on such persons, be it remembered, is not merely to *use* the Prayer Book, but to approve *ex animo* of all it contains.

Our author's great object in the first lecture, is to expound the scriptural meaning of the word—church. We are told that in its highest sense it means 'the body of Christ,' the whole multitude to be ultimately saved. To this we make no objection. But the second exposition of the term states, that the visible society which God was pleased to institute among men, consisted first of a circumcised family, enlarged afterwards to a circumcised nation; and that since the day of Pentecost, it has consisted of baptized families, which have enlarged so as to become baptized nations. That circumcised nation, it is affirmed, was the visible church, and these baptized nations are visible churches. It is admitted that these visible churches may include 'the profligacy of a Ba-'rabbas, and the deeper, deadlier hypocrisy of an Annas or Caia-'phas;' but on the ground that such characters existed in the circumcised nation of the Jews, and from the fact that the Redeemer commanded his disciples to baptize 'nations,' and to introduce all they could find to the wedding feast, 'both bad and 'good,' it is concluded that a nation, be it constituted of the most depraved of the species to never so great an extent, if it be only a baptized nation, is to be regarded as a legitimate portion of the visible church of God! We are told, indeed, that the true

church was constituted of old, and that it consists still, of devout believers only; but the visible church it is maintained has ever been of the indiscriminate compass just stated.

The evidence adduced in support of these views concerning the proper nature of the church of Christ consists, as we have intimated, of an assumed analogy, and of certain arbitrary interpretations given to some isolated and parabolic expressions. We should have thought that in an attempt to explain the doctrine of Scripture on so important a subject, the plain parts of the sacred records bearing upon it would have been the special object of attention, and that the ascertained meaning of these would have been employed to prevent any misconstruction of the more doubtful. But the reverse of this method has been chosen by Mr. M'Neile. His plan has been to select such passages only as might be made to receive a meaning to his purpose, with a sufficient degree of plausibility to pass for argument with the superficial and the unwary.

We do not say that he has really meant to deceive his readers, but certainly the course which he has pursued is precisely that which we should have expected in a man who did so mean. If water baptism should suffice to constitute a Barabbas, an Annas, or a Caiaphas, members of the visible church, on what authority did Paul command the Corinthians to put away from among them the unclean person, and then again to receive him on the ground of his repentance, and only upon that ground? If the bad and the good, the tares and the wheat, were in this sense to remain together until the end, how came it to pass that the first churches were of a complexion to justify the character given of them in the apostolic epistles? The only visible churches then recognized were described as composed of persons 'sanctified in Christ 'Jesus, and called to be saints;' or of those who were regarded as 'elect, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, unto 'obedience, and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.' We need not attempt to show that descriptions to this effect are given of all the apostolic churches. If we find any thing deserving the name of exception, it is in the case of the seven churches of Asia, and there exception occurs as calling forth the most striking confirmation of our general principle. Let any man read the addresses of the Saviour to those churches, and then ask himself devoutly whether he who so spoke could possibly have intended that his disciples should regard men, though as profligate as Barabbas, or as hardened in hypocrisy as Annas or Caiaphas, as being in any sense members of his church, simply because they had been baptized. If he spoke as he did of lukewarmness only, how would he have spoken of such offenders? If he threatened churches with extinction because they did not bear a sufficiently decided protest against evil, what would he have said if they had made a kind of

boast of calling all men Christians, even the most flagitious of their race, so long as they chose to talk of their baptism, and to make their own boast of that name?

We scarcely need say that there is nothing of novelty in the view thus taken of the subject by Mr. M'Neile; and the philosophy of the whole matter is not very profound. There were certain worldly ends to be accomplished by making Christianity national, after the manner of Paganism, Mohammedanism, and other false systems of religion, and prejudice, interest, passion, all have prompted men to devise such reasonings as they might in support of so gainful a usage. Never was greater violence done to any document, than has been done both to the spirit and letter of the New Testament by the advocates of this system. Their great aim has been state emolument and ecclesiastical dominion, as constituting the most effective engine of worldly power. Their schemes accordingly have been spread out to the utmost latitude. That all might be made tributary, they have included all. Of such extent was the religious system which prevailed all over Europe about three centuries since. It was adapted with elaborate forethought to enslave both the body and the soul. It availed itself to the utmost of every thing strong in the machinery of civil government, and of every thing terrible in the phantoms of superstition. The priest served the civil ruler, and the civil ruler served the priest; the one wielded the terrors of this world, the other wielded the terrors of the next—and by joining hands they long divided a cruel empire between them. The roots, accordingly, of this combination of power, have their hold deeply in human nature, and are still much interwoven with the social system of Europe. The axe, however, has already fallen once and again at the right point, and will, we doubt not, continue to do so, until its work shall be accomplished.

Mr. M'Neile's third exposition of the word church, as applicable to separate congregations or fraternities of believers however small, and wherever convened, is, on the whole, scriptural; but his fourth explanation of the term, as applied to 'a geographical 'combination' of such churches, would afford us matter for much more discussion than comports with our limits. Here the whole question of diocesan episcopacy, and of that comparative novelty in ecclesiastical history—national churches, opens upon us. On this subject there are some excellent remarks in Dr. Redford's able tract which we cannot forbear to transcribe.

'If I might detain you,' said the lecturer, 'but a very few moments longer, it should be just to notice two statements made by Mr. M'Neile, which appeared to him of great importance, and which were received by his audience with enthusiastic approbation.

'He said that the Dissenters' theory was, that the elders who came

from Ephesus to meet Paul at Miletus, were the independent pastors of so many independent congregations, or words to that effect. Now I beg leave to say, that the Dissenters' theory of the case is not exactly so, but that the whole body of believers at Ephesus formed only one church in that city; though they had several bishops, and perhaps many deacons, evangelists, and teachers, and that all the office-bearers were included in the term *elders*. Paul is said to have sent and called the *elders* of the *church*. But our theory shall be set aside that we may examine that of the reverend gentleman, which seems to be, that these *several* congregations, perhaps *many*, had only one episcopal head, with the inferior clergy under him.

'Now Mr. M'Neile greatly triumphed in the clever dilemma to which he thought he could reduce the Dissenters, by supposing that if the apostle John should address an epistle to the angel of the independent church of London, it could excite nothing but doubt, rivalry, and contention; 'but if it came directed to the angel of the church at London, we (episcopalians) should know at once where to send it.' (*Cheers from the delighted audience.*) Of course, as Mr. M'Neile admits of one bishop over many churches, and London contains but one lord bishop, the messenger, if Mr. M'Neile had been that messenger, would have taken it at once to Fulham Palace, and all the dissenting bishops might have sought in vain for the privilege of perusing the inspired document.

'But, alas, for our worthy friend's theory, it will not stand the test of Scripture, even in reference to this apparently ingenious and adroit argument. It looked astute—it savored of biting humor; but there is, after all, nothing in it. If the lecturer had taken the trouble to consult his Greek Testament, he would have discovered that there were unequivocally *more bishops than one* in Ephesus. St. Paul, in addressing them on that very occasion, says, 'Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops*' (Acts xx. 28)—επισκοπους—it is really so. There were evidently several, perhaps many, bishops at Ephesus; and yet according to Mr. M'Neile's theory, there could not possibly have been more than one episcopal superintendent over all the clergy, even if Ephesus had been as populous as London, and the congregations of Christians as numerous. Now according to Mr. M'Neile's own theological puzzle, constructed to please Churchmen and confound Dissenters, I desire to know, and I wish Mr. M'Neile to tell us, to which of these many bishops at Ephesus that epistle which Paul did actually send there was delivered? I very much suspect that the difficult case Mr. M'Neile propounds to the Dissenting ministers of London, must actually have taken place on another occasion, when the messenger ordered by the Holy Spirit to be sent to the church at Ephesus by St. John was sent thither. If there were many bishops, how puzzled the poor messenger must have been; and then, moreover, nothing but doubt, rivalry, and contention must have ensued, unless they had all agreed—as very probably the Dissenting ministers of London would—to have it read in every church as a common admonition, and then there would be an end of all contention.

'So we have escaped from the snare he laid for us; and in the net which he spread is his own theory taken. There was evidently no one supreme pastor or bishop in Ephesus, but *many* bishops, and all are addressed by St. Paul, not as having *charge of the clergy*, but charge of the flock, or a portion of it, which they are commanded to feed.'
—pp. 43—44.

Whatever meaning, therefore, should be attached to the term 'angel,' as employed in the epistles to the seven churches, it is plain that it agrees as little with the practice of modern episcopalianism as with that of modern independency. Whatever may be its bearing on the notion that all the believers in a large city constituted but one church, it is clear that it cannot be interpreted as denoting that they were all governed by one bishop. We will only add, that where there is a plurality of bishops, one may act as president or chairman, and his office denote neither superiority nor permanence. Mr. M'Neile further cites the language of Paul to Timothy, as implying an authority in him, both in matters of doctrine and discipline, strictly episcopal. If our author had ever graced the ordination of an Independent pastor with his presence, and listened to the matters of the charge usual on such occasions, he would have learnt that there are seasons when this language which strikes him as so admirably episcopal, resounds from the pulpits of 'the Independent Dissenters' much more strongly than from those of his own Church; and it is only necessary that his patience should be sufficiently elastic to allow of his attending to the whole of such a service, in order to his perceiving, in the fullest manner, how we reconcile the use of such language with a feeling of cautious regard towards the rights of our Christian laity. But such, good reader, is the texture of the argument adduced by our author to demonstrate the 'SCRIPTURAL' standing of the Church of England; by which he promises himself that he shall not only confound all those inconsiderate Dissenters who assert that she has no better resting place than expediency, but cover those recreants among her sons with the same confusion, who are content to defend her upon such low grounds! We have seen that this is not the first occasion, and in relation to this same subject, on which temerity has been mistaken for strength. It may be a little vexing that boldness should thus out-balance discretion, and that power should prove such a loiterer compared with inclination, but things will sometimes move thus unequally in this disjointed world of ours.

Mr. M'Neile commences his second lecture by contending, that it is the duty of the magistrate, not only to protect and uphold Christianity, but that the form of Christianity thus preferred should be that which has been ascertained to be the most scriptural. From the shape, however, in which our Author has left his argument in this place, he does not appear to have looked at the fact, that, ac-

cording to this notion, the supreme judge in a state upon theological matters, must be the civil power, as distinct both from the church and its ministers. In this case the civil magistrate is supposed to choose between the claims of rival sects, and must take upon him the airs of sovereign pontiff for the purpose. Nor has Mr. M'Neile any right to expect this sort of favor from the civil power, except upon these degrading terms of subjection to its pleasure. This was the exact temper of the ecclesiastical power of the crown under the dynasty of the Tudors; and the power then usurped by the sovereign, is still, for the most part, vested in the civil constitution. As these are the only terms on which governments will ever consent to meddle with religion, we are concerned that statesmen should know how to mind their own business, and leave matters of religion with those to whose judgment they more properly pertain. Statesmen are no more competent to become theologians, than theologians are to become statesmen. Wherever these two powers have become joined, they have soon fallen upon cross purposes; and in their brawls and struggles for ascendency, the interests, not only of religion, but of humanity, have been too often sacrificed. If the magistrate must become a semi-priest, the priest will become a semi-magistrate. If the one cannot content himself with his province as relating to the body and to time, the other will not content himself with his province as relating to the soul and eternity. Let the one meddle beyond his proper line of demarcation, and the other will be sure to return that species of compliment. This unseemly contention reached its height under Hildebrand; and has raged on to the present day, breathing its hostility against Whig statesmen in one kingdom, and against lay 'intrusionists' in another.

Mr. M'Neile's argument on 'the mode of appointment to the 'Christian ministry,' is intended to establish the necessity of episcopal ordination, but contains not a single plea in the slightest degree inconsistent with the practice of those who are not Episcopalians. It admits that the choice was with the people, but insists that the 'appointment,' or the laying on of hands, was reserved to the apostles and their successors. That those successors were bishops, in the sense intended by Episcopalians, is far indeed from being proved. If Mr. M'Neile supposes, as he seems to do, that Dissenters do not inculcate any sentiments of reverence for the ministerial character, as such, we are sorry that he has not been at the pains to obtain a better knowledge of the sentiments of Dissenters before taking upon him the office of their censor. It is quite true, that when they find men calling themselves ministers, who prove to be nothing better than wolves in sheep's clothing, they have sometimes a rather summary method of dealing with such people. But we have no wish to see this usage among them become obsolete.

There is no dispute between our author, and the great body of Protestant Dissenters, as to the point of its being scriptural, and the general practice from primitive times, for men who have been themselves ordained, to be the persons to conduct the service of ordination. We consider ministerial character as originating with the call of the church, more than in the laying on of the hands of the presbytery; but we unite both in our general practice. The point at issue does not respect episcopacy at all, scripturally understood; but the diocesan form of ecclesiastical administration, to which the Church of England attaches so much importance, but of which the Scriptures know nothing. Mr. M'Neile, aware of the loose practices of his Church on this subject, complains of Dissenters as not distinguishing sufficiently between what is really done by her rulers, and what *ought* to be done by them.

'No man is recognized or received as a qualified minister in our church, who has not been presented to a bishop, and solemnly set apart for the office by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the bishop and assisting presbyters. This is in strict accordance with the scriptural pattern; and in order that, in compliance with apostolic precept, it may not be done suddenly or unadvisedly for any man, it is done after testimonials of the highest attainable respectability have been required as to character; and after careful examination as to literary and theological attainments.

'It is no sound argument against our church to say that some bishops, either from the indulgence of personal prejudices, or in the exercise of private or interested partialities, or from any other cause admit improper persons to holy orders. If this be done, it is done in defiance, and not in accordance with, the constitution of the church; and it is our scriptural constitution, not any unscriptural practices, that we defend. Nothing can be more uncandid than to support the appearance of an argument against a system, by dilating on abuses committed by individuals (whatever may be their station) in defiance of the system itself to which they belong. If the fundamental and authoritative enactments of the system, by which every member is bound, can be shown to be unscriptural, the case is different; but there may be, as there is, good and sufficient cause to protest against the abuse, without any approach to a scriptural cause for seceding from the system. The attention of our opponents is invited to this, and to a candid consideration of whether the lavish and reiterated use made by them of our real and supposed abuses, (as if they were arguments against our church system) do not supply internal evidence of the fact, that sound arguments against our fundamental principles are not so easily found. The blame, however, in such cases does not rest solely with the bishop. For in accordance with another feature of our scriptural pattern, no man is presented to a bishop for ordination in our church, without having the approbation of those lay members of the church who have had the best opportunities of judging of his character. Three times the congregation among whom he has been accustomed to worship are publicly

appealed to, that if any of them know cause why he should not be admitted to the sacred office, they do declare it. And finally, the bishop, before he commences the ordination service, thus addresses the congregation assembled. 'Brethren, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediments or notable crime, in any of these persons presented to be ordained deacons, for the which he ought not to be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the name of God, and show what the crime or impediment is.' Having allowed him to pass such an ordeal as this, how can they afterwards, with any show of consistency, complain against the bishop for ordaining him.'—pp. 25, 26.

This elaborate argument, which is intended to save the church at the cost of her children, or the system at the cost of those who have the working of it, has some show of validity; but, when examined, is found to be worse than useless. Men, we contend, have a full right to condemn any system, the abuses of which are more obvious than its uses; which includes tendencies, that make the violation of its own moral restrictions, not the exception, but the rule. This Mr. M'Neile must know to be the case with his own church. For one evangelical man like himself, whom she appoints to minister at her altars, she appoints some half dozen Oxford papists, or worldly-minded priests. What that church does in this respect now, she has always been doing, and always heretofore on a much larger scale of evil than now. The 'ordeal' boasted of has come down from remote and better times; but though it has existed from the age of Constantine to our own, ecclesiastical history has presented such a stream of corruption in this shape, as to have rendered the perusal of it one of the most prolific sources of infidelity. Our author does not seem to be aware, that by how much the more devout, solemn, stringent, and scriptural he would make this ordeal appear, by so much the more must he demonstrate the inveterate evils of all worldly establishments of Christianity; seeing that, in all time, and in all lands, these evils have been such, as not only to break through all restraints of this nature with perfect ease, but to do so with the breadth and regularity of a system, the practice of the church being everywhere as a perpetual mockery upon its rules!

It would be amusing to see the effect of an attempt to put something like the spirit of law into those dead forms to which our author attaches so much solemn importance. Any person, it seems, in the congregation where the candidate for holy orders has been accustomed to worship, may rise and show cause why the person named should not be admitted to the sacred office—a vestige, no doubt, of primitive congregationalism—and the same protest may be made before the bishop at the time of ordination. The protestor, in such case, if prepared to prove strong moral 'impediments,' or even 'notable crime,' would, we suspect, soon

find that he had undertaken a very inconvenient business. But to object to a young aspirant on the ground of his being destitute of any spiritual knowledge of his Bible, according to Mr. M'Neile's views on that subject; or because deficient in the evidence of personal piety, according to our Author's judgment on that matter, would assuredly be to incur the utmost scorn as a fanatic, or sincere pity as a madman.

Consequences like these follow naturally and inevitably from the attempt to assimilate the kingdom of Christ to the kingdoms of this world; and from a method of appointing ministers, which, as all history shows, is sure, in the general, to degenerate into a substitution of the ecclesiastical ceremonial, in the place of the eternal elements of right and wrong, of piety and its opposite. Some twenty years since, the Rev. William Jay preached a sermon at an ordination in London, from the text in Judges xvii. 13: 'Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a 'Levite to my priest.' Micah, who thus spoke, the preacher treated as a specimen of a class, and in proceeding to point out the manner in which an improper reliance may be placed on ministerial service, observed: 'This appears first, *in laying an* '*undue stress on a particular description of its officers.* Micah 'thought nothing of the character of his priest, if he had Levitical 'blood in him. He might be as wicked as Satan if he could 'prove legitimate descent: and therefore, though he knew him to 'be an idle, time-serving, hungry hireling, prostituting himself to 'the service of idols to get a piece of bread, he was satisfied, and 'sung out his superstitious confidence, 'Now know I that the Lord 'will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest.' What ig-'norance and delusion to expect that the Divine blessing would 'assuredly flow through such fingers, merely because of the tribe 'to which he belonged! And yet are there not persons, in 'a much more enlightened period, who approximate the same 'folly? Some, whatever may be his gifts and graces, would not 'for the world hear a man that is not episcopally sanctioned—yet 'will hear any thing on earth that is. Yea, we have been told, 'that in this country, all who worship out of the Established 'Church are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God; that 'all their ministers are destitute of a legitimate authorization: 'and therefore, that all their ministrations are invalid. Yet it is 'not many years ago, since the venerable Secker filled our metro-'politan chair; but he was baptized by the hands of Dissenters, 'without either godfathers or godmothers to be answerable for 'him. Yet he ordained numbers to the sacred office; and what 'is more lamentable still, he baptized his present Majesty,* the

* George III.

'head of the church, all of which, according to this principle, was 'null and void, as being performed by an officiator who either had 'no baptism himself, or a useless one. Nor was this a solitary 'instance. It is well known that Bishop Reynolds in England, 'and Hopkins in Ireland, and Cooper and Leighton in Scotland, 'were in the same dilemma; so that all they did personally, and 'all that was done by those on whom they laid hands, was illegal 'and ineffectual; and now, alas! it is to be feared, that it is too 'late to stop the consequences, or even to ascertain the multiplied 'directions in which the unhallowed stream has run!!—And are 'these persons pretending to serious religion, who know the im-'portance of doctrine, and of holiness in a minister, and yet can 'recommend people to attend on a man, *merely* because he is 'a Levite—however wretched in living and teaching too—while 'God has placed near them a man of acknowledged godliness, and 'who preaches 'all the words of this life.' O tell it not in Gath. '"What is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord!"*

Well might our reverend friend exclaim, with some appearance of astonishment and indignation, whether they should be regarded as Christians at all, who can uphold a system, the unavoidable tendencies of which are to substitute, in this manner, a ceremony in the place of godliness; to operate as a bounty on ecclesiastical pride, rather than to favor Christian humility; and the working of which is inseparable from such absurdities as are pointed out in the above passage. Melancholy, truly, it must be, that good old George III., so long the head of the church, and one, as we are told, of such exemplary piety too, should be left, through this sad flaw in ecclesiastical administration, to the uncovenanted mercies of God! That not only were all the bishops above named, in consequence of this defect no bishops, but all the priests ordained by these were in consequence no priests, all the sacraments administered by those priests in consequence no sacraments, and all the people who confided in them, believers in a lie, and left, in consequence, with the good old king, to the said uncovenanted mercy! More sad still, this evil is as rife now as ever; for there are, doubtless, hundreds, possibly thousands of the clergy, to whose appointment this flaw extends, whose sacramental services are all in this manner vitiated, and whose people, though they know it not, are all in this lamentably unprotected condition! If ever a case existed calling loudly for an immediate assembling of the two houses of Convocation, and most solemn scrutiny, surely such a case is here!

Mr. M'Neile's exposition of 'the power of the keys' as retained

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* An attempt to Regulate the Claims of the Christian Ministry, pp. 27—29.

in the Church of England, is much too moderate to satisfy the majority of his brethren. He would limit the form of absolution as it occurs in the Common Prayer, and in the Communion Service, simply to a 'declaring' or 'pronouncing' of the connexion which God has established between the faith of a penitent worshipper, and the forgiveness of sins. But in the form for the visitation of the sick, the priest is made to assume the power to '*absolve* 'all sinners who truly repent;' and this word, our author, after doing his best to soften and explain it, is candid enough to describe as equivocal and ill-chosen. And truly we think so.

The meaning which may be attached to forms by the intelligent, when duly cautioned against misconception, and that which is likely to be attached to them by the uninstructed and uncautioned mass, are widely different things; and to judge of the good or evil of such observances, we must look, not to the ingenious interpretations of particular persons, but to their general effect. Mr. M'Neile knows how to avail himself of this distinction when assailing the church of Rome, and must not account it either ungenerous or unjust if the same weapon is sometimes made to fall with inconvenient effect on the Church of England. So rare is the limited idea of the word "absolve," which is inculcated by Mr. M'Neile, and so common is the superstitious idea concerning it which he rejects, that if there were no other cause for separation from the hierarchy than the amount of ruinous delusion which is thus diffused over the land by a worldly priesthood, multitudes of conscientious men would be deterred by this circumstance alone from being connected with a system which carries so much sin along with it. It is in vain to say on this point and others, the fault is in the men, not in the system. If you become identified with a system, the bad of which is thus found to outweigh the good, and the abuses of which are found, after wide and protracted experiment, to be more certain than its uses, you are clearly a partaker of its sins. The play-goer may plead that he gets no harm from frequenting theatres, but he helps to keep machinery a-going which does produce harm to a frightful extent, and for that he will some day find that he is held accountable. It is so in this case. The devout clergyman may preach the truth, and may expound the sacraments scripturally; but he is party to a system which it is found cannot be prevented from teaching error on these points more frequently than truth, and for the consequences of the error so taught, he ought, in all justice, to consider himself as in part responsible. In this sense the exhortation, 'Come 'out from her, my people!' is of much wider application than is sometimes supposed.

In his third Lecture Mr. M'Neile has employed his eloquence in praise of the formularies of the Church of England; and his powers of argument in defence of a principle of union between

Church and State. At the conclusion of the former topic we have the usual song of triumph, in the shape of a lament over the fall of orthodoxy in some of the old presbyterian meeting-houses. Nothing of this, it seems, would have happened, if the said meeting-houses had only been blessed with the thirty-nine articles, and with the happy necessities of subscription. But if the frequenters of those meeting-houses are to be credited, the number of their brethren who worship in such places is few, compared with those who go to church. Socinian ministers, too, who preach in the pulpits of presbyterians, make no secret of knowing many who are quite of one mind with them in divinity, and continue to officiate in the pulpits of a Trinitarian establishment. Heresy may be a very bad thing, but can hardly be so bad in itself as when allied with hypocrisy. Again, has it never occurred to Mr. M'Neile to ask himself, whether the loss of a dozen or two of meeting-houses, in the length and breadth of this great kingdom, has not been abundantly compensated by the sound health which, somehow or other, is found to characterise the theological opinion and feeling of the great body of dissenters in this country when compared with his own church? Go to dissenting chapels as indiscriminately as you may, and do you find there the heartless or haughty readers of moral essays as five or six to one against the devout preacher of the gospel? If the minds of men are to run mad upon Hawkerism, Prophetic Interpretation, Irvingism, Plymouth-brethrenism, Puseyism, or any kindred folly, from what quarter do such extravagances derive their chief nourishment? Not from the dissenters, who lack the protection of articles and formularies, but from the clergy and laity of the Church of England, who are wont to boast, in the manner of Mr. M'Neile, of the security which they derive from such means. It is plain, that protestant dissenters are not only much more orthodox, without articles and subscriptions, than the Established Church is with them; but that they are, on the whole, far better secured against the ever-changing 'wind of 'doctrine,' by which the superficial and the well-grounded are sure from time to time to be distinguished from each other.

On the principle of union between the Church and the State, Mr. M'Neile's theory is, that if the State does not bribe the clergy into the character of modest and useful servants, it must deal with them in the character of haughty and tyrannical masters. The terrors at the bidding of the priest, are greater than those at the bidding of the magistrate; and in any struggle between these powers, the former will, in consequence, be sure in the end to gain the mastery. This was manifestly the case in the dark ages, and it must be so in effect in all ages, however great their intelligence.

This will occur to some of our readers as a sweeping kind of philosophy. It exhibits Mr. M'Neile's 'short method' with the

voluntaries. It has no pretension, however, to novelty. It is borrowed, strange to say, from that liberalized semi-infidel school against which our author has so often plied the force of his invective; and among all the crudities of that school, there is not another including more of gross libel upon Christianity. To say that the effect of the gospel, if left to itself, must be to debase and enthral the civil power, and not to ennoble and strengthen it; to set up a priestly tyranny in the place of law and freedom; to mould a priesthood after the order of Hildebrand, and not after the pattern of St. Paul—this, and things like these, we can understand as insinuated by the malignant enemies of our faith, but they sound strange to us, coming, not only from a clergyman, but that clergyman an ultra foe to all symbolizing with infidels! Civil government, it appears, is the seat of intelligence, moderation, and virtue, and has every thing to apprehend from Christianity, except as secured to good behaviour by motives of interest derived from the things of this world. We are told, indeed, that Christianity is not in itself this bad thing. But still this is the one great use which human nature will be sure to make of it in the circumstances supposed. In either case, here it is; a sort of nuisance, which the civil power must abate as it best may. The world, so far as all its worldly matters are concerned, would have been far better without it; but by some means, like its precursors, sin and death, it has found its way to our abodes, and we must submit to it, as to others, with as much philosophy as we can command. It may seem to promise, that it will make men just, humble, humane, generous, and that it will thus favour social order and happiness; and it may profess to carry a divine power along with it to realize such promises; but it will be neither devout nor philosophical to pay the least heed to such pretensions, inasmuch as all experience shows, that if not taken into the pay and favoritism of the state, it will hire itself out to another master, and will reign as an usurper, because it was not employed as a mercenary!

Can the cause be Christian which requires the aid of such argumentation? No; it is a device of man. It owes its origin for the greater part to the worldliness of human nature; and these assumptions concerning Christianity, designed to favour it, may be traced to the same source. Our author is obliged to admit, that the many thousands of dissenting ministers resident in these kingdoms, betray little of the facility or inclination to amass wealth and consolidate power, in the manner alleged concerning all persons in their circumstances. But the cause of this exception, it is said, is to be found in the fact, that there is an Established Church, which it is well known would gladly receive the oppressed refugees from the conventicle to the arms of her charity! In our simplicity, we should have thought that a more natural cause might have been found in the abatement of superstition among us, by

the greater prevalence of a scriptural piety. We suspect, also, that the cause which has rendered clerical power so harmless, and in so great a degree beneficial among dissenters, might be safely confided in, to render all undue priestly pretension a very innoxious thing in any country like England.

But this inconvenient exception to our author's theory, supplied by the character and history of the dissenting ministers of Great Britain, recurs over the whole surface of the United States, and without the presence of that never-failing source of good—an Established Church to account for it. We do not find that our clerical brethren across the Atlantic are accustomed to band together for the purpose of measuring their strength, in close and vigorous onset, with their lay brethren at Washington, in the manner which Mr. M'Neile's theory would lead us to expect. The ecclesiastical bodies of that land partake of the most careful organization, and they have occasions on which they can speak out with great power; but it somehow happens, that this is never done to demand exorbitant wealth, or any dangerous measure of political influence, either from the State or from their people, but rather, on all occasions, to further the interests of an enlightened patriotism, or the cause of religion and philanthropy all the world over. It is strange that the portion of the globe where, on Mr. M'Neile's principle, priestcraft should be most rife, is just that part of the world in which the said craft is the least known. This fact would seem to suggest that the best means of securing the civil liberties of a Christian people, is not, as alleged by our author, to subsidize their ministers, but rather to leave them to the charge of their flocks, and to their spiritual duties—in short, that it is not in its alliance with a church establishment, but rather in the non-existence of any such establishment, that civil government may expect to realize the highest degree of tranquillity, vigor, and prosperity.

Mr. M'Neile's theory on this point, then, as on some others, is much more bold than true. Indeed, we must say, that history is a branch of study on which our divine has read little, and thought less. Nor would we advise him in future to bestow much time on such topics. To make the occurrences of the past serve as lights to the present, demands a compass, penetration, and patience of thought, which is not his gift. The difference between the age of Hildebrand and our own is a small matter in his calculations. He is a man of talent and energy, and is, we believe—notwithstanding some of his rash speeches—a man of sincere piety too, but, like his distinguished predecessor, he does not always see where his real strength lies, and often mistakes the force of declamation for vigor of understanding.

The learned Michaelis, in his commentaries on the law of Moses, says concerning tithes, 'The payment and the apprecia-

'tion of them he left to their consciences, without subjecting them 'to judicial or sacerdotal visitations. The conscientious accuracy 'of the people, with respect to the second tithe, he secured merely 'by the declaration which they made every three years before 'God.' In agreement with this passage, from so high an authority, it has been often affirmed of late that there is neither authority nor example in the Old Testament, any more than in the New, for compulsory payments towards the support of religion. In his fourth lecture, Mr. M'Neile undertakes to demolish this favorite argument of the voluntaries. The passage cited for this purpose is Lev. xvii. 2—5; 'Speak unto Aaron, and unto his 'sons, and unto all the children of Israel, and say unto them, This 'is the thing which the Lord hath commanded, saying, what man 'soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, 'or goat, in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp, and 'bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congre-'gation, to offer an offering unto the Lord before the tabernacle 'of the Lord; blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed 'blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people; to 'the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices, 'which they offer in the open field, even that they may bring 'them unto the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the con-'gregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace-offerings 'unto the Lord.' Here, it will be perceived, the whole force of the argument must rest on the meaning to be attached to the expression, 'shall be *cut off* from among his people.' That there are occasions on which this expression is used to denote putting to death we do not deny; but that there are others on which it is employed simply to denote excommunication, or a cutting off from religious privileges, is fully as certain. Thus in Gen. xvii. 14, it is written concerning 'the uncircumcised male child,' that 'that soul shall be *cut off* from his people.' It will not, we suppose, be pretended, that this means, he shall be put to death. So in Exod. xii. 15, 'Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first 'day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever 'eateth unleavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, 'that soul shall be *cut off* from Israel.' In this case again, it can hardly be maintained that capital punishment by the hand of the magistrate is intended. In Zech. xi. 9, xiii. 8, to be 'cut off' and 'to die,' are mentioned as distinct degrees of punishment; the lighter of which is no doubt that which Paul intended when he said, 'I would they were even *cut off* that trouble you;' and when he warned the Gentiles of the danger of their being 'cut off' from their religious privileges as the Jews had been. That this milder interpretation is that which should be given to the expression in the passage cited by Mr. M'Neile, is in the highest degree probable, from the fact that we have no instance, in the subsequent

history of the Israelites, of the punishment of death on account of the delinquency set forth in that passage, though unquestionably often chargeable upon multitudes of the people.

The old doctrine, that the compulsory payment of tithes is sanctioned by the Old Testament, is, it seems, given up as indefensible; and it was an occasion of no small delight to our author's coercionist auditory, to find that there was at least one passage which appeared to lend its sanction to their favorite principle, though in the most limited degree imaginable. Even this passage, however, cannot be made to serve them. It is still manifestly true, that compulsory payments for religion are not only without sanction from any part of Divine Revelation, but contrary to its letter and its spirit.

Mr. M'Neile contends that no violence is done to the conscience of the Dissenter by the State, because it appropriates certain portions of the public money to the support of the State Church; inasmuch as the payment made by the Dissenter is in the shape of a general tax to the public treasury, the particular application of that treasure being an act for which the government alone is responsible. We may seek the repeal of laws which we deem unchristian, but all law, so long as it is law, should be obeyed. In this representation of the matter, it seems to be overlooked, that tithes and church-rates are separate payments for certain specified religious purposes. It is to be concluded, from Mr. M'Neile's language, that he would not pay a tax in this shape for the support of the college of Maynooth; but what he would not himself do for the Church of Rome, the Dissenter, it seems, ought to do for the Church of England! The same principle is involved in the two cases; but a manner of proceeding which would be felt in the one instance as a gross violation of conscience, should not, on any account, be so spoken of in the other!

Sir Robert Harry Inglis has spoken out on this subject; and those dissenters who oppose a passive resistance to such exactions of the state, owe him some acknowledgment for having given the sanction of his high authority to their practice. 'FOR MYSELF,' said the representative of the university of Oxford, 'I WILL NEVER 'CONSENT TO PAY A SIXPENCE FOR TEACHING AS THE WORD OF 'GOD, WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE CONTRARY TO THAT WORD.' We advise our readers of the John Thorogood class to copy this sentence, and to place it in the hands of officious proctors and churchwardens, as the sum of their argument on such questions.

Mr. Binney's sermon is a vigorous exposure of the gross social injustice involved in the schemes of the church-extensionists; and also of the impolicy of the project, considered as the means of advancing real piety. We were not only to be crushed, by the widening ascendency of the Established Church, but the felicity was, we were to pay largely for the privilege of being put

out of existence! We can hardly fail to be grateful for so much good intention on the part of our friends. It must be highly proper, in such a case, to accept the will for the deed.

Dr. Redford's lecture is adapted to more permanent use than that of Mr. Binney, and cannot be too widely circulated. On the whole, we believe that the worst in our world's history has passed, and that the brighter and better day is at hand. We revere the piety of such men as Dr. Chalmers and Mr. M'Neile, we respect their good intentions, but we are confident that the result of their labours will be the reverse of their hopes. They have contributed to give an impulse to the controversy with regard to the true nature of the Saviour's kingdom, which will not soon die away. An important link belongs to them in the chain of causes which are to bring about a great change in our ecclesiastical affairs, such as will render the inconsistencies and follies familiar to us, as much a wonder to the times to come, as are those of bygone ages to ourselves. The tide may have its retreating wave, but its course is still onward. Resistance may be varied, formidable, obstinate, but it is foredoomed; the great Searcher of the heart knoweth that our prayer, hope, and effort, are for the progress of pure Christianity; and that our desire to this end is, the diffusion of intelligence, equal justice, a fair field, and favour to no man.

Art. II. *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, &c.* By Agnes Strickland. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Colburn, 1840.

MORE lives of the Queens of England! We have no objection—the public will always benefit by fair and honest rivalry; and, since ladies must write, we are happy to see them expending their time and talents on instructive and improving works.

The lives of the queens consort of England are so little known to the general reader, that a good work on the subject is a great desideratum. It is one, however, which every lady is not competent to undertake:—the task requires not only patient industry in the collection of materials, but the ability to use them effectively and to the purpose when obtained. The weapons may be efficient, but if the arm that attempts to wield them be powerless or unskilful, the effort must end in disappointment.

The chief requisites in which the majority of ladies would be deficient, are discrimination, conciseness, and the power of coming directly to the point. In proportion as these qualities are found in the mind of any female, in that exact proportion may she claim the somewhat questionable distinction of a *masculine* understand-

ing; and to show her title to it by the production of a vigorous and effective history, might possibly prove (such is the degeneracy of the age) a surer passport to the temple of Fame, than to that of Hymen.

Histories, however, are of different kinds. What may be called philosophical history, as it can be written, so can it be appreciated only by the few—the better few. Mere narrative and entertaining history may be written by and for the many; and may be as useful in its way, as that of a superior order: perhaps more so, as the interests of the many are of more importance than those of the few. The million make up the world, and common things are their things.

We have made these remarks, because we think, that the distinction which we have attempted to make, is applicable, in some degree, to the rival histories, (we do not use the word in any invidious sense) of Miss Lawrance* and Miss Strickland. In the work of the former lady there is more of original thought and philosophical inquiry; in that of the latter, perhaps a greater copiousness and variety of incident; and a faithful setting forth of circumstances, from which the reader is left to draw, if he pleases, his own conclusions.

The mere lives of many of the queens would lie in a very small compass; but so much of other matter is contained in Miss Strickland's history, that it might with propriety have been called an epitome of the lives of the kings and queens of England. The history of the latter is a thread, which runs indeed throughout the web, but by no means constitutes its substance. We are aware that this could not be altogether avoided.

That same discrimination, of which we have spoken, appears to us to be rather wanting in Miss Strickland's work. Her 'deep research,'† has brought forward many persons as historical authorities, who surely never figured in *that* character before; yet, if they are not flagrantly at variance with those of greater weight, and the internal evidence of their stories, is not in itself sufficient to confute them, we confess we know not who can controvert their evidence. It is useless, however, to load a history with the *impedimenta* of numerous authorities who can add no weight to those already known. In one sense, it may be favorable to the author: it shows that she has neglected no source of information to which she could have access—which is greatly to her credit.

We proceed to give some specimens of the work; and that we may not repeat ourselves, we shall select those lives which are not given by Miss Lawrance; or from which, in noticing her work, we did not quote.

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* We must be understood as speaking of Miss Lawrance's first volume only; the second we have not seen. † Her own words.

First in order is Matilda of Flanders, queen of William the conqueror—a lovely woman, if her portrait is indeed a likeness of herself; with finely moulded features, and glorious eyes; a compound of graceful majesty and stately sweetness. Probably our tastes are not like those of the conqueror—right royal; but, if the two lines of conquest were proposed to us, we should undoubtedly prefer to the reduction of a kingdom, the conquest of the heart of such a woman.

As we are morally certain that no civilized person could guess the process by which this peerless lady was wooed and won by William of Normandy, we will take compassion on the reader, and describe it. The lady's heart, it seems, was pre-occupied; but,

'It was in vain that his foes and jealous kinsmen intrigued against him in the Flemish court; that the parents of the lady objected to his illegitimate birth and doubtful title to the duchy of Normandy; that the church of Rome interdicted the marriage between parties within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity; and, worse than all, the lady herself treated him with coldness and hauteur. After seven years, delay, William appears to have become desperate; and *if** we may trust the evidence of the chronicle of Inger, he, in the year 1047, waylaid Matilda in the streets of Bruges as she was returning from mass, seized her, rolled her in the dirt, spoiled her rich array, and, not content with these outrages, struck her repeatedly, and rode off at full speed. This Teutonic method of courtship, according to our author, brought the affair to a crisis, for Matilda, either convinced of the strength of William's passion by the violence of his behaviour, or afraid of encountering a second beating, consented to become his wife. The marriage between the royal cousins took place in 1052.'—vol. i. p. 6.

Perhaps she thought that the only way to escape from the violence of her boisterous lover would be to place herself under his protection; for some inscrutable reason or other she married him; and, stranger still, this rough wooing was the prelude to happy matrimony; for which, indeed, a sufficient reason appears to be given in the assurance, that 'William was the most devoted of 'husbands, and *always* allowed her *to take the ascendant in the* '*matrimonial scale.*' She appears to have been a woman of considerable talents, and excelling in the learning and accomplishments of her age. She presented her husband, when about to sail for the invasion of England, with a 'splendid vessel of war, 'called the Mora, which she had caused to be built unknown to 'him, and adorned in the most royal style of magnificence for his 'acceptance;' and when he had achieved the conquest of this country, she recorded his exploits with her needle, in the celebrated Bayeux Tapestry, which exists to the present day. During the

* *If,* indeed!

absence of the Duke, she governed Normandy as Regent with great prudence and address; and perfectly preserved the peace of his dominions. One only difference is said to have arisen between them; and to this we attach but little credit.

'The Norman ladies were exceedingly malcontent at the long 'protracted absence of their lords' in England; and the lady of Hugh Grantmesnil, governor of Winchester—one of those good-natured people, who, in the words of Lord Bacon, would set their neighbour's house on fire for the sake of roasting their own eggs—had amused herself by circulating reports of the infidelities of their husbands.

'Githa, the mother of Harold, eagerly caught at these reports, which she is said to have taken great pleasure in circulating. (We do not wonder much at that.) She communicated them to Sweno, king of Denmark, and added, that the reason why Marleswent, a Kentish noble of some importance, had joined the late revolt in England, was because the Norman tyrant had dishonored his fair niece, the daughter of one of the canons of Canterbury. This tale, whether true or false, came in due course to Matilda's ears, and caused the first conjugal difference that had ever arisen between her and her lord. She was by no means of a temper to take any affront of the kind patiently, and it is said she caused the unfortunate damsel to be put to death with circumstances of great cruelty.'—p. 81.

Another act is charged on Queen Matilda which we place in the same category. Before she had been beaten into a liking for her husband, she had been strongly attached to Brihtric Meaw (a Saxon) the lord of the honor of Gloucester, who resided at her Father's court as ambassador from Edward the confessor. This person, however, declined to meet her advances, and it is said, 'that in the first year of William the conqueror, Matilda obtained 'from her lord the grant of all Brihtric's lands and honors, and 'that she then caused the unfortunate Saxon to be seized at his 'manor of Hanelye, and conveyed to Winchester, where he died in 'prison, and was privately buried.' And the author thinks that a post mortem examination would have disclosed the reason why his burial was private.

Yet of the woman to whom this deed is imputed Ordericus Vitalis speaks as follows. She derived her descent from kings of France, and emperors of Germany; but was even more distinguished for purity of mind and manners than for illustrious lineage. She was munificent and liberal, uniting beauty with gentle breeding, and all the graces of Christian holiness. She was indefatigable in alleviating distress in every shape, and won the love of all hearts.—vol. i. p. 57.

Could such a woman be guilty of such crimes? If she could, we can only say in addition, that her face belied her—that the

science of physiognomy must be a dream, and those who trust it visionaries; and, that she was one of the best disguised and sweetest fiends that ever cozened men of their affections. We quote the following passage for the information of such of our readers as are fond of an etymology.

'Matilda, the wife of William the conqueror, was the first consort of a king of England who was called *Regina*. Cwene or quen, was anciently used as a term of equality, indiscriminately applied to men or women. In the old Norman chronicles and poems, instead of the duke of Normandy and his peers, the phrase used is the duke of Normandy and his quens; likewise the quen di Flandres, the quen di Leicestre. So late as the 13th century, a collection of poems, written by Charles of Anjou and his courtiers, is quoted as the songs of the quens of Anjou. Also in a chant of the 12th century, enumerating the war cries of the French provinces, we find,

> 'And the quens of Thibaut,
> 'Champagne' and 'passavant' cry.'—vol. i. p. 2.

The life of Eleanor of Acquitaine is the most stirring in the series; but having noticed it in our review of Miss Lawrance's volume, we shall only say, that Miss Strickland asserts, we know not on what authority, that the proposal for the divorce of Eleanor from the king of France, 'certainly originated from the queen,' and that 'the marriage was declared invalid, but not dissolved on 'account of the queen's adultery, as is commonly asserted.'—vol. i. p. 319.

We do not know where it is commonly asserted; we have always understood that the divorce took place because the parties were related within the prohibited degrees; and that the conviction of Eleanor's adultery was merely the motive which induced the king to rake up the plea of that consanguinity, of which he must of course have been as well aware before he married her as he was afterwards.

Of Berengaria of Navarre—the gentle queen of Richard Cœur de Lion, there is little to be said; but that little is well worth the saying. Her marriage with Richard was one of pure affection, and she was a model of domestic virtue in a station peculiarly unfavourable for its development. Gentle, constant, and affectionate to her husband, she bore his temporary neglect with patience, and received his returning love with joy. She followed him in all his campaigns, and was with him at his death. Having been deprived of him and of all the friends that rendered life delightful in quick succession, she retired to the Orleannois, where she founded the abbey of L'Espan, in which she died and was buried. Peace be with her!

The ruling passion of Isabella of Angoulême, the consort of King John, appears to have been ambition. Betrothed to Hugh de Lusignan, she violated her engagement to marry the 'felon 'king,' although she secretly preferred her former lover. In her fifteenth year she became the wife of John; and, although her influence over him was perhaps as great as could have been expected, it did not 'mend his manners; he became notoriously worse after 'his union with her.' We must give a specimen of the manner in which he sometimes treated her (for his ill usage does not appear to have been constant), and bad as that was, she might probably congratulate herself that it was no worse.

'The passion of John for his queen, though it was sufficiently strong to embroil him in war, was not exclusive enough to secure conjugal fidelity; the king tormented her with jealousy, while on his part he was far from setting her a good example, for he often invaded the honor of the female nobility. The name of the lover of Isabella has never been ascertained, nor is it clear that she was ever guilty of any dereliction from rectitude. But John revenged the wrong that, perhaps, only existed in his malignant imagination, in a manner peculiar to himself. He made his mercenaries assassinate the person whom he suspected of supplanting him in his queen's affections, with two others supposed to be accomplices, and secretly hung their bodies over the bed of Isabella. After this awful tragedy, the queen was consigned to captivity, being conveyed to Gloucester Abbey under the ward of one of her husband's foreign nobles.'—vol. ii. p. 55.

'He was afterwards reconciled to her, but 'the queen, soon after her return to England in 1214, was superseded in the fickle heart of her husband by the unfortunate beauty Matilda Fitz-Walter, surnamed the Fair. The abduction of this lady, who, to do her justice, thoroughly abhorred the royal felon, was the exploit which completed the exasperation of the English barons, who flew to arms for the purpose of avenging the honor of the most distinguished among their class, lord Fitz-Walter, father of the fair victim of John.

'The unfortunate Matilda, who had roused the jealousy of the queen, and excited the lawless passion of John, was supposed to be murdered by him in the spring of the year, 1215.'*—vol. i. p. 59, 60.

They were again reconciled, and John consigned his heir, Prince Henry, to the care of his queen, and sent her to the strong city of Gloucester, just before the invasion of Prince Louis of France. He soon after died at Swinestead Abbey, most probably of intermittent fever.

After the death of her husband, and the coronation of her young son Henry, the widowed queen betook herself to her native city

* The authority for this statement is the 'Book of Dunmow.'

of Angoulême; and afterwards meeting with her old lover, Hugh de Lusignan, now Count de la Marche, she became his wife, in the year 1220, according to Matthew, of Westminster. Nothing is alleged against her domestic conduct, but her pride and ambition involved her husband in a war with Louis IX. of France, from whom she had persuaded him to withdraw his allegiance, and to transfer it to her son, Henry III. of England. In the progress of this disastrous war, her husband and herself were stripped of nearly all their dominions, and were fain at last to throw themselves on the mercy of the king of France, who, with his characteristic mildness and generosity, forgave them. Notwithstanding this,

'Soon after, in 1244, the life of King Louis was twice attempted: the last time the assassins were convicted, and before their execution, confessed that they had been suborned by Queen Isabella, to poison the good king of France. Isabella gave color to the accusation by flying for sanctuary to the Abbey of Fontevraud, 'where she was hid in the secret chamber, and lived at her ease,' says Matthew Paris; though the Poitevins and French, considering her as the origin of the disastrous war with France, called her by no other name than Jezebel, instead of her rightful appellation of Isabel.* Her son and husband were about to be tried on this accusation of poisoning, when the Count de la Marche 'made appeal to battail, and offered to prove in combat with his accuser Alphonse, brother to St. Louis, that his wife was belied. The prince refused to meet him, because he was 'treason-spotted,' and afterwards, for the same reason, declined the challenge of his son. This affront offered to her brave young son, seems to have broken the heart of Isabella, 'she never came out of the secret chamber again, but assuming the veil, died of a decay, brought on by grief, in the year 1246.'—vol. ii. p. 71.

Her second husband, Count Hugh, was killed in the crusade three years afterwards.

We look in vain for one redeeming trait in the character of John: the chief, the absorbing quality of his mind, appears to have been intense uncalculating selfishness. A thoroughly spoiled child, his parents were of course the first to suffer from his vices; though, unfortunately, the world at large was doomed to suffer from them too. Attracted by the personal beauty of his wife, he snatched her from her affianced husband, a brave and worthy man, and no contemptible enemy. He used her ill, and even clothed her meanly; though his own person was decorated with the most lavish splendor. Miss Edgeworth has somewhere said, 'There is some good in all God's creatures.' She forgot

* After all, Mr. Jezebel M'Neile is but a copyist.

John Lackland, when she wrote the sentence. Of paternal, filial, and brotherly affection, he was entirely destitute: he was father, son, and brother, to himself. Deeds of lust and cruelty are the only landmarks in his journey through this world. It appears to us that there was a dash, not only of imbecility, but of insanity in his character; and this is the most charitable thing that can be said of him.

We quote the following passages, because they are found in the Ypodigma Neustriæ (though Miss Strickland has not told us where) and Walsingham, is a good authority.

'Robert de Vaux gave five of his best palfreys, that the king might hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife.'

Here is a monarch making himself a party to the vices of his subjects, for the sake of a bribe.

'Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the king's order to *make* Isolda Bisset take him for a husband.'

'To the bishop of Winchester is given one tun of good wine, for *not* putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the countess of Albemarle.'—vol. ii. p. 58, 59.

That combination of vices is rare indeed, which causes one and the same individual to be both contemned and dreaded—John was both.

There is one circumstance, which we believe is not generally known even to historians, viz. that the *Commons* of England are indebted to John for the commencement of their liberties. When the barons—caring only for themselves—had wrung from him an acknowledgment of, and a security for, their own particular privileges, *he* added, probably for the sake of annoying them, 'We will, 'that the privileges which we grant to you, be also secured to your 'dependents,' or words to that effect:* and the barons, who professed to be striving for justice and the rights of man, could not refuse that to others which they were contending for themselves.

The long reign of Henry the Third was marked by internal troubles, which in part were his misfortune and in part his fault. The barons, who had found their power, were well disposed to use it. Haughty, captious, and ambitious, they would have created grievances, if they could not have found them ready made. Acknowledging individually and theoretically the king as their superior, they were ready collectively and actually to treat him

* Vide Magna Charta.

as somewhat less than an equal: and the utmost prudence and firmness would have been required in the monarch, to keep them in their proper sphere. Their feudal power was then in its palmy state, and the only way to neutralize their influence, was to play them off against each other, and the church against them all. The Londoners, too, constituted at that day a separate power, which was well worth conciliating: they both furnished the sinews of war and fought in person; and their weight would frequently have turned the scale.

No man could have been more unfit to control and reduce to order these jarring elements than Henry the Third, and unfortunately the course pursued by him, and in which Queen Eleanor appears to have done her best to help him forward, was only calculated to make confusion worse confounded.

King Henry was made up of negatives; he was not good looking; he was not talented; he was not firm; he was not prudent; he was not absolutely bad. His very pleasures were not of an active kind; fondness for dress and show, and for luxurious living, appears to have been his ruling passion—in which his queen too well agreed with him.

The two principal faults of their government seem to have been their preference and advancement of foreign relatives (time out of mind a sore subject with Englishmen), and their oppressive measures for raising money, which, when procured, was wasted in thriftless pleasure.

The queen, very young, very beautiful, very clever, and very thoughtless, was of a much more active, or rather violent, disposition than her husband; he was very fond of her, and she ruled him. Indeed, she was furnished with an argument in her own favor, which, if we may judge of what was done in former days by what is done in ours, she was likely enough to use whenever it would serve her purpose. He—king as he was—had been five times refused by as many different princesses, and she—Eleanor la Belle—had done him, a very plain gentleman, the honor of marrying him. Could he do less than allow her to have her own way in all things? She was, however, very faithful to him; and, sooth to say, *her* way, except with regard to providing for some of her poor relations, was generally his.

He commenced his married life as follows:

'The expenses of Eleanor's coronation were enormous. So great was the outlay beyond the king's resources, that Henry expended the portion of his sister Isabella, just married to the Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of defraying them.

'Great offence, it seems, had already been taken by the nation at the number of foreigners, especially Italians, who had accompanied or followed Queen Eleanor to England. Among these was her uncle,

Peter of Savoy, one of the younger brothers of the Countess of Provence.

'Henry had created Peter Earl of Richmond, and at the suit of the queen bestowed upon him that part of London called the Savoy, from this prince. He paid the crown but the nominal quit rent of three broad arrows. Peter founded there a noble palace, which the queen his niece afterwards purchased of him for her son Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.

'In the course of one short year, the ascendency which the uncle of his young queen gained over the plastic mind of Henry was so considerable, that the administration of the kingdom was entirely left to his discretion, and all the patronage of church and state passed through his hands.'—Vol. ii. pp. 87, 88.

Eleanor was a Provençal, and, almost of course in that day, a patroness of literature; of which Henry was equally fond, and

'This reign affords the first example of a poet laureate, in the person of one Master Henry, to whom, by the name of the versificator, the king orders one hundred shillings to be given in payment of his arrears.'—p. 91.

'The following year two other uncles of the queen, Thomas, Count of Savoy, and Boniface, his younger brother, visited England; and Henry, out of complaisance to his consort, received and entertained them with such magnificence, that not knowing how to support the charge by honest means, he sent word to the Jews, that unless they presented him with twenty thousand marks, he would expel them all the kingdom; and thus he supplied himself with money for his unjust generosity.'—Ib. p. 93.

This Boniface was afterwards created Archbishop of Canterbury.

The following is one example selected from many, of the manner in which he contrived to alienate the affections of the Londoners.

'In the beginning of the year 1245, the queen was delivered of her second son, Prince Edmund. The parliament having in the preceding November refused an aid to the king, he levied a fine of fifteen hundred marks on the city of London, under pretence that they had sheltered one Walter Buckerel, whom he had banished. Henry was encouraged in this unconstitutional proceeding by a very trivial circumstance. A fire broke out in the Pope's palace, and destroyed the chamber in which the principal deed of Magna Charta was kept, *which made the queen fancy it was rendered null and void.*'—Ib. p. 99.

So ready are people to believe what they wish.

The country at this time was in a state of such confusion and insubordination, that in travelling through Hampshire, the lug-

gage of the king and queen was robbed, their wine drunk, and themselves insulted.

As a proof that Henry 'as he got older, got never the wiser,' we give the following instance of his incurable extravagance. It occurred on the marriage of his heir, Prince Edward, with Eleanora of Castile, who joined the king at Bordeaux, where

'He had prepared so grand a festival for the reception of the young Infanta, that he expended three hundred thousand marks on her marriage feast, to the indignation of his English peers. When one of them reproached him for this extravagance, the king replied in a dolorous tone, 'O for the head of God say no more of it, lest men should stand amazed at the relation thereof.'—Ib. p. 165.

Amazed, indeed!—for, if this statement is correct at all points (and it appears to be taken from Matthew Paris, who lived with the king; and the sum is written out in words), the expenditure on this one occasion amounted to about *three millions* of money at its present value.

After this the reader need *not* be amazed to learn that in the year 1249, the king was reduced to 'the degrading expedient of 'soliciting loans and gifts of every person of condition who entered 'his presence,' assuring them 'that it would be a greater act of 'charity to bestow money on him, than those who went from door 'to door begging an alms;' nor that the king and queen put all their servants on short allowance, abridged their wages, gave no gratuities, left off their royal robes, and daily invited themselves, Prince Edward, and a chosen number of their foreign kindred and favorites, to dine with the rich men of London, or the great men of the court, and were very much discontented unless presented with costly gifts at their departure, and that too, as a matter not of courtesy but of right.

The superior energy of Eleanor's character was manifested during the course of the Baron's war. She was on the continent, and

'Immediately the tidings of the disastrous field at Lewes reached Eleanor, she borrowed all the money she could raise on her jewels and credit, and proceeded to muster forces and equip a fleet. Matthew of Westminster does full justice to the energetic efforts of this 'noble virago,' as he styles her, for the liberation of her husband. She succeeded, he says, in getting together a great army, commanded by so many dukes and earls as seemed incredible; and those who knew the strength and power of that army affirmed 'that if they had once landed in England, they would presently have subdued the whole population of the country; but God in his mercy,' continues the chronicler, 'ordered it otherwise,' for while the queen and her foreign troops remained

wind-bound on the other side of the water, the battle of Evesham was fought and won by her valiant son Prince Edward.'—Ib. p. 137.

We should do injustice to the royal pair, did we not quote the following testimony in their favor: and be it remembered, that the custom of their times would have borne them out, in a very different method of proceeding.

'This battle (of Evesham) was fought on the 4th of August, 1265. Though great provocation had been given to the king and every member of the royal family, there was not a single drop of blood shed on the scaffold after this decisive triumph. Henry, with all his faults and follies was tender of human life, and mindful that the noblest prerogative of the crown is mercy. Neither is it recorded of Queen Eleanor that she ever caused a sanguinary vengeance to be inflicted on any of her foes.'—Ib. p. 139.

With this extract we must terminate a somewhat more imperfect sketch of the reign of Henry the Third than we had at first intended to give. Queen Eleanor survived her husband nineteen years; she died at the Abbey of Ambresbury, June 24 (we suppose in 1291), during the absence of her son in Scotland.

Edward the First, after the death of his beloved consort Eleanor of Castile, having passed through a period of intense suffering, sunk into a state of morbid melancholy, from which he so far roused himself at the end of a twelvemonth, as to make proposals for the hand of Blanche la Belle, sister of Philip le Bel of France, and the reigning beauty of Europe. In this he acted consistently with what Miss Strickland conceives to be a commonly received axiom in the present day; 'that a widower shows his love and 'respect for the memory of an excellent wife by entering again 'into the holy state of matrimony, at the first convenient opportunity.'

We are inclined to think, as a general rule—liable of course to exceptions—that the quantum of suffering endured by most men on great occasions is pretty much the same. In ardent minds it is fierce, but not of long duration, or nature would sink under it, and therefore wisely cuts it short; in those of less excitable temperaments, it is weaker but more lasting. Edward belonged to the former class, and appears to have acted accordingly.

His union with his second queen was not of very long duration, nor is there any thing of a very prominent nature in her character or adventures: there is something, however, which we hold to be better, and we have chosen her history as exemplifying the contested proposition, that wedlock may be very happy though entered into without great affection on either side. Edward was not strongly attached to Marguerite before their marriage, but

such was her conduct and disposition that he became so after it.

The king had proposed for the elder sister, Blanche la Belle, and her brother had acceded to the proposal; he afterwards violated the contract, and caused the name of his younger sister, Marguerite, then a child, to be fraudulently inserted in the articles. Edward resented this duplicity as might have been expected of him. 'A fierce war immediately ensued, and it was 'not till the year 1298, that any pacific arrangement took place 'between Edward and the brother of Blanche. The treaty was 'then renewed for Marguerite, who had grown up in the mean-'time.' 'She was married to Edward 8th September, 1299, 'when she was in her seventeenth year.'—p. 210. He left her a few days afterwards to proceed to Scotland.

During the Scottish wars, Marguerite followed the camp of Edward, and kept court in one of the northern counties. Her beautiful sister Blanche, Duchess of Austria, died in 1305; and Edward commanded prayers to be said for her soul by the Archbishop of Canterbury; because 'she was the dear sister of his 'beloved consort, Queen Marguerite.' 'The king,' says Miss Strickland, 'certainly bore no malice for the perfidy of his former 'love, doubtless being convinced (that) he had changed for the 'better.'

The life of Marguerite appears to have been passed in tempering the somewhat stern rule of her husband, and in deeds of private beneficence and mercy. After his death she lived in retirement, spending her magnificent dower in acts of charity, and in the encouragement of historians and architects. She was the first Queen of England who bore her arms with those of her husband in one scutcheon. The chronicles of England record no fault or folly of Queen Marguerite. Nothing exists to contradict the assertion of Piers Langtoft, that she was 'good withouten 'lack, and a worthy successor to Eleanor of Castile.'

The epithet of 'Longshanks' appears to have been a soubriquet bestowed on Edward by the Scots at the siege of Berwick; and to have been by no means warranted by his personal appearance; since, on the opening of his sarcophagus in Westminster Abbey, his body was found to be of fine and just proportions, and his statue (stature) from skull to heel, six feet two inches.

Might not the name of Longshanks be intended as a sort of metaphorical allusion to the great rapidity of his movements?

We have noticed, en passant, some inaccuracies. For instance, we are told that Eleanor of Provence was married to Henry the Third on the 4th of January, 1236, and afterwards, that her coronation 'was appointed to take place on the feast of St. Fabian 'and St. Sebastian, *six* days only after the bridal, being the 20th 'of January.'—Vol. ii. p. 82. Either the former date should be

the 14th, or the latter the 10th of January; or else it should be *sixteen* days after, &c.

Again, we are told in the life of Marguerite of France (vol. ii. p. 210), that she was married to Edward the First in her *seventeenth* year; and afterwards (p. 222), that her marriage took place in her *eighteenth* year. We point out these things not for the purpose of finding fault, but that they may be corrected in the subsequent editions to which we hope the work will reach.

Miss Strickland appears to have executed her task in a very creditable manner, and with great impartiality. Her work is just what the title expresses—Lives of the Queens of England—simply. The history of literature, art, and science; or of laws, customs, and progressive civilization, do not appear to come within the scope of her intention. She has done, we suppose, all that she meant to do; and there is much of entertainment and information in her volumes. Her task will increase in difficulty as she approaches the times in which we live; but it is one of exceeding interest, and will almost repay itself. With regard to some of our sovereigns we are promised disclosures which have never yet been made. We shall be happy to see them, but on this point we beg to offer one suggestion—that the field of history has been so often ploughed, that whatever of a novel nature is turned up within it, should be scrupulously examined before it is pronounced to be of value.

Art. III. 1. *The American Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter. New York, June,* 1840.

2. *The National Anti-Slavery Standard. New York, June,* 1840.

THE anti-slavery cause is daily becoming more important and interesting. The true seed was sown by Granville Sharpe, when he banished slavery from England. Its growth, however, was obstructed, and the movement of Clarkson and Wilberforce was only against the slave-trade. But the alliance between the slave-trade and slavery is so natural, that the difficulty with Clarkson and Wilberforce, at first, was to avoid seeming to aim at both whilst they had in view but one. The slave-trade advocates of that time were not slow to take advantage of this; and so powerfully did they use it in affecting the public mind, already vitiated as to every thing pertaining to slavery itself, that these excellent men were driven, in their exigency, to defend themselves on the ground that the colonial slave system was capable of sustaining itself by the natural increase of its victims, indepen-

dently of supplies from Africa. But times, and circumstances, and public opinion are greatly changed. The arguments and appeals that are now considered the most effectual to persuade the slavetraders and others who are, in any way, connected with them, to desist from their inhuman traffic, and to arouse the philanthropic to efforts for its extinction, have become identical with the arguments and appeals addressed to slaveholders, calling to them to cease from their iniquity, and to the humane everywhere to do what in them lies to bring its dominion to an end. Thus it is, that slavery and the slave-trade have become one, so far as benevolent action is concerned—and that they may be regarded as constituting together THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Of the increasing interest which is taken in this cause, the proofs are of the most unequivocal and cheering kind. So abundant, too, are they, that it would be superfluous, at this time of day, to enter on their enumeration; much more to dwell on them. Omitting, then, all other proofs of the growing regard that is felt for the anti-slavery cause, we shall offer but this,—Thomas Clarkson, as he was sitting, fifty years ago,—alone—by the road side—meditating in silence on the miseries of the middle passage till his sympathy for its victims rose almost to agony; hesitating for a time, because of the very enormity of the wrongs that lay before him, and the power of the wrongdoers, whether he should obey what seemed to him a supernatural impulse urging him forward for their redress — but at last, with a resolution which dangers could not daunt nor difficulties divert from its object, deciding to consecrate himself, body, and mind, and spirit to the poorest, the most wretched, the most despised of the race; and the same Thomas Clarkson, as he stood a few days since in the Anti-Slavery Convention, the Patriarch of Philanthropy, counselling the sons and the daughters whom his spirit had begotten in all lands, and who had come together from the ends of the earth to do him reverence; or as he showed himself still later to congregated thousands, in whose eyes he became 'the observed of all observers,' although sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, and in the midst of legislators, and judges, and orators, and nobles of his own land, and the representatives of the powers and the people of other lands. Such honor shown to the great apostle of a cause—just on the eve, too, as we must suppose it probable, of his final departure from among us, is proof enough of the honor in which the cause itself is held.

The increasing interest that is felt in the anti-slavery cause is some index, at least, of its increasing importance. Although it originated in England, and looked, at first, only to the suppression of the slave-trade so far as this country was concerned in it; and although it won over parliament to its views, and laws suppressing the trade have been enacted, and the government has been

engaged for years in carrying them out in good faith ; and although more than this, and even more than it ventured to hope for in the beginning (the abolition of slavery, so far as it was considered to exist in the British dependencies), has been the fruit of its riper age, yet neither is its strength exhausted by former trials, nor has it expired because nothing remains to be done. It does not, indeed, '*make* the meat it feeds on'—but it has found it fresh in unsuspected places. It has penetrated British India, and uncovered there a system of oppression verging to slavery, for a long time scarcely known at all to exist, the sufferers under which may be numbered by thousands.

Neither has it been restricted to the limits of British jurisdiction. In France it has spoken—is still speaking—and its voice is not unheeded. Neither is it in Denmark—in Holland—in Sweden. Even Mahomedan countries have not been wholly exempt from its explorations. And its voice is ever thundering along the shores of America—over its vast plains and mighty rivers — proclaiming afresh their own forgotten or despised truth, that man is endowed by his Creator with an inalienable right to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Indeed so pervasive, so comprehensive has the anti-slavery principle already become, that the *cause* to which it has given life may now justly be regarded as the combined movement of the Christianized humanity of all countries against slavery, the most cruel and brutal foe of the race wherever it is to be found. That humanity will finally prove victorious in the conflict we entertain no more doubt, than we do of the progress of truth and the ultimate reign of righteousness on the earth. Certain, however, as we regard the victory to be, we do not say, that it may not be retarded by wild and unworthy measures, or its glory sullied by the pride and the ambition or the errors of some of the host. Should this prove to be the case, we should not find it an easy task from our hearts to forgive those who, premonished that it *may* so turn out, have yet failed to do all that can be done to ward off the danger. We believe that such danger is now impending over us, and that, too, at one of the most interesting and important points in the whole movement. We allude to America. And it has been with a view chiefly to point out this danger, in order that it may be wholly guarded against, or made as innocuous as possible, that we have addressed ourselves to this article.

Before entering on the causes which seem to have brought the abolitionists of America into their present posture, it may be well first to apprise our readers what that posture is. It has been evident, at least for the last two years, if not longer, that very opposite views were beginning to be taken by different portions of our American friends—not as to the sinfulness of slaveholding, nor as to the duty of the master's immediately ceasing from it, for

on these points it is believed they are fully agreed—but as to other doctrines leading to changes of serious moment in the religious, social, and political condition of the country. The party espousing these changes professes to consider them, in part, at least, as properly connected with the anti-slavery cause—as necessary to its complete success; and, therefore, insists that they should be carried, *pari passu*, along with it. The other party is made up of those who are wholly opposed to the reforms alluded to, and of such as, looking on the reforms themselves, in whole or in part not unfavorably, yet think it inexpedient, if not unfair, to connect them with the anti-slavery movement, against the wishes of members who contemplated no such connexion when they engaged in it. One of these reforms—well enough known in America, and, we suppose by this time in England too, when described as the 'woman's rights question,' was brought up in the Central (the American Anti-Slavery) Society, and pressed to a decision at its annual meeting in May, 1839. The decision was favorable to the reform party—the women themselves also voting on the question. From that time it became clear to those who gave much attention to the case, that the differences between the parties had become so irreconcilable that a separation of the American Society (like that which had already taken place, mainly on the same ground, in the Massachusetts Society) was advisable, if not absolutely necessary for the further advancement of the anti-slavery cause. Mutual distrust, it was evident, had supplanted mutual confidence. The reformers objected against their opponents, that their views were low—narrow—contracted—and that *they* were deficient in *thoroughness* as abolitionists; whilst they themselves, on the other hand, were not without being suspected of selfish or ambitious aims, and of wishing to make the whole anti-slavery movement subsidiary to other projects of reform, from the bare contemplation of which, however well intended by the projectors, sober and considerate men turned away with disgust and abhorrence. A separation accordingly did take place at the last annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 12th of May, when, on the woman's rights question being again insisted on by the actual appointment of a young, unmarried woman as one of the 'business' committee, about three hundred gentlemen, including the president of the society (Arthur Tappan, Esq.), and, we believe, all the members present (except one) of the late executive committee, withdrew, and formed The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, having for its objects '*The entire extinction of slavery and the 'slave-trade, and the equal security and improvement of the people 'of color.*'

Thus there are now two societies, each fully constituted as to

officers, &c., and each having its journal to publish its proceedings and take note of the progress of the cause. The first numbers of these journals we have seen, and the titles we have placed at the head of this article.

We now proceed to a more particular exposition of the main grounds of the separation; and, first, of the 'woman's rights 'question,' as this seems to have been made the immediate occasion of it. The right of women to full membership in the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to counsel and act equally and promiscuously with the other sex in the business of the association, is claimed for them under that provision of the constitution which says, that 'Any *person* who consents to the prin-'ciples, &c., may be a member of the society, and shall be entitled 'to vote at the meetings.' The argument in favor of the right is a brief one, amounting to little more than the statement—an incontrovertible one when taken independently—that *women* are 'persons;' that 'persons' who consent to the principles may become members, and be entitled to vote at the meetings; that *women* consent to the principles,—*therefore* women may become members, and vote. The conclusion appears unanswerable, especially to such of the abolitionists as are unexperienced in the examination of such questions, and to others among them who forget that the right of a grantee is made justly to depend oftentimes, not so much on any particular form of words, the meaning of which may change by time, or be different in different places, as on the intention of the grantor in making the grant; and that the nature of the grant—the circumstances connected with it before, and at the time of making it—the person by whom, and the manner in which, the grant has been used or enjoyed—the nonuser of it from the date of the grant by the party now, after a long time, laying claim to its benefits—all constitute legitimate *indicia* of that intention.

To the 'woman's rights' party it has been replied, that the usage of all other benevolent societies, and of the country universally, at the time the American Anti-Slavery Society was instituted—before and since—is against them;

That women were not members of the convention which formed the constitution, but only spectators of its proceedings, taking no part in them, except in one or two instances, on leave being expressly asked therefor, they were permitted to offer some suggestions to the convention;

That the constitution is subscribed by none but men, although women known to be deeply interested as abolitionists were present during the process of making it, and at its adoption and signature;

That the eighth article of the constitution, which provides that 'the president shall preside at the meetings of the society, or in

'*his* absence,' &c., furnishes a strong presumption (the force of which is not lessened by any other part of that instrument) that it was not intended women should be members of the society,—inasmuch, too, as there is no part of the constitution which disqualifies *any* member for exercising the presidency;

That soon after the institution of the society it encouraged women to form themselves into associations—that they did so to a considerable extent, and continue to do so, to the manifest advancement of the cause—and this, without any complaint, on their part, that their right to act as members, office-bearers, &c., of the society is improperly withheld from them;

That to deny to any description of persons membership in the society is not to deny to them any right, natural or political, to which they are entitled, so long as they are left free, individually, to act on the subject of slavery as to them may seem best; and that the convention had the same right to make *sex* a qualification or disqualification as they had to make any thing else;

That the word '*persons*,' is often used in legislative proceedings, in written constitutions, and in other public instruments of the same nature, and that in the absence of other words showing that women were meant to be included, it has with unbroken uniformity been practically limited to *men*, as being *the only* persons to whom, according to the received rules of interpretation arising out of the usages, and customs, and habits of thinking of the community, it had any application;

That if women be admitted to membership because they are *persons*, so also may little boys and girls, and even children—which, if not absurd, would be found quite inconvenient;

That women, whose aid has already been so important in the anti-slavery cause, can act most effectively in separate associations from the men;

That to admit women to act promiscuously with men, and as men, in associations whose objects and measures are religious and Christian, if not wholly forbidden in the New Testament, is of such questionable propriety, that it ought not to be allowed unless in cases of such extreme necessity as have not yet existed, and as are not likely to exist;

That if the right claimed for the women were allowed, *using it* would tend—without at all meaning to say that such tendency is as yet discoverable—to obscure, and, in all likelihood, finally to obliterate the *feminine*—a quality that is believed to be as natural to one half the race, as *masculine* is to the other, and therefore worthy not only of being perpetuated, but of being diligently cherished and improved;

That viewing the whole case in the most comprehensive and dispassionate manner, is it not a monstrous perversion of the doctrine of probabilities, to say nothing of the dictates of common

sense—to suppose that the convention, in employing the word 'persons,' once thought that they were connecting with the anti-slavery enterprise so unusual a state of things as is now contended for—one that would *unnecessarily* have made that enterprise still more obnoxious than it already was with that very public to whom it was about to be recommended—one that was not only not practised on, but uncontended for and unknown either in or out of any of the religious denominations with which the members of the convention were connected, or in any country of the world, civilized or uncivilized? Such is a summary of the arguments used against the claim of the 'woman's rights' party.

In relation to the rights of women there are in the United States, 1. Many who think that the laws which divest the woman, *by the act of marriage*, of the legal interest she had in property held by her before marriage, and transfer it to the husband, operate injuriously, and that they ought to be modified—and that the Civil law provisions, so far as they give to married women a more independent control over their property, ought to be more extensively introduced. 2. Those who think it decidedly injurious to the anti-slavery cause, and in every way inexpedient, for women to act in the societies promiscuously with men, but who believe that the word 'persons' in the constitution prevents their exclusion, and therefore support by their vote that view of the question. They would prefer that the right should not be claimed or exercised, or, if it be persisted in, that the constitution should be altered, or a new society instituted. Justice to both the classes just mentioned, requires that they should be discriminated from what may properly be called the 'woman's 'rights party.'

The name given to a sect or party has reference generally to but a single subject on which its views are peculiar, and does not prove that it would not, on the same ground, be equally well entitled to other names. So it is with the party in question, which might as appropriately be named from its peculiar sentiments on *other* subjects hereafter to be mentioned, as from those it entertains on the rights of women. In relation to this particular subject it may be considered as having embraced the following dogmas,—that woman ought to stand on a perfect equality with man as to rights, duties, property, powers, privileges, stations, callings, offices, &c., &c.; that in all ages and under all governments she has been enslaved, and so continues to be, and this in proportion as the customs, usages, prejudices, regulations, or laws of communities prevent her from assuming that equality.*

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* When it is urged on the most zealous of the ladies of the sect, that they ought to be content to wait for the redress of their grievances—great as

But extravagance on any particular subject being only evidence of a *state or condition of mind*, they who, unhappily, are under its influence are apt to betray similar manifestations on other subjects which excite them. Thus it has been with the leaders of the woman's rights question in relation to human governments. From having, in all probability, imbibed visionary notions of what government in its various forms can do for the advancement of our race, and from having been disappointed in the results, so far as they have been patient enough to wait for their development, they have, very naturally, rushed to the opposite extreme: believing that all human governments, as they now exist, or as they have at any time existed in the world, are opposed to human happiness,—are 'of the devil,' and ought, of course, to cease. Their prime dogma is, that *physical force is in no case to be applied against persons nor to be resisted.* They are known in America indiscriminately as the 'No-human govern-'ment party,' or 'Non-resistants,' by which last name they distinguish themselves. Applying their dogma to the different conditions and relations of life, they deny to governments the right by force to prevent, or to punish, the perpetration of crime; to the parent the right to correct his child with the rod;†—to the first ruffian who would demand our purse or oust us from our houses, they are to be unconditionally surrendered unless *moral suasion* be found sufficient to induce him to decline from his purpose. Our wives, our daughters, and sisters, and mothers we are to see set upon by the most brutal, without any effort on our part, except argument, to defend them; whilst they themselves are forbidden to use, in defence of their purity, such powers as

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they may be—till the unquestionably still greater ones of their sisters in bonds are redressed, it is not unusual for them to reply,—why go to the South to abolish slavery when it exists among us at the North? Why go from *home* to strike off the fetters of female slaves whilst *we here* are slaves?

The following incident shows with what zeal and courage, too, the female reformers maintain their rights in seasons of trial. We give it, from memory, from the New York Observer, which, in its account of the late meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in that city, says, that Miss ——— wishing to gain the attention of the meeting at one of its most tumultuous moments, arose and exclaimed at the top of her voice, 'I rise to speak, because I am not a slave.' Not succeeding at first, she again exclaimed, 'I rise to speak because I am not a slave!' And continued to do so, in the most calm and undaunted manner, till she secured her object.

† One of the hierophants of this persuasion undertook some three years ago, to enlighten the children of a school he visited on the doctrine, that it was wrong in their parents to punish them in any case. We have not at hand his own published account of the interview, but feel quite sure we do not substantially misquote him in saying, 'The dear little ones at first seemed a good deal surprised at the views presented to them; but before I had finished they began more clearly to see how right and reasonable they were.'

God has bestowed on them for its protection, if resistance should be attended with injury or destruction to the assailant.

For the more successful dissemination of these and kindred views, they have embodied themselves into a society, and publish a paper edited by two gentlemen and a lady of their number. One would be led to think that the two departments of reform already mentioned would be quite sufficient to occupy their time and attention. But not so. Their views of reform are altogether more expansive. Considering the world—to use their own figurative language — as having been thrown wholly out of joint, and all the things of it completely topsy-turvy, since the time that Adam and Eve were expelled from the garden of Eden; and that, up to the present time, men instead of walking as they reasonably should, on their feet on the earth, have been seen dangling in the air, getting along with difficulty, feet upwards, and that all the Christian churches that have existed and that now exist, but more especially the Christian ministers, as a body, are decidedly anti-Christian—they have projected plans of reform, adequate, as they honestly believe them to be, to all the exigencies of the case.

These extravagancies—for certainly the largest charity cannot call them less—are as likely to do as little harm in the United States as any where else, except to the anti-slavery cause. They have been embraced by the abolitionists and, it is believed, by them exclusively—come up in their meetings, and are urged and discussed in their papers. Notwithstanding the number of those who have identified themselves with these reforms is very small when compared with the whole body of the abolitionists, it has contributed in no trifling degree to make the impression on the community that abolitionists are fast tending to the most visionary and disorganizing projects. Confidence in their stability as a body has evidently been affected. Whilst in some sections of the country candidates for legislative and official stations were inclining to anti-slavery views, and, of course, looked to obtaining the support of abolitionists should they commit themselves on the question, the next news, perhaps, was that a sect was springing up among them who denounced as sinful not only the use of the elective franchise, but every other act by which the rightful existence of Government was recognized. Attempts were made, too, to bend the received principles of the anti-slavery movement into consistence with the new theory about governments. The abolitionists had received as true the definition of slavery which makes it essentially *the reducing of men to articles of merchandize.* The reformers enlarged the definition. They say that '*to subject a man to the will of man, or to the will of any body of men is slavery.*' '*Slavery consists in the fact that man*

'*holds the dominion ;*' *that* '*that church, or state, or nation is a* '*slaveholder which would subject man to the will of man.*'

It never once entered the minds of those who set on foot the anti-slavery enterprize in America, that becoming an abolitionist was to interfere, or conflict, in any way, with denominational preferences, even with the most uncompromising sectarian views. A Protestant, or a Roman Catholic—a Churchman or a Dissenter—a Trinitarian or a Unitarian—may unite as abolitionists. Abolitionism has nothing to do with their religious tenets or preferences—neither in its origin, nor at any point of its progress. But the no-human-government abolitionists do not seem so to consider this matter. Church government coming as fully under their condemnation as civil government; and being, equally with it, worthy to be prostrated. *Sectarianism*, with a view thereto, is beginning to be denounced as inconsistent with '*thorough*' abolitionism. To hesitate at receiving whatever new test may be offered, is to be denounced as a *sectary ;* not to demur, is to be a thorough abolitionist. The incompatibility of abolitionism, in its more exalted state, with sectarianism is thus set forth in the *Standard*, the organ of the old Society. In accounting for the late division among the abolitionists, it says, 'he must have been but a casual observer of men and manners, not to have foreseen that those who are controlled chiefly, and we may add, conscientiously, by their peculiar religious sect, preferring that to all else beside, would very naturally, when the contest for human rights should arrive at that point where injury to the sectarianism must accrue, take their stand against those of their brethren who regard human liberty as above all sects or parties.'

The reforming party, in furthering their cause, act as men always have done whose minds had been prepared, by undue excitement and inflation, for the reception of visionary and fanatical enterprizes. They compass sea and land to win converts. Neither time, nor place, nor occasion is exempt from the intrusion of their plans. This, whilst it is no despicable evidence of the sincerity of their belief in the value of the changes they propose, is not at all conclusive as to the propriety of the means they adopt for bringing them about. Men may be very honest as to the *end* of a great enterprise, because sustained by an enthusiastic confidence in its value; but as the *means* do not always furnish nourishment to enthusiasm, professional reformers, in regard to them, are generally found to act like other men. Indeed, their temptations to adopt questionable expedients are greater than those of other men; being, for the most part, proportioned to their overgrown estimate of the good they are to accomplish, whilst what is done amiss in furtherance of it will be atoned for, they are apt to persuade themselves, in a ratio that will be plenary and abounding according

as the final results are glorious. And the history of that class of men who unhappily take it into their heads that they were *born* reformers—that God has raised them up, and charged them with the mission of re-modelling the world—shows, that they have been more averse theoretically than practically to the doctrine, that 'the end sanctifies the means.'

From the time the woman's rights abolitionists carried their point at the meeting of the Am. A.S. Society in May, 1839, up to the meeting in May, 1840, they were industrious to secure what they had unexpectedly gained. By an unprecedented rally, they again succeeded in carrying their point. They were enabled to do this the more easily, as large numbers of the most sober and considerate of the abolitionists, becoming tired and disgusted with the dissensions which the new questions had given rise to in the Society, and beginning to despair of the future usefulness of the existing organization as an *abolition* instrumentality, were not present at the meeting; nor did they take any measures to counteract the movements that were in contemplation, and which, for the most part, they clearly foresaw. As men of peace, *practically*, they were averse from longer mingling in a strife so unprofitable as that into which they had been brought, and had decided in their own minds either to have nothing more to do with a *National* Society, or to institute a new one which should avoid, as far as possible, the evils that had already come upon them.

The appointment of the London anti-slavery conference presented to the woman's rights party a point of attack that was not to be neglected. If they could secure the appointment of a female delegate from the American Anti-slavery Society, a thing which they despaired of under the management of the late executive committee of that society, it would appear to the British abolitionists that the woman question had been settled by their brethren of America; and further, if they should peradventure succeed with the conference in securing the reception of the female delegate, that fact could be brought to re-act on the cause in America. In this way, by playing off on England and the United States the comity and good feeling which the abolitionists of one country would naturally feel, and be disposed to exhibit, for those of the other, a question decidedly unpopular in both might be carried. Accordingly, after the separation had taken place in the American society, *one* female delegate to the conference was appointed; although she and several other females (who, certainly, if such delegates were to be admitted at all, would have been eminently acceptable) had been previously appointed delegates by subordinate societies, and were supposed already to have arrived in England. *One*, however, would seem to the conference a little matter—but *one* would decide the *principle* of female delegation. The impression was therefore attempted to be made on the conference, that the Ame-

rican Anti-slavery Society,—of course, to be considered as representing the body of American abolitionists,—would not have sent any delegation, had it been supposed that female delegates would be denied seats in the conference. Now this is very far from exhibiting correctly *here* the state of the woman question among the abolitionists and people of America. We state the following propositions, which we presume will not be controverted.

That the admission of females to promiscuous and equal membership with men in associations formed for benevolent objects is confined to *some only* of the anti-slavery societies—and in these, women have always voted on the question of their own privilege;

That their admission is generally considered as greatly injurious to the anti-slavery cause;

That females in America, *with but rare exceptions*, are opposed to it; preferring associations made up of their own sex;*

That the usages which prevail in this country as to the mingling of females with men in benevolent associations, were perfectly well understood in America at the time the female delegate was appointed;†

And that the admission of female delegates to the conference was not looked for, unless the British abolitionists should consent to set aside, in this particular case, their accustomed mode of doing business.

The foregoing exposition is made solely with the view of placing before the abolitionists of this country the true grounds of the separation that has taken place among the abolitionists of the United States. This has become the more necessary, because of the closer union that is springing up between the friends of humanity in both countries for the easier and more speedy accomplishment of their common object. To suppose that the abolitionists of Britain are indifferent to such an exposition is to suppose them indifferent to the preservation of the salutary bonds of the social organization everywhere. On all the principles of justice and fair dealing, they are entitled to be informed, and that in the most distinct and ingenuous manner, what are the aims of those who seek their co-operation. Their experience, too, in the anti-slavery movement, and the expense at which, year after year, they have prosecuted it, as well as the respect which they have everywhere inspired for their integrity of purpose, give them

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* The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of the city of New York dissolved its auxiliary connection with the American Society as soon as the separation took place, and became auxiliary to the American and Foreign Society.

† When the resolution, naming the delegates, was under consideration in New York, a member of the meeting, himself on the list of delegates, said in reference to the appointment of a woman, '*We will see whether the convention will dare to reject the delegate of the American Anti-Slavery Society.*'

no small claim to something like a direction of the enterprize. Nor should those abolitionists who, since their first engaging in the anti-slavery enterprise have embraced other views of reform which they deem higher and more important, be at all reluctant to have them presented for the information of such as might consider themselves as implicated, in some degree, by their connexion as abolitionists with those who maintain and endeavor to propagate them. Indeed, it is necessary they should be known, in order that the unintentional counteraction of each other's efforts for such objects as are common to them, may be avoided. If, for instance, while one division of the abolitionists is using all its influence to do away with the irrational test of *color* where civil rights are concerned, and to secure to the negro and colored man, equally with the white, the protection of government, another division should be found aiming its heaviest blows at the very existence of all government, they will, as a whole, make but indifferent progress. It is due, too, to that portion of the American abolitionists who, not comprehending in their present views of reform the equalizing of men and women—nor the abrogation of all religious sects—nor the bringing to naught all human laws and governments as an indispensable preliminary to the fullest and firmest establishment of harmony and happiness in the world, have continued to adhere to their first great object, the abolition of slavery,—it is due to them, we say, that their position before the world should be clearly defined and understood. Whilst they have lost none of their early solicitude for the extinction of slavery, neither has their regard for good order and good government suffered any abatement; and they desire to be considered, at least as uncommitted to the large schemes of reform to which others of the abolitionists have so earnestly addicted themselves.

Art. IV. *The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire.* By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peters, and Minister of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In three volumes 8vo. London: 1840.

THE appearance of Mr. Milman as an historian of Christianity has not been without interest to those readers, who, judging from his previous historical labors, were prepared to expect from him a more scientific treatment of this great subject than it has usually met with. In this interest we ourselves participated, while free at the same time to own that our expectations from the present work attached themselves principally to those portions of

the Christian history which are derived from uninspired sources. That these have been adequately illustrated in our literature no one, at all conversant with the subject, will for a moment pretend; and we were therefore gratified when Mr. Murray's advertising sheet informed us that the important period of ecclesiastical history indicated in the title above transcribed, had been undertaken by a gentleman of such extensive reading, inquiring intellect, general impartiality, and talent in historical description and narrative as Mr. Milman.

The task here undertaken is indeed one which for its due accomplishment requires most extensive and different qualifications. Embracing, as it does, that portion of the Christian history, of which the sacred books of the New Testament are the exclusive source, its author needs to have made up his mind on not a few of the most difficult and perplexed questions connected with the higher criticism of those documents; questions, some of which include in their subordinate details, points, chronological and exegetical, which have heated the brains, and stiffened the fingers of scholars and divines, both British and foreign, in disputations, programmata, and *Abhandlungen* without end. To these succeeds the post-apostolic history, with its appropriate questions both of fact and principle; the former requiring most extensive and minute research in writings genuine and spurious, perfect and fragmentary, apologies, epistles, dialogues, treatises, and tables; the latter, a sincere love of truth, and willingness to recognize in men of various creeds, those excellences and defects which truth requires. Nor is this all. History is man's great lesson-book. But to sustain this character, it must not be a barren chronicle of dates, or an undigested record of exterior facts, however elaborately and circumstantially narrated. And if it be expected of every historian, that he be qualified, on sound psychological principles, to illustrate the connections, dependence and consequences of the facts which he relates, especially as these are indications of a moral agency which, unseen by the many, is yet the spring of all the movements in which they participate, still more is it incumbent on the historian of the church, which, as God's noblest earthly institute, is under special discipline and preparation for a higher state of being, and for higher ends, than have been yet disclosed, not only to afford those explanations which are derived from the position and character of human agents, but as ἀν ὑπηρέτης τῆς προνοΐας to show, so far, that is, as study, prayer and meditation may discover it, what place is due to this or that event or agent, or what may be their object in the plans and intentions of an all-controlling providence. The reality of this control, and its importance as an element of sacred history, are powerfully evinced in the inspired Book of the Apocalypse: indeed, as M. Merle d'Aubigné has, with equal truth and pro-

fundity, observed in the preface to his noble history of the Reformation, this element constituted its life.* Without this, laborious diligence, the rarest familiarity with original sources of information, rigorous impartiality, and the finest descriptive powers---nay, all other requisites united---fail to realize its highest character and ends.

But whither are we going? We have, almost before we were aware, passed over the boundaries of Mr. Milman's plan and described another in its stead: justice therefore requires us to state that it is not so much the history of the church as of the religion of Christ which he has undertaken to narrate, and that with a design which we admit will render necessary some modification of our last demand. But the reader shall be put in possession of his own statement on this point. 'It is the author's 'object, the difficulty of which he himself fully appreciates, to 'portray the genius of the Christianity of each successive age in 'connection with that of the age itself; entirely to discard all 'polemic views; to mark the origin and progress of all the subor- 'dinate diversities of belief; their origin in the circumstances of 'the place or time at which they appeared; their progress from 'their adaptation to the prevailing state of opinion or sentiment: 'rather than directly to refute error or establish truth; in short, 'to exhibit the reciprocal influence of civilization on Christianity, 'of Christianity on civilization.' The limitation of Mr. Milman's design, as compared with that which we have assumed above as answering the idea of a proper history of the church, is perhaps sufficiently explained in the foregoing statement, but the following is still more to the purpose.

'Nor is he aware that he enters on ground pre-occupied by any writer of established authority, at least in our own country, where the History of Christianity has usually assumed the form of a History of the Church, more or less controversial, and confined itself to annals of the

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* M. Merle d'Aubigné's words are: Il faut que l'histoire vive de la vie qui lui est propre, et cette vie, c'est Dieu. Dieu doit être reconnu, Dieu doit être proclamé dans l'histoire. *Pref.* p. 7. Lower down in the same page he adds: il y a un principe de vie émanant de Dieu dans tous les mouvements des peuples. Dieu se trouve sur cette vaste scène où viennent successivement s'agiter les générations des hommes. Il y est, il est vrai, un Dieu invisible; mais si la multitude profane passe devant lui, sans s'en soucier, parce qu'il se cache, les ames profondes, les esprits qui ont besoin du principe même de leur existence, le cherchent avec d'autant plus d'ardeur, et ne sont satisfaits que lorsqu'ils se sont prosternés à ses pieds. Et leurs recherches sont manifiquement récompensées. Car des hauteurs où ils ont dû parvenir pour rencontrer Dieu, l'histoire du monde, au lieu de leur présenter, comme à la foule ignorante, un chaos confus, leur apparaît comme un temple magistueux auquel la main invisible de Dieu même travaille, et qui s' élève à sa gloire sur le roc de l'humanité.

internal feuds and divisions in the Christian community, and the variations in doctrine and discipline, rather than to its political and social influence. Our attention, on the other hand, will be chiefly directed to its effects on the social and even political condition of man, as it extended itself throughout the Roman world, and at length entered into the administration of government and of law ; the gradual manner in which it absorbed and incorporated into the religious commonwealth the successive masses of population, which after having overthrown the temporal polity of Rome were subdued to the religion of the conquered people ; the separation of the human race into the distinct castes of the clergy and laity ; the former at first an aristocracy, afterwards a despotic monarchy : as Europe sank back into barbarism, the imaginative state of the human mind, the formation of a new poetic faith, a mythology, and a complete system of symbolic worship ; the interworking of Christianity with barbarism, till they slowly grew into a kind of semi-barbarous heroic period, that of Christian chivalry ; the gradual expansion of the system with the expansion of the human mind ; and the slow, perhaps not yet complete, certainly not general, development of a rational and intellectual religion.'

—Vol. i. pp. 48, 49.

Though this rapid sketch of the author's design extends, as must be evident, very far below the termination of the period comprised in his present volumes, we have thought it right to give the whole, as conveying, in the most unexceptionable manner, the spirit and object of his history throughout its whole progress—its earlier, therefore, as well as later portions. Fixing so earnestly, however, on the secular and temporary accompaniments and results of Christianity, we cannot but feel that he has by no means adequately represented its spiritual and essential character: and while we thank him for much, very much that he has done, we are sorry that there is still so much, belonging to the history of Christianity in the first three centuries, for which a reader of these elegant volumes must look in vain. Having stated, however, the various phases or modifications of Christianity according to Mr. Milman's views of the dependence of its specific character on the character of those who profess it, we are happy to observe how strongly he has protested 'against the opinion, that the '*origin* of the religion can be attributed, according to a theory 'adopted by many foreign writers, to the gradual and spontaneous 'development of the human mind.' Some, indeed, of the most mischievous of the continental theories, we shall have occasion to show, have been met by Mr. Milman, as far as the limits of his work permitted, in a very satisfactory manner ; what we chiefly regret is, that, as a writer of the history of Christianity, he had not in his eye that sentiment of Beza, which M. Merle d'Aubigné so characteristically selected as his motto: 'J'appelle accessoire, 'l'estat des affaires de ceste vie caduque et transitoire. J'appelle

'principal, le gouvernement spirituel auquel reluit souverainement 'la providence de Dieu.'

That portion of the Christian history which is derived from the New Testament occupies a very considerable space in the present work, the whole of the first volume (with the exception of an introductory chapter), and seventy-nine pages of the second, being devoted to it. It comprises, however, as may be supposed, much explanatory matter, and several discussions which will be interesting to the inquisitive reader. Among these we may specify the remarks respecting the foreign connexions of the Jews; the cabala; the Syrian religion; the Magianism of Zoroaster (to which is appended a note on the Zendavesta); the influence of that system on the opinions of the Jews respecting angels, the principle of evil, the medium of human intercourse with the Deity, a future state, and the Messiah; and the Judæo-Grecian system, all in book I. ch. ii. Most of these convey instructing and valuable information. At the close of the same chapter is an appendix, to which we shall presently recur. But we must not be too minute on these more parenthetic portions of the work: we will now present our readers, first with an historical extract, and afterwards with a brief specimen of another kind.

The following is a part of Mr. Milman's narrative of our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and of the last discourse which he delivered in the Temple.

'The intelligence of the arrival of Jesus at Bethany spread rapidly to the city, from which it was not quite two miles distant. Multitudes thronged forth to behold him: nor was Jesus the only object of interest, for the fame of the resurrection of Lazarus was widely disseminated, and the strangers in Jerusalem were scarcely less anxious to behold a man who had undergone a fate so unprecedented.

'Lazarus, thus an object of intense interest to the people,* became one of no less jealousy to the ruling authorities, the enemies of Jesus. His death was likewise decreed, and the magistracy only awaited a favorable opportunity for the execution of their edicts. But the Sanhedrim is at first obliged to remain in overawed and trembling inactivity. The popular sentiment is so decidedly in favor of Jesus of Nazareth, that they dare not venture to oppose his open, his public, his triumphant procession into the city, or his entrance amid the applauses of the wondering multitude into the Temple itself. On the morning of the second day of the week, Jesus is seen, in the face of day, approaching one of the gates of the city which looked towards Mount Olivet.† In avowed conformity to a celebrated prophecy of Zechariah, he appears riding on the yet unbroken colt of an ass; the procession of his followers, as he descends the side of the Mount of

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* John xii. 9—11. † Matt. xxi. 1—10. Mark xi.

Olives, escort him with royal honors, and with acclamations expressive of his title of the Messiah, towards the city: many of them had been witnesses of the resurrection of Lazarus, and no doubt proclaimed, as they advanced, this extraordinary instance of power. They are met * by another band advancing from the city, who receive him with equal homage, strew branches of palm, and even their garments in his way; and the Sanhedrim could not but hear within the courts of the Temple the appalling proclamation, 'Hosannah, blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.' Some of the Pharisees who had mingled with the multitude remonstrate with Jesus, and command him to silence what to their ears sounded like the profane, the impious adulation of his partizans. Uninterrupted, and only answering that if these were silent, the stones on which he trod would bear witness, Jesus still advances; the acclamations become yet louder; he is hailed as the Son of David, the rightful heir of David's kingdom; and the desponding Pharisees, alarmed at the complete mastery over the public mind which he appears to possess, withdraw for the present their fruitless opposition. On the declivity of the hill he pauses to behold the city at his feet, and something of that emotion, which afterwards is expressed with much greater fulness, betrays itself in a few brief and emphatic sentences, expressive of the future miserable destiny of the devoted Jerusalem.

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'Among the multitudes of Jews who assembled at the passover, there were usually many proselytes who were called Greeks (a term in Jewish language of as wide signification as that of barbarians with the Greeks, and including all who were not of Jewish descent). Some of this class, carried away by the general enthusiasm towards Jesus, expressed an anxious desire to be admitted to his presence. It is not improbable that these proselytes might be permitted to advance no further than the division in the outer court of the Gentiles, where certain palisades were erected, with inscriptions in various languages, prohibiting the entrance of all foreigners; or even if they were allowed to pass this barrier, they may have been excluded from the court of Israel into which Jesus may have passed. By the intervention of two of the apostles, their desire is made known to Jesus; who, perhaps, as he passes back through the outward court, permits them to approach. No doubt, as these proselytes shared in the general excitement towards the person of Jesus, so they shared in the general expectation of the immediate, the instantaneous commencement of the splendor, the happiness of the Messiah's kingdom. To their surprise, either in answer to or anticipating their declaration to this effect, instead of enlarging on the glory of that great event, the somewhat ambiguous language of Jesus dwells at first on his approaching fate, on the severe trial which awaits the devotion of his followers; yet on the necessity of this humiliation, this dissolution, to his final glory, and to the triumph of his beneficent

* John xii. 18.

religion. It rises at length into a devotional address to the Father to bring immediately to accomplishment all his promises, for the glorification of the Messiah. As he was yet speaking, a rolling sound was heard in the heavens, which the unbelieving part of the multitude heard only as an accidental burst of thunder; to others, however, it seemed an audible, a distinct, or, according to those who adhere to the strict letter, the articulate voice of an angel, proclaiming the divine sanction to the presage of his future glory. Jesus continues his discourse in a tone of profounder mystery, yet evidently declaring the immediate discomfiture of the 'prince of this world,' the adversary of the Jewish people and of the human race, his own departure from the world, and the important consequences which were to ensue from that departure. After his death, his religion was to be more attractive than during his life. 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.' Among the characteristics of the Messiah, which were deeply rooted in the general belief, was the eternity of his reign,—once revealed, he was revealed for ever; once established in their glorious, their paradisaical state, the people of God, the subjects of the kingdom, were to be liable to no change, no vicissitude. The allusion of Jesus to his departure, clashing with the notion of his perpetual presence, heightened their embarrassment; and leaving them in this state of mysterious suspense, he withdrew unperceived from the multitude, and retired again with his own chosen disciples to the village of Bethany.'—vol. i. pp. 302—304, 305—307.

These passages convey a fair idea of the way in which the gospel narrative has been reduced by Mr. Milman to the modern historic form. We miss, it is true, the simple pathos of the inspired writers, but this is no fault of the present author, who, being obliged to pre-suppose in his readers an acquaintance with the New Testament records, has naturally selected as his task, the construction of a narrative in which the supplementary information necessary for modern readers shall be incorporated, and all the obscure hints and circumstances elucidated. That the carrying out of this idea has given even to his historical draughts a greater air of disquisition than the reader will at all times like is not improbable; it certainly has in several instances been unfavorable to condensation, but we must, at the same time, acknowledge that the light thus thrown upon the facts recorded in the gospels is often valuable, and that there are numerous passages which could be cited as specimens of Mr. Milman's well known graphic powers. But we have promised an extract of a more disquisitional character, and we will select one from the before-mentioned appendix to book i. ch. ii.

This appendix contains three articles: the first, on 'recent lives 'of Christ;' a second, on the 'Origin of the Gospels;' and a third, on the 'Influence of the more imaginative incidents of the early 'evangelic history on the propagation and maintenance of the 'Religion.' Did our room permit, we should have preferred to

select a portion of the first article; but we must, in that case, either transgress our limits, or be guilty of destructive mutilation.* We shall therefore lay before our readers the following remarks, which occur in the second article, and were suggested by a prevailing habit of the modern German critics:—

'There is one point which strikes me forcibly in all these minute and elaborate arguments, raised from every word and letter of the Gospels, which prevail throughout the whole of the modern German criticism. It is, that following out their rigid juridical examination, the most extreme rationalists are (unknowingly) influenced by the theory of the strict interpretation of the evangelists. Weisse himself has drawn very ably a distinction between juridical and historical truth; that is, the sort of legal truth which we should require in a court of justice, and that which we may expect from ordinary history. But in his own investigations he appears to me constantly to lose sight of this important distinction; no cross examination in an English court of law was ever so severe as that to which every word and shade of expression in the evangelists is submitted. Now this may be just in those who admit a

* The article above mentioned contains a notice of Strauss's Leben Jesu, to which we referred in a former volume of this journal, and of a subsequent work, which we have not yet seen, by Weisse, entitled, Die Evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitte. (The Gospel-History critically and philosophically attempted.) 2 vols. Leipsic, 1838. The former of these publications has not only been repeatedly discussed in the magazines and reviews of Germany, (indeed, two reviews of it appeared in the same number of the Theologische Studien und Kritiken, Jahrg. 1836, drittes Heft, the one by Dr. Ullmann, then of Halle, now of Heidelberg, the other by Dr. J. Müller, recently appointed Prof. of Eccl. Hist. at Halle, the two articles running to the extent of 120 pages) but answers to it have been written by some of the most distinguished theologians; as Drs Neander and Tholuck. Indeed, the gospel history, as treated in the lectures of the theological professors, under the conventional name of 'Synopsis,' is one which now draws more attention, and requires greater mental effort than perhaps any other subject on which they are required to lecture. We quite agree with Mr. Milman in the remarks which he has made on Strauss's work; and approving, as he does, of the manner in which Dr. Neander has framed his reply, we also concur in his observation; that 'the best answer to Strauss is to show that a clear, 'consistent, and probable narrative can be formed out of that in the four gos-'pels without more violence than any historian ever found necessary to har-'monise four contemporary chronicles of the same events; and with a general 'accordance with the history, customs, habits, and opinions of the times, alto-'gether irreconcilable with the poetic character of mythic history.' Such being our opinion, it is only justice to add, that we consider Mr. Milman has gone very far towards furnishing this answer; and the effect of his work, considered in this respect, is even heightened by the fact that he had compiled his narrative from the gospels before he had perused the work of Strauss. A few additional notes have however enabled him, without overloading his text, to dispose here and there of some particular objections of Dr. Strauss; and we consider that he has done good service in the notice which he has taken of him.

rigid verbal inspiration; but those who reject it, and consider the evangelists merely as ordinary historians, have no right to require more than ordinary historic accuracy. The evangelists were, either,—

'I. Divinely inspired in their language and expressions, as well as in the facts and doctrines which they relate. On this theory the inquirer may reasonably endeavor to harmonise discrepancies; but if he fails, he must submit in devout reverence, and suppose that there is some secret way of reconciling such contradictions, which he wants acuteness or knowledge to comprehend.

'II. We may adopt a lower view of inspiration, whether of suggestion or superintendence, or even that which seems to have been generally received in the early ages, the inflexible love of truth, which being inseparable from the spirit of Christianity, would, of itself, be a sufficient guarantee for fidelity and honesty. Under any of these notions of inspiration (the definition of which word is, in fact, the real difficulty) there would be much latitude for variety of expression, of detail, of chronological arrangement. Each narrative (as the form and the language would be uninspired) would bear marks of the individual character, the local circumstances, the education, the character of the writer.

'III. We may consider the evangelists as ordinary historians, credible merely in proportion to their means of obtaining accurate knowledge, their freedom from prejudice, and the abstract credibility of their statements. If, however, so considered (as is invariably the case in the German school of criticism) they should, undoubtedly, have all the privileges of ordinary historians, and indeed of historians of a singularly rude and inartificial class. They would be liable to all the mistakes into which such writers might fall; nor would trifling inaccuracies impeach the truth of their general narrative. Take, for instance, the introduction of Cyrenius, in relation to the census in the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel; in common historical inquiry, it would be concluded that the author had made a mistake as to the name, his general truth would remain unshaken, nor would any one think of building up an hypothesis on so trivial and natural an inaccuracy. But there is scarcely a work of this school without some such hypothesis. I confess that I am constantly astonished at the elaborate conclusions which are drawn from trifling discrepancies or inaccuracies in those writers from whom is exacted a precision of language, a minute and unerring knowledge of facts incident to, but by no means forming constituent parts of, their narrative, which is altogether inconsistent with the want of respect in other cases shown to their authority. The Evangelists must have been either entirely inspired, or inspired as to the material facts of their history, or altogether uninspired. In the latter, and indeed in the more moderate view of the second case, they would have a right to the ordinary latitude of honest narrators; they would, we may safely say, be read, as other historians of their inartificial and popular character always are; and so read, it would be impossible, I conceive, not to be surprised and convinced of their authenticity, by their *general* accordance with all the circumstances of their age, country, and personal characters.'—vol. i. pp. 127—129.

These remarks are certainly just, and as an application of the 'argumentum ad hominem,' perfectly convincing. We do not, however, believe that any person, who has had a fair opportunity, whether from books or personal intercourse, of becoming acquainted with their general style of reasoning, considers the German writers *as a class* possessed of a sound practical, logical faculty. That there are individual exceptions, we of course and cheerfully admit—as who would not?—but certainly they seem, if they have any power, to have, as Jean Paul Richter said, 'the power of the 'air,'—that is, of fancy unrestrained by any law; and it is no less certain, they have used this power with equal want of scruple and reflection. The 'bold and presumptuous speculation' with which Mr. Milman charges Weisse, is their favorite element; and Dr. Strauss (we here, also, quote Mr. Milman) 'coolly con-'templating, at the close of his work, the desolating effects of his 'own arguments, looking about in vain for the unsubstantial 'tenets which he has extirpated by his uncompromising logic, 'and plainly admitting, that if he has shattered to pieces the 'edifice of Christianity, it is not his fault,'* is an impersonation of the self-sufficient spirit of infidelity. But ΝΕΝΙΚΗΚΑΣ ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙΕ, 'thou hast conquered, O Galilæan!' has already been the death-cry of one vain-glorious apostate; (we would that the same words might be employed by his modern follower in a better sense) and Christianity, we trust, having survived unharmed the sneers and imprecations of Voltaire, will 'survive' also 'the cri-'ticism of Dr. Strauss.'

In turning to the post-apostolic period embraced in Mr. Milman's work, we meet with many passages in which his extensive reading and philosophical acumen have poured an advantageous light. This remark applies particularly to the chapter headed 'Christianity and Orientalism,' in which he has illustrated the character of Gnosticism, and the influence of that imaginative creed on Christianity. We could willingly have quoted largely from this chapter, in which the legendary character of Simon Magus,

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* Strauss's own expressions are—'The result of the foregoing examination 'seems to be, that every thing which the Christian believes concerning his 'Jesus, is annihilated; all the encouragement which he derives from this be-'lief are wrested from him; all his consolations made a prey. The exhaust-'less treasury of truth and life, whence man has for eighteen centuries been 'nourished, seems hereby wasted; all that is most elevated, tumbled in the 'dust—God of his grace, man of his dignity to be despoiled; the connexion 'between heaven and earth to be torn asunder,' and, as though this were not enough, he coolly adds in a note—'Theologians, who have got reproaches of 'this description in readiness for me, may here see, that I myself understand 'it all, and need not to have these reflections first suggested to me by them.' These remarks are, however, translated from the first edition, which differs in parts from Mr. Milman's copy.'—See vol. ii. 686, 1st edit.

and the more strictly historical characters and tenets of Cerinthus, Saturninus, Basilides, Valentinus, Bardesanes, and Marcion, are successively and successfully depicted. In a note appended to p. 95, (vol. ii.) Mr. Milman acknowledges his obligations to Brucker's History of Philosophy, Mosheim de Rebus Christ. ante Const. Mag., the Histoire du Manicheisme of Beausobre, and above all, the 'excellent Histoire du Gnosticisme of M. 'Matter;' but we were surprised to see no references to Baur's 'Christliche Gnosis,' (not however that we consider the book as an authority) and that even Neander's 'Genetische Entwicklung 'der vornehmsten Gnostischen Systeme,' does not appear to have been consulted.

The manner in which Mr. Milman treats those events of early history which border on the miraculous, may be seen in the accounts which he has given of the death of Polycarp, and the legend of the thundering legion: see pp. 184—189, 190—192 (vol. ii.) We have room but for a portion of the former narrative. The aged martyr has been brought to the stake, to which however he is bound only, not nailed;—the author thus continues:—

'The calm and unostentatious prayer of Polycarp may be considered as embodying the sentiments of the Christians of that period. 'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and ever blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of angels, powers, and of every creature, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before thee; I thank thee that thou has graciously thought me worthy of this day and this hour, that I may receive a portion in the number of thy martyrs, and drink of Christ's cup, for the resurrection to eternal life, both of body and soul, in the incorruptibleness of the Holy Spirit; among whom may I be admitted this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as thou, O true and faithful God, hast prepared, and foreshown, and accomplished. Wherefore I praise thee for all thy mercies; I bless thee, I glorify thee, with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, to whom, with thee and the Holy Spirit, be glory now and for ever.'

'The fire was kindled in vain. It arose curving like an arch around the serene victim, or like a sail swelling with the wind, left the body unharmed. To the sight of the Christians, he resembled a treasure of gold or silver (an allusion to the gold tried in the furnace,) and delicious odours, as of myrrh or frankincense, breathed from his body. An executioner was sent in to dispatch the victim; his side was pierced, and blood enough flowed from the aged body to extinguish the flames immediately around him.

'The whole of this narrative has the simple energy of truth: the prudent yet resolute conduct of the aged bishop; [it will be understood that the author in this and some of the following circumstances, refers to a portion of the narrative preceding our extract] the calm and dignified expostulation of the governor; the wild fury of the populace; the

Jews eagerly seizing the opportunity of renewing their unslaked hatred to the Christian name, are described with the simplicity of nature. The supernatural part of the transaction is no more than may be ascribed to the high wrought imagination of the Christian spectators, deepening every casual incident into a wonder. The voice from heaven heard only by Christian ears; the flame from the hastily piled wood, arching over the unharmed body; the grateful odours, not impossibly from aromatic woods, which were used to warm the baths of the more luxurious, and which were collected for the sudden execution; the effusion of blood, which might excite wonder from the frame of a man at least a hundred years old. Even the vision of Polycarp himself, by which he was forewarned of his approaching fate, was not unlikely to arise before his mind at that perilous crisis. Polycarp closed the nameless train of Asiatic martyrs.'—vol. ii. pp. 187—189.

The elucidatory hints thrown out in the preceding and other similar passages, are, it is only proper to observe, occasionally confirmed by brief notes, which however we have not always considered necessary to transfer to our pages. Some of them are, however, both interesting and valuable; others even necessary to the text.

Mr. Milman having, as a previous extract shows, declared his honest purpose to maintain, with due allowance for any unconscious prepossessions, the impartiality of scientific history, our readers will derive some pleasure from perusing a few passages which show that this impartiality has been observed in connexion with a subject where learned men, and good men too of every party, have frequently failed. We mean the constitution of the early Christian churches,—a subject, the interest of which we are assured would alone justify the length to which our remaining extracts are likely to extend. In laying these passages before our readers, as specimens of candid statement and impassionate discussion, we are not, however, to be considered as indorsing them for circulation on credit; we shall use our privilege of offering any comments on them, we trust in the same candid and upright spirit in which they are written.

'Such are the few vestiges of the progress of Christianity which we dimly trace in the obscurity of the latter part of the first century. During this period, however, took place the regular formation of the young Christian republics, in all the more considerable cities of the empire. The primitive constitution of these churches is a subject which it is impossible to decline; though few points in Christian history rest on more dubious and imperfect, in general on inferential evidence, yet few have been contested with greater pertinacity.

'The whole of Christianity, when it emerges out of the obscurity of the first century, appears uniformly governed by certain superiors of each community called Bishops. But the origin and extent of this

superiority, and the manner in which the bishop assumes a distinct authority from the inferior presbyters, is among those difficult questions of Christian history which, since the Reformation, has been more and more darkened by those fatal enemies to candid and dispassionate inquiry, prejudice and interest. The earliest Christian communities appear to have been ruled and represented, in the absence of the apostle who was their first founder, by their elders, who are likewise called bishops, or overseers of the churches. These presbyter bishops and deacons are the only two orders which we discover at first in the church of Ephesus, at Philippi, and perhaps in Crete.* On the other hand, at a very early period, one religious functionary, superior to the rest, appears to have been almost universally recognized: at least, it is difficult to understand how, in so short a time, among communities, though not entirely disconnected, yet scattered over the whole Roman world, a scheme of government popular, or rather aristocratical, should become, even in form, monarchical. Neither the times nor the circumstances of the infant church, nor the primitive spirit of the religion, appear to favor a general, a systematic, and an unauthorised usurpation of power on the part of the supreme religious functionary. Yet the change has already taken place within the apostolic times. The church of Ephesus, which in the Acts is represented by its elders, in the Revelations is represented by its angel or bishop.'—vol. ii. pp. 63—65.

In a note appended to the preceding paragraph, we have the following additional observations on the early distinction of the episcopal from the presbyterial order:

'The most plausible way of accounting for this total revolution is by supposing that the affairs of each community or church, were governed by a college of presbyters, one of whom necessarily presided at their meetings, and gradually assumed, and was recognised as possessing, a superior function and authority. In expressing my dissatisfaction, with a theory adopted by Mosheim, by Gibbon, by Neander, and by most of the learned foreign writers, I have scrutinised my own motives with the utmost suspicion, and can only declare that I believe myself actuated only by the calm and candid desire of truth. But the universal and almost simultaneous elevation of the bishop under such circumstances in every part of the world (though it must be admitted that he was for a long time assisted by the presbyters in the discharge of his office,) appears to me an insuperable objection to this hypothesis. The later the date which is assumed for the general establishment of the episcopal authority, the less likely was it to be general. It was only during the first period of undivided unity that such an usurpation, for so it must have been according to this theory, could have been universally acquiesced in without resistance. All presbyters, according to this view, with one consent gave up or allowed themselves to be deprived of their

* Acts xx. 17, compared with 28. Philip. i. 1. Titus i. 5—7.

co-ordinate and co-equal dignity. The farther we advance in Christian history, the more we discover the common motives of human nature at work. In this case alone are we to suppose them without influence? Yet we discover no struggle, no resistance, no controversy. The uninterrupted line of bishops is traced by the ecclesiastical historian up to the apostles; but no murmur of remonstrance against this usurpation has transpired; no schism, no breach of Christian unity followed upon this momentous innovation. Nor does any change appear to have taken place in the office of elder in the Jewish communities: the rabbinical teachers took the form of a regular hierarchy; their patriarch grew up into a kind of pope, but *episcopal* authority never took root in the synagogue.'—vol. ii. pp. 64, 65, *note.*

So far we have given without gloss or mutilation the views and arguments of Mr. Milman on this interesting subject. Having seen, however, what he does not consider to have occasioned the distinction between the presbyter and bishop, there is yet one thing we have to see, which is, what he does consider to have occasioned this distinction. His views on this point we shall be obliged to separate from some connected matter, but we pledge ourselves to do it fairly. Having shown (pp. 65—68) that, although there were several points of essential difference between the Jewish synagogue and the first Christian churches, the latter were in the first instances formed almost universally by a secession from, and on the model of, the former; and, in a following page or two, illustrated the predominant influence of the apostles, or other primitive teachers who had founded particular churches over the brethren who constituted the eldership of those churches, Mr. Milman thus continues:

'The wider, however, the dissemination of Christianity, the more rare, and at longer intervals, the presence of the apostle. An appeal to his authority by letter became more precarious and interrupted; while at the same time, in many communities, the necessity for his interposition became more frequent and manifest; and in the common order of nature, even independent of the danger of persecution, the primitive founder, the legitimate head of the community, would vacate his place by death. That the apostle should appoint some distinguished individual as the delegate, the representative, the successor, to his authority, as primary instructor of the community; invest him in an episcopacy or overseership, superior to that of the co-ordinate body of elders, is, in itself, by no means improbable; it harmonizes with the period in which we discover, in the sacred writings, this change in the form of the permanent government of the different bodies; accounts most easily for the general submission to the authority of our religious chief magistrate, so unsatisfactorily explained by the accidental pre-eminence of the president of a college of co-equal presbyters; and is confirmed by general tradition, which has ever, in strict unison with every other part of Christian history, preserved the names of many

successors of the apostles, the first bishops in most of the larger cities in which Christianity was first established. But the authority of the bishop was that of influence, rather than of power. After the first nomination by the apostle (if such nomination as we suppose generally took place) his successor was elective, by that kind of acclamation which raised at once the individual most eminent for his piety and virtue to the post, which was that of danger, as well as of distinction. For a long period, the suffrages of the community ratified the appointment. Episcopal government was thus, as long as Christianity remained unleavened by worldly passions and interests, essentially popular. The principle of subordination was inseparable from the humility of the first converts. Rights are never clearly defined till they are contested; nor is authority limited as long as it rests upon general reverence. When on the one side, aggression, on the other, jealousy and mistrust, begin, then it must be fenced by usage, and defined by law. Thus, while we are inclined to consider the succession of bishops from the apostolic times to be undeniable, the nature and extent of authority which they derived from the apostles is altogether uncertain. The ordination or consecration, whatever it might be, to that office, of itself conveyed neither inspiration nor the power of working miracles, which, with the direct commission from the Lord himself, distinguished and set apart the primary apostles from the rest of mankind. It was only in a very limited and imperfect sense that they could, even in the sees founded by the apostles, be called the successors of the apostles.'—

vol. ii. pp. 70—72.

We believe it to be impossible for any writer to put the argument in favor of super-presbyterian episcopacy in either a fairer or a stronger light than this. For though other schemes may be met with every day, which assume much more, yet unsupported assumption is no argument. Mr. Milman cannot but be aware that the position he has taken, as well as the structure of his argument, will be deemed by many (should we not rather now say most?) episcopalians as a virtual surrender of a large portion of the matter in dispute. But he has chosen his ground deliberately, and, unless we are very much deceived, without consulting any other consideration than his own conviction,—a practice at once honorable and safe, as it obviates the necessity of putting forth weak and unsupported assertions. There are, on both sides of this question, certain views, accepted by their holders on grounds of slight, though to them preponderating, probability; and it is an honorable feature of Mr. Milman's argument, that he states these probabilities as they appear to him, and as he naturally supposes they will appear to any other man who will pay them due attention. If we do not see them, therefore, as he does, it is not through any want of skill in his manner of stating them, nor yet, we trust, through want of inclination on our own part to do them justice, but because, as we shall endeavour to show, we recognize other probabilities as more convincing.

To exhibit, in the clearest light, the precise extent of our difference with Mr. Milman, on the subject of the foregoing passages, we would first observe that we raise no question respecting either the original identity of the bishop and the presbyter, or the popular and paternal character of super-presbyterial episcopacy, as first established. On the first-mentioned subject we will merely add to the New Testament authorities so candidly appended by the author to his first extract, and which include, we believe, all that are usually alleged, 1 Tim. iii. 1—7, compared with ch. v. 17—19. The point on which we feel that we are required, by stronger probabilities than those adduced by Mr. Milman, to hold a different opinion, is the rise of the super-presbyterial episcopacy, and that in reference partly to the period of its origin, but principally to its cause and apostolic sanction. Mr. Milman states that 'the whole of 'Christianity, when it emerges out of the obscurity of the first 'century, appears uniformly governed by certain superiors of each 'community called bishops;' meaning thereby bishops as distinct from prêsbyters. As he has not, however, adduced any evidence to this effect, besides Rev. ii. 1, which we shall presently consider, we presume that he principally relies upon the epistles of Ignatius, and the testimonies of later writers. If so, however, the opinion must appear doubtful even to himself, for the later testimonies are very insufficient: and, if we may venture to say so, in contradiction to his own declaration,* Mr. Milman seems by no means *satisfied* that the epistles of Ignatius are genuine. In our view, the credit accruing to this opinion from the passages in Ignatius, already so feeble from the suspicion under which his letters lie, is completely overborne by the equivalence of the terms πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι, in the work of Irenæus, 'adversus hæreses' (comp. b. iii. 2, 2. 3, 1. 2. iv. 26, 2, 3. 5. v. 20, 2.) written toward the close of the second century, and the way in which, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Euseb. Hist., v. 24), he refers to some of Victor's predecessors, as the '*presbyters* Anicetus and Pius, who had *presided*

* The declaration we refer to occurs in vol. iii. p. 361, where Mr. Milman says, 'My own impression is decidedly in favor of the genuineness of these 'epistles—the shorter ones, I mean, which are vindicated by Pearson.' But the reader will observe that Mr. M., though he says 'decidedly,' yet uses the word 'impression,' not conviction. He also adds, 'Certainly the fact of the 'existence of two different copies [recensions] of these epistles throws doubt 'on the genuineness of both; but I receive them partly from an historical 'argument which I have suggested vol. ii. p. 151 [an argument derived from 'Ignatius's thirst for martyrdom], partly from internal evidence;' and in vol. iii. p. 150, he uses the very doubtful expression, 'If we may trust the 'epistles ascribed to this bishop.' These extracts will, we think, absolve us from the charge of discourtesy, in what we have said in the text. It seems to us that this is just the way in which a candid person would express himself at intervals on a point on which his mind might be wavering.

'*over the church*,' &c. &c.* On these, among other grounds, while we allow that the distinction between the bishop and the presbyter arose in (the manner we shall presently submit, or in some other manner), during the second century, we can by no means assent to Mr. Milman's view 'that the whole of Christianity, 'when it emerges out of the obscurity of the first century, appears 'uniformly governed by certain superiors of each community called 'bishops,' as distinguished from the presbyter-bishop.

If, however, the identity of the bishop and the presbyter was recognized by Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp and Papias (both of whom were intimate with the apostle John) so late as the year of our Lord 196, when the strife arose between Victor of of Rome, and Polycrates of Ephesus, respecting the observance of Easter, the argument in favor of the apostolic appointment of super-presbyterial bishops, seems already to have melted away. But let us look at the argument as unaffected by this consideration, and examine the hypothesis of Mr. Milner as stated in the second extract on this subject. His view is that the apostle (or other primitive teacher), being the recognized head of the religious communities which he had founded, and being frequently in circumstances which prevented, when it might be necessary, his personal interposition, and feeling the necessity of making a provision for his disciples when he should 'vacate his place by death,' appointed 'some distinguished individual as the delegate, the re-'presentative, the successor to his authority, as primary instructor 'of the community,' and invested 'him in an episcopacy or over-'seership, superior to that of the co-ordinate body of elders.' This, which, however he proposes merely as a probability—for, in fact, there is no positive evidence for it whatever, 'harmonises,' he thinks, 'with the period in which we discover in the sacred writings this 'change in the form of the permanent government of the different 'bodies; accounts most easily for the general submission to the au-'thority of our religious chief magistrate, so unsatisfactorily ex-'plained by the accidental pre-eminence of the president of a college 'of co-equal presbyters; and is confirmed by general tradition 'which has ever, in strict union with every other part of Christian 'history, preserved the names of many successors of the apostles, 'the first bishops in most of the larger cities in which Christianity 'was first established. Let us look into these considerations. The 'light thrown on this subject by the sacred writings, Mr. Milman 'derives from Rev. ii. 1 (to which may be added vers. 8, 12, 18, iii. 1, 7, 14. being repetitions of the same form), where 'the church 'of Ephesus,' he thinks, 'is represented by its angel or bishop.' But what is this passage—exhibiting the only place in which Mr.

* His words are:—'*καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προϊστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἧς νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πῖον, κ. τ. λ.*

Milman finds Scripture harmonizing with his theory? An obscure term, in a book written throughout in symbolical language—a term nowhere else applied in Scripture to the bishop's office, if so applied here—a term never, as we should have expected, were Mr. Milman's theory sustainable, brought into use in application to the new office! Can any light be feebler, any harmony with Mr. Milman's supposition more faint than this? How stands the second consideration—this theory 'accounts most easily for the 'general submission to the authority of our religious magistrate,' &c.? It certainly would easily account for such submission: this we grant. We further grant, that, if it could be shown, which it cannot, that one among the presbyters invariably or generally, *usurped* a power over the rest, it might need to be accounted for why we have no records of any resistance to this usurpation, such, for instance, as Irenæus made to Victor in the matter before-mentioned. But this cannot be shown; and the absence of such records has therefore little or no force, and the whole consideration is a trifle. The third, however, is not exactly a trifle; it requires too much. If tradition confirms this hypothesis, by its preservation of 'the names of many successors of the apostles, the first bishops in 'most of the larger cities in which Christianity was first established,' then this hypothesis may be erroneous, for some of the names so preserved are undoubtedly so. Tradition has preserved the following as the list of the first bishops at Rome. Peter A.D. 54, Linus A.D. 55; Clement, A.D. 67; Cletus, A.D 77; Anacletus, A.D. 83, &c. &c. Now Peter's martyrdom at Rome, 'rests altogether,' Mr. Milman acknowledges, '*on unauthoritative tradition*,' though, 'confidently believing, that in Rome, as in Corinth, there were 'two communities, a Petrine and a Pauline—a Judaising and a 'Hellenizing church,' originating in the peculiar doctrines of the two apostles, he thinks all difficulties in the way of Peter's episcopacy vanish. We are not unacquainted with the principles and causes of this mode of reasoning, but we do not admit its force. The church at Corinth was one religious community, though there were different parties in it, and so far from Paul's allowing himself to be considered as the head of any party or *peculiar church*, or encouraging any distinction between Christian churches in any way, we know that he rebuked the party spirit at Corinth, and that his remonstrances produced a reformation. In both epistles to the Corinthians (1 Cor. iv. 9—13, 2 Cor. iv. 7—18, v. 18—21), he speaks most feelingly of the community of spirit and experience among the apostles. The apostles Peter and Paul frequently met, as may be seen from the Acts of the Apostles; labored in behalf of the same people in Asia Minor, Gal. i. 2, 1 Peter i. 1. [2 Pet. iii. 1, 15]; and does not the whole tenor of New Testament doctrine on the subject of the apostles intimate, that as the same authority ordained them, Eph. iv. 11, so the same spirit actuated

them, Eph. iv. 4? Ecclesiastical tradition must be something different to what it is before we can admit its emanations to counteract, or even to fill up but in a very humble way, and then only under special necessity and restriction, the information granted to us in the sacred writings. How then stands the case as to Peter, and the church at Rome. He neither planted nor watered it, so far as authentic history informs us. Paul even did not plant, but he watered it by an epistle, and two years' preaching. Which, according to Mr. Milman, would be its recognized head; and, on his hypothesis, appoint a successor? How is it, then, that tradition has assigned Peter, and not Paul, as the first bishop of Rome?

We will now propose our theory of the rise of super-presbyterial episcopacy, for as much as it is worth. We also, like Mr. Milman, propose it as a probability, for we have no authentic information on the subject. The apostles exercised a general superintendence, not only over the churches which they had planted, but even over some which they had not. Thus Paul addressed a letter to the church at Rome, as yet unknown to him, Rom. i. 11, 15, &c. and to the Colossians and Laodiceans, also unknown to him, Col. ii. 1; Peter wrote to the churches of Asia Minor, which had been both planted and watered by Paul; and John finished his apostolical ministry among Paul's former converts. This leads us to believe that the superintendence which they exercised, they exercised as much in virtue of their official apostolical authority, as their individual interest in different places. If so, we do not see how they could appoint permanent officers in their place to represent them. Had Paul actually done this in the seven churches of Asia, to whom, on Mr. Milman's principles, would the obedience of those churches have been due? That they, or Paul, at any rate, had helpers, sometimes with them, sometimes left behind, or sent to a distance on special services, we also know from Scripture; but this was occasional, not permanent; and that Timothy and Titus were permanent diocesan bishops 'rests only on unauthoritative tradition.' That 'it was only in a very limited and imperfect sense,' that any persons 'could even in the sees founded by the apostles, be called 'the successors of the apostles,' Mr. Milman has fairly said, 'how, 'then, could such persons be the successors to their authority?' The fact is, there was no longer need of an inspired human supremacy in the churches, when the principles of Christianity had been for several decads of years embodied and exemplified in practice, and illustrated and recorded in a number of inspired writings. These, with the ordinary teachings of the Spirit, were henceforth to be what apostles and the gifts of the Spirit, had been before to the churches.

How, then, arose this spurious episcopacy? Occasionally perhaps, it was a result of usurpation; more frequently that of circumstances, and of the wish of his brother presbyters, that one should

take the lead. Probably some churches could with difficulty keep up a presbytery. When there was a presbytery, some would confine their cares to the internal, some, usually perhaps one, and he who had the greatest talents for public business, would attend to its external concerns, its correspondence with other churches, its interests as invaded by Jewish or heathen foes, or endangered by acts of the civil government. This more active presbyter would obtain, whether he wished it or not, an influence above his fellow presbyters, and, to all beyond the limits of the society, he would naturally be the recognised overseer and representative of the church. Polycarp, towards the middle of the second century, was, we think, such a presbyter; Irenæus, another such at the end of it. In the third century, the doctrine of the Catholic-visible unity of the church came into vogue, when all the churches became anxious to trace their descent from one of the apostles through a line of episcopal successors, and all the churches, with their apostolical bishops, were encouraged to look to Rome as the sedes apostolica, the cathedra Petri, the centre of Christian unity. We consider that the rise of this feeling in the third century, accounts for the traditional lists of bishops in unbroken succession from the apostles, especially that of the bishops of Rome commencing with Peter; and that all the extant lists were framed upon the principle of excluding all co-presbyters where such had existed, and just selecting and exalting to the rank of sole bishop the most distinguished of each generation, when such was known. But so arising, or however arising, if unsanctioned by inspired authority, super-presbyterial episcopacy must be regarded as an abuse not to be defended but abandoned.

To bring our observations on this subject to a close, three considerations, derived immediately from the New Testament, seem to us to confirm the view which we have taken, as preferable to that of Mr. Milman; the first is that, if the angels of the seven churches were the bishops of those churches, the apostles' successors, officially recognised as such, enjoyed, super-presbyterial authority contemporaneously with the apostles. Secondly, it surely is inconsistent with the idea, that the apostles—and especially the apostle John, the instance principally relied on—should have made succession to their authority, *the* distinction of the bishop from the presbyter, that the last-mentioned apostle should twice, 2 John i. 3 John i, designate *himself* 'the presbyter;' and that the apostle Peter should call himself a fellow-presbyter. Thirdly, in the enumeration, Eph. iv. 11, of the functionaries and gifted brethren in the church, we read, 'and he gave some, apostles; and 'some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and 'teachers; for the perfecting,' &c. In this passage the apostle and the prophet, the apostle and the evangelist, the apostle and the pastor, are distinguished from each other. Ought we not then

to require Scripture authority as strong as this, before we recognise a transmutation of the pastoral office, which allows one class of pastors to claim, on the plea of an authoritatively sanctioned succession, the apostolical prerogative of a super-presbyterial episcopacy?

The unexpected length to which our observations on episcopacy have extended, prevents our going further into Mr. Milman's volumes. But it is unnecessary. The character of the work must be sufficiently obvious. To the praise of distinguished diligence, great perspicacity, extensive learning, honorable freedom of inquiry, and eminent impartiality, Mr. Milman is fairly entitled. But his work is in several respects more adapted to the student than the general reader, and we should not recommend it as the *single book* to be possessed by any person or family on the period of Christian history on which it treats. To such, however, as have leisure to read several books, and know how to read, the present volumes may be very useful; for, though they exhibit many of those views which have been hitherto held almost exclusively by rationalists, and Mr. Milman himself partakes somewhat of the rationalising spirit, yet circumstances appear to have obliged him —we mean, the combined influence of his position as a clergyman, and all the associations of his order and his education—to look very carefully into those matters which affect the external bulwarks of our faith, so that, as a sifter of speculations which aim at their subversion, he is capable of rendering the student important service. His work, upon the whole, must be regarded as being principally adapted to those whose motto is *πάντα δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε*, and to such we do not hesitate to recommend it.

Art. V. *Notices of the Reformation in the South-West Provinces of France.* By Robert Francis Jameson. Seeley and Burnside. 1839.

AFTER having, in a recent number,* considered at some length the subject of the Reformation; or as D'Aubigné calls it, *the Great Reformation*,—we are well pleased with the opportunity of referring to that collateral branch of it which is comprehended in the details of this small volume. In Germany, indeed, the light arose, and appeared in the concentrated form of a moral luminary; but England, Switzerland, and France soon caught the heavenly radiance. Thence it has been reflected and

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* See Eclectic, vol. v. p. 485.

diffused over other regions, and is now shining with a progressive effulgence over Europe, although, it may be, with varying power in particular places. This, in fact, is characteristic of Christianity itself, whose glory has forsaken the localities of the seven primitive churches of Asia, while it is displaying itself in numberless quarters then in a state of pagan darkness. We shall not at present enter upon an inquiry into what, in the wisdom of the divine economy, may be the reasons of this course of things; but only remark that it receives a fresh illustration from the rise and depression of the Protestantism of France.

It is a common, and doubtless a correct adage, that 'the blood 'of the martyrs is the seed of the church.' The exhibition which has been made of the mighty principles of Christianity, in the hour of peril or of martyrdom, has tended to the multiplication of converts, and the consequent diffusion of its influence, which the infuriated persecutor in vain attempted to prevent; so that hostility itself has become one of the chief instruments—unwittingly indeed, but really—of its propagation. Still the beneficial effect of persecution is not always to be traced, and in many cases not at all, in an increase of the numbers of Christians; and perhaps it might even be said, that the superficial extension of religion is the least satisfactory, in itself considered, of all the evidences of its power—though in point of fact, it is generally the most regarded. We look for increase and diffusion—we naturally and properly, too, hail its progress—and by the reports of missionary or other agencies, we are gladdened with the prospects of that predicted era of which we see or fancy the commencement, when 'a nation shall be born in a day:' but let it not be forgotten that there must be depth as well as breadth—the power as well as the prevalence of the gospel, to constitute its sublimest triumph, and to awaken our highest congratulations. We are sometimes apt to consider it as strange and mysterious that Christianity should dwindle where it was once strong and flourishing, and that providence should have permitted so much success to attend the efforts of its foes. In some instances the sword has slain and the fires have consumed the thousands and tens of thousands of the saints; inquisitors' decrees appear to have answered their purpose; and error, superstition, and vice have grown into vigor amidst a thinned population and a diminished church. It would, then, seem as if the adage were contradicted, as if even prophecy were unfulfilled, and as if God had forsaken his people. But there is another view to be taken of the case. The Christianity that does survive has frequently been of a higher character than before; the contraction of the outward limits has imparted moral strength and vitality; what has been lost in extension has been gained in purity. The details of a volume like that which is lying before us, furnish

indubitable evidence of this result; and we derive important lessons from the teachings of biographical narrative, which are either utterly lost or imperfectly perceived in the records of general history.

There is yet another page, however, in the book of providence, which it becomes us to read, obscure as it is, without despondency; and well may we do so amidst recollections of those great movements in human affairs, especially in those of the church, which have relation not to a few years but to many ages. It sometimes pleases God to allow the deep prostration and almost extinction of his real church, in consequence of the hatred of its enemies, for a long, and dreary, and uncalculated period, till the day of revival—till the times of refreshing come. Yet even then do we find upon minute inquiry, that the seed has not entirely perished, and that the moral vegetation is going on in individual minds or in small communities, which is destined to spring up into a revived vegetation, and unfold itself under genial circumstances into a glorious harvest. This affords us encouragement while contemplating the former Protestant history of France in connexion with its present condition.

The last chapter of this little work,—and we refer to it first in order because it affords an illustration of these remarks—contains a view of the tyrannical treatment of the Protestants by Louis the Fourteenth, their overthrow and present state. The facts are briefly as follow.

The reign of Louis the Fourteenth began, like that of his predecessor, with assurances of favor and privilege; but what ensued soon falsified all these pretensions. The Catholic authorities admit the destructive intentions from the first of these monarchs —intentions which of course they justify on the ground of doing God service. The assurances made to the Protestants by Cardinal Mazarine, in the name of the king, encouraged them to erect schools and temples, but the authority of different royal agents and the *real* influence of the king destroyed their plans. The Romish hierarchy in 1650, appealed to the government against the proceedings of the Protestants in educating their children, and building churches, and supporting their ministers to sustain their *heretical* worship. It was not expedient, however, to be too hasty till, in 1684, the Treaty of Ratisbon, securing peace to the state, gave a better opportunity. An ordinance was then passed to prohibit any reformed minister from continuing in one place more than three years. The reformed ministers were also interdicted from conducting worship within twenty leagues of the place vacated, and from returning to it till after twelve years had expired. A retired minister could not live within six leagues of his former scene of labor. In September, authority closed all *private* Protestant chapels. In January, 1685, an interdict was

laid on all public chapels. In the following July, Protestants were forbidden to become either printers or booksellers; nor was the government wanting in the imposition of other vexatious and ruinous restrictions. Bearn and the western parts of France experienced the full measure of vengeance. In 1684, Marshal Boufflers was sent thither with a large force, who lived on the Protestants at their discretion, while proclamations were made exempting all who would conform to Catholicism from the severity. Multitudes yielded, and at Pau public rejoicings were ordered for the event. The 22nd of October, 1685, is signalised as the day of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when only fifteen days were allowed for conformity to the Roman Catholic church, or the infliction of penalties for recusancy. The alternative was in reality the loss of liberty and life or the abandonment of religion. Fugitives were pursued in all directions—no quarter given—and a fine of 3000 francs imposed on captains or owners of vessels for every sheltered Protestant. Two millions, according to the authority of a medal struck on the occasion, were reclaimed to the church. At the period in question nearly three hundred Protestant places of worship existed in the province of Bearn. Many parts of Navarre must have been without regular buildings for worship, the places of assembly being dens and caves of the earth; but as the number of known places equalled those of the Roman Catholics, it is fairly inferred that two thirds of the Bearnoise population were Protestant. Probably there were 150,000 there who suffered by the edict of 1685.

At present there are 5000 nominal Protestants in the district; but they have sunk into a lukewarm state. The French, as our author justly remarks, are not disposed to be sectarian in its humbler sense of separation and inferiority. The hubbub of concourse, or exterior distinction, is requisite to engage them. The reformed church in France is divided into sixteen synodal districts, having eighty-five consistories, and two hundred and eighty places of worship. There are also thirty-one consistories and two hundred and eight churches of the Confession of Augsburg or Lutherans. Fourteen settled ministers and eight missionaries belong to the Societé Evangelique de France: and other bodies there, with the Continental Society of London, are attempting much for their spiritual amelioration. The estimated number of Protestants in France at present, is about a million and a half.

The author invites more strenuous and extended efforts of a missionary kind, particularly with regard to that interesting district of country about which he writes, and we feel quite prepared to second his recommendations. Where despotism sustained by incorrigible bigotry has planted its iron foot, and trodden down the fruits of piety, we should be happy to see another seed time

improved, that a richer harvest may yet be secured. The times are now auspicious; let the sowers go forth, and let all unite in imploring showers of blessing from on high.

Having begun our notice of this volume with the closing chapter, if the reader will pardon the inversion, we will end with the introduction; giving some extracts as indicative of the nature of the book and of the manner of its execution. We will say of it in general, that it is pleasingly written; and contains many records of individuals, especially of Marguerite de Valois et D'Alençon, Queen of Navarre, and Jeanne D'Albret, worthy of preservation. It traces the varying fortunes of Protestantism at the time and in the country mentioned, in a manner very creditable to the writer, and calculated to interest the reader in the fate of Navarre. We now hasten to let the author introduce his own volume.

'The south-west of France presents many attractions to the traveller and the invalid, from the varied character of the scenery and the mild nature of the climate. The superb city of Bordeaux, and the vine-covered banks of the Garonne, lie on the northern frontier of this tract; the dreary waste of the *Landes* occupies its centre; while along the southern limit, the magnificent range of the Pyrenees, with their numerous valleys, present landscapes and climates to suit all tastes and constitutions. These latter portions comprise what was formerly known as the province of Bèarn, the principal of the several small states or counties which formed the ancient kingdom of Navarre. The capital of this little monarchy was Pau, a town now possessing fourteen thousand inhabitants, situated on a promontory fronting the south, whose abrupt cliff overlooks a broad, straggling, but unnavigable river (the Gave de Pau), and a series of hills tufted with chateaux and vineyards, above which rise, with stupendous grandeur, the snowy tops of the Pyrenees. On the highest point of this promontory stands the *Chateau d'Henri quatre.*

'As I proposed making some little stay at Pau, I was led to look around me with more steady inquiry than mere passers-by either do or can do. . . . I turned to the left, and the ancient pile on the verge of the cliff was before me. It was the Chateau where Marguerite de Valois had discussed points of faith with Calvin and Beza, and acquired the then rare knowledge of the truth: it was the palace where Jeanne d'Albret (the 'good Queen Bess' of these regions) had reigned—(Jeanne d'Albret, by the bye, is worthy of a much higher cognomen.—*Rev.*) after the model of King Josiah, who 'did that which was right in the sight of the Lord;' it was the castle where Henri Quatre was born, who—but I shall speak of him hereafter. Now, to my shame be it spoken, though I was intimately acquainted with Henri, I was not quite so familiar with his mother. I had admired her spirited conduct at Rochelle, and reverenced her as the mother of a hero; but I was less conversant with her history at home, in this her little kingdom, than I ought to have been, before I visited her roman-

tic capital. *Here* she had 'fought the good fight of faith,' with eminent success; *here* she had planted the standard of truth, which for half a century, had waved in these sunny realms, 'lifted upon the high mountains.' Might not the *little leaven* of those days have *leavened the whole lump* of society? Might not the inoculation of truth in the Bearnoise of the sixteenth century, have caused their descendants of the nineteenth to take the common cure of our nature more kindly? The interest excited by these ideas, induced me to extend my knowledge of the local history of this ex-kingdom, and for this purpose I obtained an introduction to the Rev. Dr. Don Juan de Herrando, the principal librarian of the extensive collection belonging to the town, preserved in the ancient monastery of the Cordeliers. . . . If 'biography is history speaking by examples,' history illustrates biography by manifesting the principles which guided those examples; and it is the knowledge of the motives of human action which it is most desirable to attain. For this purpose I have drawn up a few '*notices*' of the religious history of Bearn, in reference to the struggle between the Romanists and Protestants. The conduct of the Romish church, in its invariable persecution of those who differ from it, has been recorded by numerous examples in history. The more numerous those examples, the more certain will be the deduction of the *principles* which guided that conduct.'

Art. VI. 1. *A Bill for the Registration of Parliamentary Electors.* By Lord John Russell. 1840.

2. *Debates on Lord Stanley's Irish Registration Bill.* 1840.

3. *Blackwood's Magazine. Art. Fictitious Voters, March,* 1837.

THE subject of this article is one of the very highest political importance. Under a homely garb and technical disguise, interests the most momentous lie concealed. The question of Registration has never been sufficiently appreciated by the great mass of the people; and to this fact the present enfeebled state of the Reform party in the legislature is in no small measure to be attributed. Presenting no dazzling allurements to the imagination, and affording no opportunity for rhetorical display, registration is a matter of fact; a matter of detail it is true, but still of practical value. It demands the exercise of patient industry, of precautionary forethought, and of steady, systematic perseverance. There are many who are ready to come forward in aid of enlightened freedom when any thing bold is to be said or done; but how few are there to throw the force of their exertions to the point where exertions can be of the greatest utility. Yet the cause of progressive amelioration and religious liberty

depend upon the strength of the Reform phalanx in the House of Commons, and that strength can only be acquired and preserved by attention to registration!

Let us contrast for a moment the relative strength of the anti-popular party and the Reformers in the first reformed parliament, with the strength of the same parties *now*; and then ask ourselves to what is the extraordinary change to be ascribed?

The number of Liberals and Tories returned by the counties, cities, boroughs, and Universities of the United Kingdom, to the parliament of 1833, were:

		Reformers.	Tories.
England,	County Members	102	42
	Cities, Boroughs	264	59
	Universities		4
Wales,	County Members	8	7
	Cities and Boroughs	11	3
Scotland,	County Members	22	8
	Cities and Boroughs	22	1
Ireland,	County Members	48	16
	Cities and Boroughs	32	7
	Dublin University		2
	Total	509	149

Thus matters stood in 1833.* In 1840 we find 321 Tories, and but 336 Reformers in the House of Commons! Now after making due allowance for the excitement occasioned by the new acquisition of the franchise, to what can this extraordinary and painful reverse be owing, unless to the fact that registration has been neglected by the Reformers, and has been attended to with the most untiring assiduity by the Tories?

It is often asserted, that this result has been produced by 're-action;' but this plainly is an error, for re-action is no more in the nature of the thing than an opposite aberration of the pendulum—which will vibrate alternately to the right and to the left

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* The following is a statement of the number of registered electors in 1832:—

		Electors.	Members.
40	*English* counties	344,564	144
185	do boroughs	274,649	327
12	*Welsh* counties	25,815	15
14	do boroughs	11,309	14
30	*Scotch* counties	33,114	30
76	do boroughs	31,332	76
32	*Irish* counties	60,607	64
34	do boroughs	31,545	41

so long as it continues in motion. There may be, and there has been a falling off in the zeal of the people in attention to the matter of registration; but this is not sufficient to account for the altered position of parties on which we are commenting. The truth is, that the fact before us is the result of a well arranged plan of *retrogression* carried on by a process slow but sure. The Tories found that that which could not be carried by open assault, might by degrees be undermined. They resolved to concentrate their whole force upon the registration courts. They well knew what timely, patient, and unremitting efforts in that quarter, would ultimately effect. They saw that there lay the only road to return to power; and they nailed their flag to the mast with the motto, 'The battle is to be 'fought in the registration courts.'

Blackwood's Magazine so far back as May, 1835, boldly predicted that perseverance would in the end be rewarded by triumph; and then developed the plan of operations, which shows that the Tories never relied upon a 'reaction' in favor of Tory principles, but staked every thing on skill in the *registration courts*, to outmanœuvre the Reform party.

'A considerable proportion of the present voters,' says Blackwood, not at all mincing the matter, 'are utterly inaccessible to reason or argument, totally incapable of forming a rational opinion on any political subject, and therefore the ready and certain prey of the demagogues, whom such a state of things necessarily and continually keeps in activity. *These men can never be convinced; from their occupation and habits they are necessarily democratical, and will ever continue so.* They must be *outvoted* or the constitution is lost.'—

vol. xxxviii. p. 813.

Here is a confession of the consummation desired; as well as an acknowledgment that there was at that time no hope of returning to the old system by means of reaction in favor of Tory principles. The method to be adopted is then developed:

'The mode in which this is to be done is obvious; and here it is that the persevering efforts of property can best overcome the prodigious ascendency which the Reform Bill in the outset gave to the reckless and destitute classes of the community. IT IS IN THE REGISTRATION COURTS THAT THE BATTLE OF THE CONSTITUTION (meaning always 'of the Tories') IS TO BE FOUGHT AND WON. It is by a continued, persevering, and skilful exertion *there* that education, worth, and property are to regain their ascendency over anarchy, vice, and democracy. *The many victories gained by the Conservatives during the last contest, were chiefly owing to the efforts that had previously been made in this department.* The forces of anarchy, strong and often irresistible in a moment of general excitement or on the eve of an

election, are unequal in general to a steady, persevering effort for a course of years in keeping up a majority on the roll. *It is there that property and information can most easily regain its just and necessary ascendant over mere numbers.* Let, therefore, the Conservatives unite in associations in every city, borough, and county in the kingdom, to subscribe for the purpose of purging the election rolls of the multitudes of disqualified Radicals who are now there, and placing on it persons of property and education on whose principles they can rely. *By a proper organization in this way it is astonishing what may be done;* in most places, excepting the great cities which may be set aside as in general irreclaimable, one member at least of sound principles might be secured. It is thus, and *thus only,* that the balance of society can be restored in these islands. *Let no one grudge* TROUBLE or EXPENSE *in such an attempt.* It is the battle of property, which is there to be fought; it is the cause of religion, truth, and freedom which is there to be won.'

Now here is the plan which the Tories laid down in 1835; and here at once is discovered the secret of that success of which we hear so much. It is seen at a glance that the altered state of parties is owing mainly, if not solely, to the fact that the Tories have acted upon this plan, uniformly and pertinaciously; while the Liberals have been indifferent and remiss on the subject. Can we employ any stronger argument than this to press upon the friends of civil and religious liberty the transcendent moment of registration? Can any thing demonstrate more forcibly, that the husk which is so thoughtlessly thrown aside contains a kernel of most precious fruit? We desire to arouse the people of Great Britain on this subject: for we are firmly impressed with the belief that there is no other way to recover lost strength than by attention to the matter of registration. We are anxious to awaken them to an adequate sense of the importance of the register: because we are satisfied, if the Liberals do their duty in this department, that they will be able, not only to curb and control, but to master their opponents. *Fas est ab hoste doceri:* attend to the registry! and the might of the people will return once more; the hair upon Samson's head will begin to grow: attend to the registry! and you will see the designs of those defeated who are anxious to carry back the nation to the slavery of Egypt, from which it hath made its exodus, and prevent their entrance to the promised possessions,—moral and mental elevation, safe progression, and rational freedom. Attend to the registry! and you take a guarantee that equal laws shall be extended to all subjects of this realm, and that they shall be governed on the principles of peace, justice, retrenchment, and reform. Attend to the registry! and the Tories are kept from power!

It will be our duty before we close, to offer some remarks on

the existing machinery employed by the Tory party for effecting registration, accompanied with some suggestions naturally arising from the contemplation of it; but before we turn to this part of the case, we must draw attention to three prominent facts, instructive in themselves, and indicative of the policy and tendencies of the retrogressive or Tory party.

First. It has been their effort, by the organization of a regular system for sustaining objections against Liberal voters, and for the creation of fictitious voters in their own interest, to weaken the Reform party and strengthen their own hands.

Second. Finding their strength increased by their vigilant attention to the details of registration, they propose to take a step further, and obtain the sanction of law to the creation of fresh obstacles in the way of registration in Ireland; great attention being paid to the matter there by the liberal community, and, as a consequence there being a strong and decisive majority against Toryism.

Third. It is avowedly the design of the Tories, after having depreciated and mutilated the Irish system of registration, to sink the English system to the level to which the former may be degraded, on the plea of giving 'equal laws' and equal institutions to both countries.

Retrogression is the object of the Tory party, and should they succeed in their attempt upon the Irish franchise, as they have already succeeded in their registration experiments, they will without doubt endeavor to narrow the franchise in England and Scotland. Notwithstanding the disguises used to conceal this purpose, and the many denials given to the assertion of Lord John Russell, that the object of the party was by slow degrees to diminish and destroy the franchise, we have sufficient warrant for charging the Tories with this deep laid design. An observation was made in the course of a recent debate, by Sir Edward Sugden, which, although it appears to have escaped without remark, is pregnant with much meaning, and affords a correct index to the inclinations of Her Majesty's opposition. Having expressed his approbation of Lord Stanley's bill, the right hon. member for Studley Park, with all possible suavity, made the following declaration: '*He would be contented to accept the same registration 'for England that was to be enforced in Ireland, and to see the 'same rigid test applied to the list of voters in this country, that 'was proposed to be put to the Irish lists.*'*

Now here is an admission from Sir Edward Sugden as to the truth of the fact which the Tories are so industrious in denying. First contract the franchise in Ireland, and then for the sake of

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* See Debate on the Irish Registration Bill, June 20.

uniformity, introduce into England the system established in the sister country! The Tories will readily enough, in such a case as this, give 'equal laws' to both countries; but they will not raise Ireland to the level of England; they will first *depreciate* the Irish franchise, and then sink the English franchise to that depreciated level! Such is Tory condescension.

For the present Lord Stanley has been defeated, and has abandoned his bill till next session. But this is only a matter of expediency. The noble lord and his party have merely consented to a delay, and not changed their course of action. Their plan has been decided on; and nothing but the determination and energetic counter-working of Reformers will drive them from it. We readily believe Lord Stanley when he declares that it is his intention to renew the attack upon the Irish registration system next year.

Now every thing depends upon the question whether the electors—whether the great mass of the people who are interested in the good government of the country, will improve the late discussions to their own advantage. Are they more alive to the advantages of attention to registration? Do they comprehend more perfectly the anti-popular scheme of the Tories to neutralize the power which the Reform Bill gave the people, and grasp it once more themselves? If so, they must betake themselves energetically to work, and remember that 'the battle is to 'be fought and won in the registration courts.'

The ground on which the Tories have rested their late desperate attack upon the Irish system of registration is, that under its provisions 'fictitious votes' are readily manufactured. It is alleged, also, that PERSONATION prevails to a great extent; and we are informed by a leading Tory publication, that 'Upon this 'principle a man has stood in all possible degrees of relationship 'to himself: he has personated his uncle, his grandfather: he 'has been his own father, his own dutiful son: in fact, according 'to the vast variety of possible combinations, men have piously 'discharged the duties of so many departed kinsmen, that at last 'they have found themselves unable to say in what precise de-'gree of relationship they might stand to themselves.'

And how do they propose to remedy the evil of *personation?* Marry by making *registration* more difficult. Can any thing possibly be more absurd than this? That one man personates another *who had been fully qualified and legally registered* cannot be laid to the charge of the system of *registration.* The utmost that the most perfect system of registration can effect is to bestow the franchise upon those only who are legally qualified; but it cannot provide against frauds committed after registration, in the name of those who are properly registered. It is quite obvious that no enactments directed against the placing of names on

the registry can prevent the offence complained of. The Tories know this well; and they know that they are practising a fraud, when they tell the public that Lord Stanley's bill is requisite because of the prevalent personation. Lord Stanley's bill would do mischief in another direction, but it would leave the mischief here untouched; in point of fact, it would do one thing while it professed to do quite a different thing. We know that men, both in England and Ireland, in some few cases personate others who have been fairly and legally registered, but the way to mend this is not to throw difficulties in the way of registration, but to affix a severe penalty to the crime of personation.

It is probable that in some cases *personation* is practised, but it is utterly incredible that it is carried on to the extent alleged. Is the world to believe that when a man appears in a polling booth, and publicly swears that he is the same person whose name appears registered, there is no one to confront him and detect his perjury? Is it to be taken for granted that there are no Conservative agents present to put the prescribed questions? that the man appears a perfect stranger in the court,—utterly unknown to every body? that he is not known to his neighbours —the parish officers—the parochial clergy—and his very landlord? Who will believe this?

In the Irish elections, lawyers of the utmost skill are employed by the Tories, and it is well known that every voter undergoes a severe examination. No one will accuse the Irish Conservative party of want of energy. Now we ask, if personation is practised, why do not the Conservatives demand redress in *courts of justice?* If it be true that personation is carried on so extensively, why are not the offenders brought to trial? The law provides ample punishment; and when we see that the Tory party, instead of bringing offenders before the legal tribunals of the country, choose to make loose, vague, and general assertions in public prints, and in parliament, we are obliged to suspect that the hardships complained of, if not altogether ideal, are grossly exaggerated. People have run away with the notion that in Ireland a man has only to go into a polling booth—say that he is an elector—and then give his vote without fear of consequences! But this notion is very far from being a true one. In the first place a certificate is granted to an elector when registered, and a man is liable to *transportation for seven years* who forges any such certificate. In the second place, every voter at the poll is liable to be sworn as to his proper identity; and if he swears falsely is liable to *indictment for perjury*. Here is a copy of the oath 'to be taken by voters at polling, before returning officer, 'sheriff, or his deputies, if required on behalf of any candidate.'*

* See Rogers's Law and Practice of Elections, Appendix cclix. [Ireland.]

'I *A. B.* do swear [*or being a Quaker* do affirm], that I am the same *A. B.* whose name appears registered in the certificate or affidavit now produced; and that my qualification as such registered voter still continues; and that I have not voted before at this election; and [*in case of householders in cities, towns, and boroughs*] that not more than one half year's grand jury or municipal cesses, rates, or taxes are now due or payable by me in respect of the premises in this certificate mentioned.'

Yet notwithstanding these very precise and stringent enactments, men venture to allege that the Irish registration law encourages the commission of fraud, perjury, personation, and so forth!! We beg those gentlemen who talk so flippantly on this subject, to tell us whether they have or have not *detected* any cases of these frauds. If so, have they punished the offenders according to law? If they have, what more is required? If they have *not*, then how are we to avoid the inference that they had no case for a jury,—that in fact they make assertions which will not bear the test of forensic discussion and judicial scrutiny? From these considerations, we think it will be evident that the statements on the subject of personation are made for the purpose of effect, and are most improperly exaggerated; that the law does not encourage the offence, but provides severe penalties against offenders; and whether the thing be true or false, that the provisions of Lord Stanley's bill directed against the insertion of names on the register, could not all affect an offence subsequent to the fact of registration.

Another ground on which Lord Stanley's bill is alleged to be necessary is, that 'FICTITIOUS VOTES' can be created under the provisions of the existing act. On this subject we cannot possibly do better than refer our readers to a paper in *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1837.* They will there find a discussion on the subject of the 'fictitious votes' in *Scotland* said to have been manufactured by Conservatives; and will see that the candid writers of that high Tory publication, consider that to be, in Scotch Conservatives, quite a venial thing, which in Irish liberals is a heinous crime!

> 'That in the captain's but a choleric word,
> Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy.'

In 1837, Blackwood's Magazine thus argued on this subject:

'Even supposing a claimant to have all the doubts and scruples imaginable with regard to his claim, he may surely, with a perfectly

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* Vol. xli. p. 385.

safe conscience, go to the registration court, in order there to be informed whether it is a good claim or otherwise ; *and to say that after his right is considered and recognized by that court, he does not possess a bona fide vote, is to use language of which we are quite unable to comprehend either the legal or the moral meaning.*'

This, it must be confessed, is pretty decided language ; but only a month ago this same magazine expresses very different opinions on the right of the people of Ireland to do the identical thing which is here justified. Every Irish elector's claim has been considered and recognized by the court constituted by law ; and in every case, an opportunity was afforded to any one to prove by evidence that he was not possessed of the necessary qualification ; yet the decision of that court is called in question! 'If,' adds Blackwood's Magazine, 'there be any moral question 'here at all, it is of course settled by the legal judgment; and from 'the very nature of the case, it can obviously be settled in no 'other way ;' yet now the legal judgment is considered as altogether valueless ! Again, in 1837, Blackwood affirmed that 'fictitious votes' were no more than the tares which always spring up among good wheat ; now it protests in reference to Ireland :

> 'Fy on't ! O fy ! 'tis an unweeded garden,
> That grows to seed ; *things rank and gross in nature,*
> *Possess it merely !*'

What can possibly be more opposed to the spirit of Lord Stanley's bill than the following passage ?

'Under our present system, *these fictitious votes are weeds which will always spring up here and there along with the healthful produce of the soil*; from which, however, there is no possible means of distinguishing and separating them ; if, then, we must get rid of them, how are we to escape the truly radical conclusion that both should be rooted out together ? If we must extirpate these few depredators, who thus defy the mouse-trap—it is quite clear that we must take the radical plan of doing it, and pull the house down !'

This is so applicable to the member for Lancashire's notable project, and so fully meets the quibbles of those who have raised the outcry against the Irish system of registration, that we might fairly dismiss the subject, did not one or two of the leading clauses of Lord Stanley's bill demand consideration, as having an especial reference to the present system of registration in England, on which, for the reasons stated, we are desirous to fasten the attention of all who are in earnest on the subject of reform and equitable government.

Lord Stanley proposed to establish in Ireland the system at

present obtaining in England, by which a voter is *annually* liable to have his title disputed and his vote objected to. Lord John Russell, on the contrary, in his bill for the registration of parliamentary electors, proposes to limit the power of objecting parties; contending that experience has proved that the custom prevailing in this country is productive of much mischief and of no commensurate good.

Lord Stanley failed, we think, to prove the necessity for the change or the efficacy of the remedy. Why, we ask, is a voter to be subjected, annually, to the inconvenience of attending in a court, and wasting his time in meeting objections which have before been met, and answering questions which have before been answered? What other object can there be in such a system, than to weary out the elector and give every chance to the *objector?* What motive can there be for such a regulation but the hope that circumstances may interfere to prevent a man's attention to the registry,—that absence, or illness, or business may give the anti-popular party a chance of disfranchising him? When a man has once proved to the satisfaction of the court, that he occupies a house of value sufficient to entitle him to the franchise, on what plea can he *annually* be required to prove the validity of his title, so long as he continues to occupy the same premises? We confess that we entirely approve of the principle in the Irish Reform act, by which an elector is protected from annual annoyance; and we hope to see the English act amended by the introduction of a clause limiting the extraordinary powers of objectors. 'What!' it will be asked by the Tory traducers of the Irish electors, 'What! will you offer a premium to deception, 'and allow those who are disqualified, to vote?' Our reply to all the rodomontade which we hear on this subject is, 'No; we will 'not offer a premium to deception, nor knowingly allow those 'disqualified to vote.' We contend that the Irish Reform act is so framed as to provide (as far as a mere statute can provide against such things) against voting by disqualified persons. We have shown, according to that law, that any one who *forges* a certificate is liable to transportation for seven years. If, therefore, certificates are forged, transport the offenders. We have shown again, that every one is liable to be sworn as to his proper identity and actual possession of the property from which he votes. If he swears falsely detection cannot be difficult; and when he is detected prosecute him for perjury. But the law is still more severe and cautious. According to the 56th clause of the 2 and 3 Will IV. c. 88, it is provided with reference to Ireland:

'And be it enacted, that if any person being at the time of any election being in the enjoyment of any office disqualifying him from voting

at such election, *or being otherwise disqualified, or having ceased to be qualified*, shall notwithstanding presume to vote at such election, *such person shall forfeit to his majesty a sum of one hundred pounds*, and shall be liable to all penalties, forfeitures, and provisions to which he would have been subject for such offence by any law in force at the time of committing the same; and in case of a petition to the House of Commons for altering the return or setting aside the election, at which such person shall have voted, his vote shall be struck off by the committee, *with such costs as to them shall seem meet, to be paid by him to the petitioner.*'

We ask any man of common candor, after this, is it not unfair to allege that the Irish law holds out inducements and affords facilities to disqualified persons to vote at elections?

We admit freely that the law requires amendment as to the *establishment of claims;* and we admit also that 'personation' is practised at Irish elections; but we have no hesitation in saying, that Lord Stanley's bill is not directed against those evils, but aims at crushing popular enthusiasm and contracting the honest franchise. If there is not sufficient caution observed before a voter's claim is declared to be valid, let the law require more caution, and the clearer proof of qualification by direct evidence. This will remedy the evil without violating rights!

It admits of immediate proof, that the system of annual objections is productive of much inconvenience, and is attended with a great deal of abuse. Lord John Russell stated recently in the House of Commons, that he knew of a case in the East Riding of York, where a voter who had established his claim the year before, was obliged to go from a great distance to the registration court with his lease, to prove his title again. When he arrived, the objection had vanished! and he found that his time had been wasted for nothing. The law that allows such practices as this (and they are matters of constant occurrence) must be vicious; and therefore we are inclined to consider the clauses in Lord John Russell's registration bill as important in the very highest degree. That bill has been postponed till next session; but we hope that the following clauses will, sooner or later, be sanctioned as the law of the land.

'And be it enacted, that no objection to the value of any lands or tenements holden by an established voter for any county, riding, parts, or division of a county, shall be allowed so long as they shall continue to be holden by the same voter, nor shall any objection to the title of any such established voter to hold any lands or tenements be allowed, *unless the objection be grounded upon something which shall have happened after the date to which the qualification of such voter was last established.*'

'And be it enacted, that no objection to the value of any premises

occupied by an established voter for any city or borough, shall be allowed so long as he shall continue to occupy the same premises.'

If Lord Stanley's proposition to oblige the Irish voters annually to produce their leases and title-deeds in court, and to come as often into collision with their landlords, be odious and unnecessary, what will be thought of the plan which would enable an objector, *whose objections had been quashed in the registration court*, to persecute a voter further, and compel his attendance from any part of a county before the judges of assize?

Lord Stanley proposed to establish the right of *appeal* to the judges against the decision of the revising barristers; and, to work out his intention more thoroughly, introduced a clause into his bill which provided that no voter whose claim had been disallowed by the barrister could appeal without giving a bond and security for the sum of £10, which sum might be exacted from him if the judge thought that he had no business to appeal!! It may well be asked, what is there in the nature of the elective franchise to warrant such regulations as these? or what is there in the constitution of England that declares that the man who asks for the franchise shall be regarded as a public enemy? The law is obliged to fix some standard of qualification; but nothing can be more unreasonable than to multiply objections and difficulties in the road of those who are possessed of the requisite qualification. A free and an extensive franchise is necessary for the preservation of public liberty, and that man is an enemy to the people, and a friend of arbitrary and irresponsible power who proposes to contract it. Lord Stanley professes that his object is to purify the system of registration; but the policy of his party and the provisions of his bill tend a very different way:

> 'Crimson leaves the rose adorn,
> Yet beneath them lurks the thorn:
> Fair and flowery is the brake,
> But it hides the vengeful snake.'

Viewing Lord Stanley's recent movement with reference to the interests of the country for which he proposed to legislate, it cannot be regarded as any thing else than as a calamity. The best friends of Ireland implored the noble lord to desist; for, that any such attempt would only excite the people who were subsiding into tranquillity; but he heeded no warning. The decrease of crime (proved before Lord Roden's committee by Lord Roden's own witnesses), and the movement in favor of temperance indicated an altered state of things. 'Battalion after battalion—'squadron after squadron—was withdrawn from the shores of 'Ireland; yet every day property became more secure and order

'more manifest.' Every thing was full of promise; and all the country seemed to want was *repose*, when Stanley let loose the waters of bitterness over the land. This nobleman was the last person in existence to whom the nice and delicate task of legislating for Ireland should have been confided:—

'A man who, on Irish questions, came denuded of the slightest claim to public confidence—a man who to his face had been told by Lord Althorp, that his Irish administration had been a lamentable failure; who since that time, from his political transactions, had acquired an unqualified title to the disrelish of one country, and to the distrust of both; who, when a Whig, endeavored to swamp the lords, and when he turned Tory, to destroy the rights of the people; who lauded in 1832 the Irish members elected under the existing registration, when it suited his purpose, and who now wanted to slap the door of the House of Commons in their faces; who first of all, when introduced to public life, began by exposing that faction, and holding it up to public scorn, to which he now gave the assistance and support of his great talents, and which every beating of his heart told him he ought never to have devoted himself to.'*

Leaving Lord Stanley however, it is time that we should return to the general question of the vices of the present system of registration. In noticing the state of the law regulating registration in Ireland, we took occasion to refer to some of the hardships to which those who claim votes in England are liable; we shall now enumerate the several evils in the existing laws which are most worthy of the attention of the legislature,—which tend most seriously to contract the franchise, and deprive of votes many of those who are in the actual possession of the property qualification fixed by act of parliament:

I. The liability to have one's claim disputed *annually*.

II. The encouragement given to frivolous, factious, and technical objections.

III. The disfranchisement attendant upon removal from one house of the requisite value to another of similar value, in the same city, &c.

IV. The payment of registration fees.

V. The obligation to bring proof of the payment of assessed taxes.

VI. The obligation to prove payment of poor rates.

VII. The uncertainty attending the decisions of the revising barristers.

For six of these evils provision is made in the bills 'For the 'Registration of Parliamentary Electors,' and 'To make further

* Mr. Shiel's Speech in the House of Commons, 20th June.

'provision as to certain rights of voting,' brought in by Lord John Russell. Those bills, although abandoned for the present, deserve the serious attention of all Reformers; for, if passed into laws, they would add strength and power to the friends of the people. Lord John cuts at the roots of the two first causes of complaint, by providing, that no one once registered as an *established voter*, shall be liable to objections so long as he continues to hold the same qualifications; and that a person objecting must give notice to the person objected to, *stating the grounds of objection*, and must also give notice to the overseer, accompanied with an affidavit that he believes the objection to be true. The two latter regulations are extremely judicious. A man has certainly a right to know beforehand, what the objection or objections against him are. What would the world think of the justice of bringing a man to trial without allowing him a copy of the indictment preferred against him? Again, if a man does not believe that an objection is true, and yet brings it, he is actuated by improper motives: if he does believe it to be true he can have no objection to *swear* that he does so.

We never could comprehend the meaning of those who urge that a ten pound householder removing from one house to another in the same county or borough, should be disqualified from voting. If a man is in the actual possession of a legal qualification at the time of election, we think it is injustice to prevent him from voting. Lord John Russell has introduced a clause to meet such cases, which is in the terms following:

'And be it enacted, that so much of the last-recited act as authorizes or requires the returning officer or his deputy, at any election of a member or members to serve in parliament, to put to any voter at the time of tendering his vote the following question (that is to say), 'have you *the same* qualification for which your name was inserted in the register of voters now in force for the county of, et cætera, [or, for the riding, et cætera, or for the city, et cætera, as the case may be, specifying in each case the particulars of the qualification, as described in the register], shall be repealed; and that after the passing of this act, no person shall be excluded from voting at any such election *by reason of its appearing to the returning officer or his deputy that the person claiming to vote has not the same qualification for which his name was originally inserted in the register:* provided always, that this enactment shall not be construed to authorize any person to vote at such election *who is subject to any legal incapacity, or to prevent the vote of any such incapable person from being void.*'

It is also proposed to do away with the payment of the shilling which is now required from claimants. A man ought not to have to pay for a right of this nature. The *Edinburgh Review*, in the early part of 1833, very properly condemned this exaction; ob-

serving that it doubted if any thing so absurd, and, indeed, paltry as the saving in this matter, effected by the landed interest, was ever before attempted or imagined. We know it is said by the Tories, 'O! the sum is so trifling.' But many Englishmen won't pay it, because they cannot see the reason why they should pay for that which is their *right*. By s. 54 of the Reform Act it is provided that *every elector whose name shall be on the register of voters for any city, &c., shall be liable to the payment of one shilling annually!* It has been decided, however, that the non-payment of this tribute in cities and boroughs, does not disqualify a voter; but in counties it is expressly provided that the claim shall not be valid till the shilling is paid.* Lord John Russell's registration bill provides also for the removal of this improper imposition:

'And be it enacted, that, notwithstanding any thing in the said act contained, it shall not be necessary for any such claimant to pay or cause to be paid to the overseers the sum of one shilling, or any other sum of money, upon giving notice of his claim.'

The law, as it stands at present, requires four provisions in addition to proof of the nature of premises, before a voter acquires a perfect right, viz.:

1. Occupation for a sufficient time.
2. Rating to the poor.
3. Payment of rates and assessed taxes.
4. Residence.

The provision relative to residence and occupation for a given time before voting is a useful and unobjectionable one; but the clause requiring proof of the payment of poor rates, is one of a very different character. If the law does not facilitate the collection of rates by overseers, it must be admitted that the regulation is a vexatious one. We have no hesitation in averring that it affords them no facility. The *assessment* in parishes does not all depend upon the fact of registration. Houses that do not qualify a man to vote, are assessed for poor rates. But it is still thought by some good folk who never trouble themselves by inquiring into such insignificant matters, that the clause in the Reform Act is *an inducement to persons to pay their rates.* Where the law is imperative, and where payment is inevitable, the inducement is unnecessary. We object to the law, because it imposes a troublesome and a tedious task upon voters, whereas every difficulty, as far as practicable, should be removed out of their path. The proof of payment of rates is not so very smooth and easy a matter

* See Rogers on the law and practice of elections.

as it seems at first sight. Frequently overseers appoint assistants, and in the confusion between the principal and deputy, disputes on the subject of payment often take place, which not unfrequently place the franchise of some in jeopardy. A man being bound to serve as overseer only *for one year*, there is, of necessity, a constant succession of unskilful and unpractised men in office, who on entering upon their duties, know as much about the mysteries of 'parish business' as they do of logarithms, and just begin to understand the matter—when the year expires! Yet a man's vote is at the mercy of this class! There are many tricks, too, played off; such as misdescription, erasure of names, &c., &c., most of which operate *against* the Liberal interest, for a very obvious reason. The overseer is associated with the churchwarden, and the churchwarden is the nominee of the rector, who of course is a Tory. The parish meetings are held in the parish church; and hence there is a constant Tory *surveillance* over the books; and a constant acting of Tory influence upon the parish officers. The parish books must be produced in court—time is consumed, if no flaw is detected. Yet all this is done for no useful or constitutional purpose; for the *obstruction* of registration cannot be constitutional. It is impossible for any man who continues to occupy a house to evade the payment of rates. The law is peremptory both with the overseer and the rate-payer. It enables the overseer readily to compel payment from his parishioners: and again enables the Board of Guardians to exact punctual payment from the parish officers. The law empowers justices of the peace to issue a warrant for the sale of the overseer's goods in case of his failing to pay the sum required by the guardians. To assert after this, that the clause in the Reform Act, requiring proof of the payment of poor rates, is necessary as an inducement to such payment, is to defend a piece of glaring injustice and palpable absurdity.

Lord John Russell proposes to repeal the clause requiring proof of the payment of assessed taxes, which is liable to objections similar to those we have just urged, but does not provide for the removal of the clause affecting poor-rates.

We pass by the consideration of details which may be considered tedious, and come to the seventh of the evils enumerated.

The uncertainty as to the decisions of the revising baristers is a subject of grave and well-grounded complaint. One barrister decides one way, another decides in quite a different way. What is right in Exeter is wrong in York. Nay, the decision last year is reversed this year: and what between lawyer and objector one is in a constant state of doubt and anxiety! The noble secretary for the Colonies has taken the matter up; having introduced a clause into his registration bill for the purpose of remedying the evil which is deprecated. The bill provides that the *judges* shall

nominate to the speaker of the House of Commons forty-five *barristers* of not less than seven years' standing, of whom the speaker shall appoint fifteen to be the revising barristers of England and Wales, and to take yearly circuits, of which fifteen to be marked out, and the barristers to take them in rotation; three to be judges of the court of appeal: the judges and revising barristers to hold their offices until death or resignation, or until displaced by a vote of the House of Commons: not to hold office under the crown, or sit in parliament, or to be elected for any place of which the barrister may have revised the register of voters within two years before his election: four month's notice of the holding of the revising barrister's court in any place to be given to the clerk of the peace.

Before the registration system can work satisfactorily and beneficially, the alterations which we have ventured to suggest must be carried into effect: but still vigilance and persevering activity will be necessary to preserve the franchise from the insidious hostility of those whose party existence depends upon the contraction of it. We have seen how fully awake the Tories are to the supreme importance of registration; how vigorously they have applied themselves to its details; how effective and complete their organization, for the double purpose of disfranchising their adversaries and enfranchising their friends: and we have seen how successful have been their efforts to strengthen their party in the legislature, and to weaken the cause of the people. The Liberals must be lukewarm no more; they must emulate the Tories in sustained energy; they must fight the battle of truth, freedom, and intelligence, in the registration courts. They must recollect that the cause of progressive reform depends upon the strength of their friends in the House of Commons, and that that strength is derived from the REGISTRY!

Art. VII. *Debate in the House of Commons on Sir R. H. Inglis's Motion for a Grant in favor of Church Extension. Tuesday, June* 30, 1840.

SIR R. H. Inglis's motion, in favor of Church Extension, after having been put off again and again, and after having been artfully modified, to make it, if possible, less unpalatable, and to give it a somewhat greater chance of success, has at length been discussed; and, we are happy to say, negatived by a majority of seventeen. The Church of England has once more gone begging to the nation; but the nation, not thinking a mendicant, who, according to Sir Robert Inglis, has £3,500,000 a-year, or,

according to still better authorities, nearly £5,000,000, a very fit object for charity at the expense of the Voluntaries, has dismissed her without a farthing. How long she will choose to submit to this humiliation of asking without receiving, it is not easy to say; but there is not the slightest doubt that the hope of a grant of public money will, in her estimation, justify her submission to many an unpleasant repulse. Her pride is strong; but her cupidity is stronger.

How much better would it be were she to do for herself what she wishes Parliament to do for her! She is well able to do all that is really necessary; for though neither Church nor Parliament could lavish sums sufficient to carry out Church extension on the absurd principles contended for by High Churchmen—namely, to provide churches and endow them for the whole population, without any reference at all to the provision made by the Voluntaries—nay, if we were to act upon Sir R. Inglis's 'Ecclesiastical Statistics,' without deducting those who cannot go to church even if they would—children in arms, the sick, the bed-ridden, the deaf, the dying, and those who must be left at home each service time to take charge of the house while the rest of the household are at church;—although, we say, neither Church nor Parliament could do this, the Church *is* well able to provide all the additional accommodation which is necessary for that portion of her members who can avail themselves of it; and far more than able to do all that Parliament, in the present exigencies of the nation, would be likely to do for her, were it willing to do anything. Nay, she is already doing, by her inconsistent adoption of the despised Voluntary Principle,—by her appeals to the liberality of her own members, far more than she could have got from any grant which even she could have had the effrontery to ask, had she ventured to ask for any specific sum at all. The Bishop of London said some years ago, that he was 'not sanguine as to the success of any appeal to Parliament for 'aid towards the erection of churches in the country at large;' and Sir Robert Inglis well knows that if anything at all had been given upon the recent application, it must have been very little. But we verily believe that, for the object which many of our High Churchmen have in view, a small grant, a grant of some £30,000, would have been almost as acceptable as a large one; we verily believe that their object in imploring such a grant, is quite as much to make the nation do homage to the Establishment, (or, as they express it, 'to acknowledge the principle,') and to mortify the Voluntaries, as to secure the means of religious instruction for the destitute portion of the population. They well know that, even a pepper-corn rent at least establishes a legal claim, and is considerably better than no rent at all.

Nothing but this will account for the zeal with which Sir

Robert Inglis and his party urge Parliament to make grants, which all must feel convinced would be far less in amount than the revenues already derived from the voluntary contributions of the Church herself. The erection and endowment of episcopal chapels on the voluntary principle; the support of the ministers who officiate in them; the necessary expenses connected with the maintenance of public worship in such places; the support of societies, the object of which is to aid poor clergymen, not to mention other societies of a religious nature, cannot cost the members of the Establishment less than half a million per annum. Is there any, the faintest hope, even in the most sanguine churchman, of deriving from Parliament a grant equal in amount? How preposterous then the hope of carrying out the scheme of Church Extension upon the principles contended for in the speech of Sir Robert Inglis! To do this would require a grant, not of a hundred thousand, or five hundred thousand pounds, or even of a million or two, but of fifty or sixty millions at least. The Church may rest assured that there is no more prospect of obtaining such a grant than there is of obtaining a repeal of the Bill of Rights, or of Magna Charta.

And yet, except that Sir Robert Inglis has neglected to deduct from the number stated to require Church accommodation, those who could not avail themselves of it, even if they would, his scheme is quite consistent with the theory of a Church Establishment. His taking no notice of the efforts of the Voluntaries is in perfect conformity with that theory. It is the principle of an Establishment, that it ought to provide that sort of religious instruction which it approves, for the whole of that portion of the population which is not physically incapacitated to profit by it. Now, if Parliament be not willing to do this, the theory of an Establishment virtually fails, and its inefficiency is no longer doubtful. It is as certain that Parliament will *not* do all this, as it is that it will not repeal the laws against theft or murder.

But how much more strikingly is the inefficiency of this principle shown, when its advocates not only cannot get all that is necessary to carry it out, but cannot even get anything,—no, not a farthing. The Voluntary Principle, as was shown in the article entitled, 'The Voluntary and Compulsory Systems compared;'*—the Voluntary Principle, including of course what is done by the voluntary zeal of Churchmen themselves, is annually raising for religious purposes at home and abroad, a revenue of not less than three millions, which is now, we believe, nearer three millions and a half. The Establishment cannot wring from Parliament so much as a poor grant of some thirty or fifty

* Inserted in the number for April, 1837.

thousand pounds! When we consider these facts, there is really nothing more droll than the assertion that the Voluntary Principle has signally failed; that it may be a very good auxiliary, but nothing more, and that *taxation* alone will effectually do the business! However inadequate either, or both may be, in relation to the actual wants of the population, it is plain that the one is doing more and more, and that the other is doing less and less; that this has been the case for many years past; that the revenues of the Voluntary System are still annually increasing, and that those of the Compulsory System have diminished to nothing: that the one system is full of life and vigor, while the other is daily becoming feebler and more decrepid. It is of no avail to say that it *ought* to be otherwise; we are not talking about what the systems *ought* to do, but about what they *do*. Both systems must ultimately be adopted or rejected, as they respectively commend themselves to public opinion; and if the state of the nation and Parliament be such, that taxation for religious objects becomes no longer practicable, the Compulsory System fails, however ingenious or beautiful it may appear. We well know that it is possible to be so very fond of a theory as to be contented rather to fail with *that*, than to succeed with any other; just as there are some men who would rather kill *secundum artem*, than cure empirically: who are ready to say as the doctor did of the patient, who died in spite of the most scientific treatment, 'that he 'ought to have recovered.' 'I recollect,' says Geoffrey Crayon, in his lively paper on 'Angling,' (to which sport, though without experience in it or aptitude for it, he had been beguiled by the reading of old Izaac Walton), 'I recollect that after toiling, and 'watching, and creeping about for the greater part of a day, with 'scarcely any success, in spite of all our admirable apparatus, a lub-'berly country urchin came down from the hills with a rod made 'from a branch of a tree, a few yards of twine, and, as heaven shall 'help me! I believe a crooked pin for a hook, baited with a vile 'earth-worm; and in half an hour caught more fish than we had 'nibbles throughout the day!'

We recommend this passage to the diligent study of some of our High Churchmen. The Voluntary Principle may be, for aught we know, nothing better than the booby here described; but if, 'with a few yards of twine, a crooked pin, and a vile earth-'worm,' it can catch three millions and a half a-year, while the Compulsory System, 'with all its admirable apparatus,' cannot get even a 'nibble,' we shall beg leave to think the former by far the better angler of the two.

In fact, we doubt whether it would be possible, bold as the assertion may appear, to appeal to any principle in aid of religion, less efficient than that of national taxation, as it is certainly impossible to resort to any more at variance with the spirit of religion

itself, which, if not voluntary, is nothing. Of the three millions and a half a year, which the Church has for its permanent revenue, according to Sir Harry Inglis (although, as already said, it is nearer five millions,) a very small portion of it has been obtained by taxation. By far the greater part was originally acquired by voluntary gifts or bequest; often prompted, it may be, by blind and mistaken zeal, and sometimes extorted from doting superstition or terrified guilt; but still voluntary, that is, uncompelled by law; voluntary, as opposed to compulsory; the result of motives, however unenlightened, producing the conviction that the thing *ought* to be done; not the result of coercion, producing the conviction that the thing *must* be done, simply because we cannot prevent it. Such was the origin of by far the greater part of the funds left to the disposal of the Church. It is true that Government, once upon a time, diverted the greater part of these funds from their original object; but this is all it did, and we need not say there is a vast difference between *transferring* property, and *giving* it. What has national taxation done for the favored sect during the last twenty years? A great deal more than ought to have been done, in justice to other denominations, we fully admit; but absolutely nothing to what has been done by the Voluntary System. A grant of a million and a half has been obtained within the last twenty years. This, together with the remission of taxes on the materials used for building churches, constitute absolutely all that Parliament has furnished for the direct propagation of religion during this period, while the Voluntary System has done considerably more than that for every year out of the twenty. What can be more farcical then than the representation that, for the adequate propagation and support of Christianity, nothing but national taxation will suffice? The Voluntary Principle may be insufficient, but it certainly would deserve contempt if it had done nothing more than the system of which it is represented to be only an auxiliary.

It may be argued that in thus demonstrating the inefficiency of the compulsory system we have made out a strong case for the Church, and given her good and sufficient reasons why she should apply to parliament for thirty or forty millions more. We admit it, if the system can be proved expedient, and the nation can be induced to adopt it. As long as we doubt the one, we are quite consistent in opposing all parliamentary grants for such objects with might and main; and, as for the other, if the concurrence of the people can be gained, it would be of no avail to oppose them at all. Let the Church apply, then, for the said forty or fifty millions; we have no objection whatever; we rest satisfied she will never obtain them; that the inexpediency and injustice of the system are daily becoming more apparent, and the tide of public opinion setting in stronger and stronger against it.

But if our opponents choose to make the facts on which we have insisted an argument for further appeals to parliament, let them at all events be consistent. We have endeavored to show the past inefficiency of the system; that it is virtually dying or dead. The fact may be denied, or it may be admitted; if the former, our adversaries may endeavor to show that taxation has done more than we have stated for the propagation of religion; if the latter, they may if they will employ it for the purposes aforesaid, and appeal to government to exercise a greater liberality; but they cannot consistently admit and deny the fact at the same time: contend that the compulsory system, which has hitherto done so little, is superior to the voluntary system, and yet extract from its very inefficiency an argument for unlimited reliance upon it. Even if it had been wholly untried, the best that could be said of it would be, that we waited the result of an experiment. But the fact is, that it has not been untried; it has been tried, but 'found want-'ing.' Its efficiency has been in an inverse ratio to the demands made upon it. It has been doing less just when it was required to do more.

We shall now devote a few pages to the examination of the late debate.

The speech of the honorable member for Oxford is full of amusing sophistries, on some of which, as we are in merry mood, we cannot resist the temptation to offer a few remarks. In introducing the subject, the honorable member took occasion to eulogize the *motives* of the petitioners for Church extension. They were so disinterested! they prayed, not as petitioners usually do, for a remission of taxes, but for an increase of them; they prayed that parliament would be graciously pleased to take the money out of their pockets! Whether this eulogy be deserved or not we shall take the liberty to examine as soon as we have cited the words of Sir Robert himself. 'What,' said the honorable member, 'was the general character of these petition-'ers? They did not pray for relief from any particular burden, 'nor to be continued in the enjoyment of any exclusive privilege '—they did not even pray for an abstract good, nor for the 'cession of that the obtaining of which would cost them nothing. 'In all these respects these petitions differed from the great 'mass of petitions ordinarily presented to the house. These 'petitioners prayed for that which they knew could not be ob-'tained without some sacrifice to themselves. This was a dis-'tinction shared only by the petitions which were presented some 'years ago for the continuation of church-rates—petitions asking 'for the continuance of that which they knew to be a burden, 'but at the same time felt to be a privilege. What did the 'petitioners ask for? Increased accommodation for religious 'worship---increased means of religious instruction, according to

'the principles of the Established Church.' Now either the worthy men here eulogized are willing to do of their own accord as much as they ask parliament to *compel* them to do, or they are not. If they are, the only difference which their *petitioning* makes is, that they would fain have those who are *not* willing to give, *compelled* to pay; and how their petitioning that the Dissenters may be placed in this predicament is proof of their disinterestedness is hard to say. If, on the other hand, strange supposition! they are not willing to do as much without compulsion as with it, or would fain make up for the deficiences of their own benevolence by a tax on the nation at large, we are still at a greater loss to discover wherein the disinterestedness of these petitioners is manifested. Certainly it appears to us that *selfishness* would be a far more proper name for it; that sort of disinterestedness which consists in putting one's hand into other people's pockets we cannot say we have any manner of respect for. If, indeed, the petitioners had requested that they alone might bear their own burdens, and that those might not be compelled to pay for the Church who did not belong to it, we could have understood the encomium of the honorable member; but it will be a long time before Churchmen offer any such petition as this.

As to the disinterestedness and such stuff, who does not see that the real object of the petitioners is to secure contributions from the reluctant; to obtain that from the whole community which the whole community could not be otherwise got to give? Who does not see the absurdity of supposing they have any other object; of supposing men to petition parliament to be graciously pleased to *compel* them to do that which they are perfectly willing to do of their own accord? Unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the benevolence of these petitioners is of so peculiar a character that they cannot trust it without an act of parliament; that though quite willing to pay they cannot do it unless forced; that their benevolent feelings will all ooze away from them, if the law does not come to the aid of their good resolutions; and that they fear after all that they shall not have the heart to give unless the necessity of paying a tax should put it beyond their choice. Their sole object, no doubt, is to be placed beyond the reach of temptation.

The next fallacy worthy of notice is that by which the honorable member endeavors to prove that as the Dissenters are a mere *minority*, they are to be disregarded by the legislature, however large may be the grants necessary to carry out the theory of the Established Church. We shall again cite his words, and then comment upon them. 'The Lancashire returns,' says he, 'moved for by Mr. O'Connell, would show how little 'right the Dissenters had to attempt the overthrow of the Esta-

'blished Church. Out of a population of 1,560,000, the total 'number not belonging to the Church was 281,899. In Lanca- 'shire, then, there were three-fourths of the population who 'belonged to the Established Church. But he had a higher 'authority still. Mr. M'Culloch states the number of Dissenters 'in England at 2,700,000, or at most 3,000,000; but, deducting 'therefrom the number of Roman Catholics' [are they not Dis- senters then?], 'there would not remain more than 2,500,000 'Protestant Dissenters in England. Would it then be said that 'government could not discharge its duties to the people, to 'religion, and to God, because a certain minority were ever ready 'to thwart their operations? Could any government exist if it 'continued to act on such principles? Had they not innumer- 'able instances in which the will of the minority was compelled 'to yield to that of the majority? Had they not many instances 'of men in a civilized state of society being compelled to pay for 'what they might conscientiously object to?'

We shall not stop to inquire whether the statistical statements of the honorable member are worthy of implicit credence. We shall merely remark on this point, that even admitting the Protestant Dissenters of England to be numerically less than the members of the Established Church, nothing can be more absurd than to attempt to exaggerate the value of the majority by claiming for the Establishment all that are *not* avowed Dissenters. The honorable member makes no sort of deduction for the vast numbers, who in this country, cannot be said to have any religion at all, or even for those whom we should have thought any church would be very glad *not* to count amongst its members. But the Church of England is not so nice; criminals in our jails, the pickpockets and the harlots in our streets, tipplers of the ale- bench, the fellows who, like the soldier in Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, are at any time ready to confirm their attachment to the Establishment, and to show their zeal for religion by a pro- fane oath, must all be put down to swell the aggregate of Church- men! Sir Robert is very welcome to all the additions he may be pleased to make to his sum total from such sources. We are quite sure that Dissenters will not strive to magnify their num- bers by any such unscrupulous arithmetic. Admitting, however, for argument's sake, that the statistics of the honorable member are perfectly correct, the absurdity of his argument lies in this; that the speaker chooses, for his own purposes, to regard the Protestant Dissenters in *England*, and the Established Church of *England*, as if they were the whole empire; as though the parlia- ment represented them alone, and were convened to legislate for their sole benefit. We always thought that the empire consisted of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, that the parliament was supposed to represent the whole of these, and to legislate for

the *benefit* of the whole; and we are quite sure that if the honorable baronet were to obtain any grant at all, he would expect that it would come out of the *pockets* of the whole; from the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Catholics of Ireland, as well as from the members of the Established Church and the Protestant Dissenters of England. The question of a majority or minority, therefore, is to be determined by reference to the whole community represented, not to a part. What would be thought of a member of the House of Commons, absurd enough to contend that a measure ought to pass because there was a greater number of *Englishmen* for it than against it, while there was an undeniable majority of the whole empire, and of the representatives of the whole empire *against* it. Now according to this, the only rational way of considering the subject, the Dissenters from the Established Church are *not* a minority. According to Sir Robert himself, the Protestant Dissenters of England are about three millions; there are three millions of Presbyterians in Scotland, and more than seven millions of Catholics in Ireland and England, constituting a clear majority of the whole population. They are as clearly all dissenters from the English Establishment, and yet they are all to be taxed, forsooth, for the exclusive support of that Establishment!

The shuffling method of argument now adverted to, our high Churchmen are very fond of practising, and by means of it can make out majorities and minorities just as they please. Instead of regarding the empire as one, and the several religious communities of which it consists as forming one whole in relation to the legislature, they separate or combine them just as the occasion requires, without the slightest regard to consistency or common sense. If we complain that the Protestants of Ireland form a very small minority of the whole population of that country, and are not entitled to any exclusive privileges, then our opponents are glad enough to bring in the members of the Established Church in *this* country, and contend that the members of the Establishment in both countries together, outnumber the Catholics. They then choose to consider the English and Irish as *one*, simply because it answers a present purpose. If the Dissenters petition to be relieved from any grievance, then they dissolve the combination again, and limit their survey to one out of the four parts of the empire. The argument in the present case is more shuffling and disingenuous because it is not even pretended that the proposed tax would fall only on one portion of the empire; it would equally affect the whole of it; the Catholic Dissenters of Ireland, and the Presbyterian Dissenters of Scotland, are directly implicated in the measure, and can be left out of the calculation only because it is convenient to leave them out.

But even if England were alone to be taxed for such an object,

there has certainly been no demonstration such as could for a moment justify a parliamentary grant. Though Churchmen, according to Sir Robert Inglis, outnumber the Dissenters by so many millions, and though they have been so early in the field, (long indeed before their adversaries), the number of signatures attached to the petitions in favor of Church extension amount to little more than two hundred thousand, while those from the Dissenters *against* it amount to very nearly the same number. Nor is it unworthy of remark that according to Sir Robert Inglis's own admission, his petitions do not come for the most part from the large and influential towns, but principally from remote villages and hamlets; in other words, not from the places which would have told most, but from which they could most easily be got; nor from the places which have most to do with the question, but from those which have least. Sir Robert, indeed, is pleased ingenuously to turn this latter circumstance into an argument in favor of his proposal. He says 'from the large towns the 'number of petitions, as compared with what had come from re-'mote villages, was small. What was the inference that he drew 'from this? That the people most in want of spiritual instruction 'were themselves the least sensible of it.' We take leave to doubt whether there be not in all our large towns, quite a sufficient number of persons sensible of the importance of spiritual instruction to get up a petition in favor of 'Church extension' if they thought this the best method of providing it, and though it is very kind, no doubt, of our villages and hamlets to be so solicitous about our cities and large towns, we very much question whether a great part of the petitioners knew precisely what they were about when they signed the petitions. The greater part, as Sir Robert admits, came from hamlets in remote and thinly peopled districts; the simple fact is that from such quarters petitions could be reckoned upon with certainty, and if those who manufactured them were to take it into their heads to get some up against Church extension to morrow, we have no doubt that the signatures of the same enlightened subscribers would obsequiously follow. Every body knows the state of dependence—little better than that of vassalage—in which a large portion of our rural districts are held, and that a wealthy rector or landlord can get the poor creatures who are dependent upon him to subscribe or vote for anything. The gross ignorance which too often pervades those districts ensures a still blinder submission, nor could the honorable baronet by any possibility have referred us to a set of petitions to which we should be disposed to attach less importance. We trust, however, that it will be some time before the legislature proceeds to impose a tax upon our cities and large towns till those who are principally concerned manifest some solicitude about the matter. Even if we restrict our view to England, instead of

considering this as a question which stands in relation to the whole empire, a vast deal more zeal must be manifested, and in very different quarters, before the legislature could with any face make a grant even of the millionth part of a farthing; and so long as they consider it, as they ought to do, a question of the empire, we have no fear of their making a grant even of so much as that.

We have now disposed of all those parts of Sir Robert's speech which have any title to be considered argument, if indeed any can be said to have such title. There is one passage more, however, in which the speaker affirms that he demands a grant for the 'Establishment, not because it is the *state-church* or the *law-church*, but because it is the *authorised depository of divine truth*,' which is so curiously and felicitously rich in absurdities, that we cannot refrain from laying it before our readers. If the problem were, 'given so much space, to determine how much nonsense could be compressed into it,' we doubt whether any one could approximate nearer to a solution than Sir Robert Inglis has done. 'He (Sir Robert Inglis) asked support for the Established Church, because 'he believed it was the true church. He asked it, because it had been 'recognised as the true church. The sovereign on the throne had 'recognised it; and when he was told that it was a *law-church*, 'a *parliamentary church*, he could not help thinking that these 'were very odd terms to be used by any persons calling themselves 'good subjects. He thought it very strange that it should be made 'matter of reproach, because the church was a law-church, or a 'parliamentary church. But he did not ask support for it because 'it was either a law-church, or a parliamentary church, but because 'it was the *true* church. They had established it, and they were 'not at liberty, as the honorable member for Kilkenny had assumed 'by his amendment, to consider it now as an open question, whether 'they would have a church establishment or not. The argument 'on which the honorable member's amendment was founded was, 'that a church establishment was a very fitting thing, perhaps, in 'those times when men were compelled by statute to go to church, 'but that statute having been repealed, they ought to withhold 'from that church all the pre-eminence it at present possessed, and 'take from it its existing means, instead of adding to them. But 'he begged to tell that honorable member that the church was 'no voluntary assembling together of the people. It was no asso-'ciation formed at hap-hazard, and that might be dissolved as readily 'as it was originally instituted. On the contrary, the Church was '*the authorised depository of the divine law.* As such, he asked 'for it their support, and as such they ought to give it their support. 'He did not ask for that support in reference to any proportion of 'the population belonging to this creed or that. True, he had re-'ferred to numbers, not because he regarded numbers as of any

'value among the elements of his calculation, but because he knew 'it was a popular argument brought against him, and those who 'thought with him on this subject. He thought, however, it was 'an argument perfectly untenable, even for the purpose for which 'it was urged on the other side. His views were irrespective of 'numbers. He believed that numbers were with him, but it was 'not on that account that he appealed to the house for support. It 'was because the Church was founded in truth. Truth was one; 'error was manifold.'

To call the Establishment a law-church, or a state-church, is enough, according to Sir Robert Inglis, to involve a man's loyalty in suspicion! Yet what is it else, so far as it is *an Establishment?* Its system of doctrines, and its system of policy may be right or wrong, considering it apart from its connection with the state; but so far forth as it is an Establishment, it is a law-church or a state-church; just as the Presbyterian establishment is in Scotland, or the Roman Catholic establishment in Lower Canada.

We should have thought, if the expression of *any* opinion on the subject could be construed into suspicion of disloyalty it would be the assertion that it was *not* a law-church, or a state-church.

Opinions as to the *intrinsic* truth or error of the system itself have nothing whatever to do with the question of loyalty, unless indeed it be the duty of a subject to believe that to be necessarily true which our governors tell us is so; a doctrine, no doubt, very acceptable to our high-churchmen. But possibly the worthy baronet means that, as it *is* a law-church or a state-church, it is treason to wish it were otherwise. If this be the case, he has chosen an odd way of expressing himself, while, even upon such an interpretation, his statement is not a whit less remote from common sense. If to question any thing sanctioned by the legislature, and to seek an alteration, be a mark of disloyalty, there will be disloyalty enough. There is no abuse whatever that has been corrected, but what has at some period received the sanction of the legislature. Sheep-stealing, at one time, was a capital crime; and king, lords, and commons, were alike pleased to think that a man ought to be hung for it. But we never heard that to seek, by constitutional methods, an alteration in the law was inconsistent with the duty of a subject. It is just as little inconsistent with such duty, to seek, by the same methods (that is, with the consent of the legislature itself), the separation of Church and State. No abuse could ever be reformed, no improvement ever effected, if this doctrine is to be denied.

However offensive to a high-churchman may be the language that the church is only a law-church or a state-church, they may depend upon it the people of England will never view it, so far as it is an *establishment*, in any other light. We know how offended George III. was at Paley for saying that the 'divine right of

'kings was much the same as the divine right of constables;' the doctrine that the establishment, as such, is merely a law-church or a state-church, is doubtless equally unpalatable to men of the stamp of Sir Robert Inglis.

He further tells us that it is 'not a law-church or a state-church, '*for* it is the authorised depository of divine truth.' Authorised by what? By the State, or the law to be sure, which has in the same manner authorised Presbyterianism to be the religion in Scotland and Catholicism to be the religion in Lower Canada. If he affirms that the Bible has itself authorised the State to regard the Church of England as the only depository of divine truth, we shall be glad to have chapter and verse for it; and the same chapter and verse would of course serve to show that the State has been guilty of direct rebellion against God in recognising any *other* form of religion. Sir Robert further tells us that 'truth is one, error is manifold,' and he leaves us in no matter of doubt as to what system he considers to be exclusively *truth*. Yet the State has established different systems of religion in different parts of the empire, so that even upon Sir Robert's showing it has done wrong twice as often as it has done right. We wonder whether it is inconsistent with loyalty to speak of the 'Kirk of 'Scotland' as the law-church, or the state-church. If so, even Sir Robert Inglis must be a rebel, for even he can believe it to be nothing more as long as he maintains that the Church of England is alone in the right. But enough, and more than enough of these absurdities.

The speeches of Mr. Ward, of Mr. Baines, and of Mr. O'Connell, are worthy of being preserved in a more permanent form than they can well be in a common newspaper, and we should accordingly be glad to reprint them entire, if our space would permit. We must, however, confine ourselves to the speech of Mr. Baines, which contains so many important facts that we shall give it with as little abridgment as possible. These speeches afford a happy indication of the progress of public opinion in the legislature itself. We rejoice to see that there are not a few in the House of Commons who have attained clear notions of what the voluntary principle really is, and who are not ashamed to avow them.

'Mr. Baines said he did not rise for the purpose of interposing any obstacle in the way of Church-extension, but to inquire into the destitution complained of, and the appropriate remedy for that destitution. In the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, it was stated that the number of parishes in England and Wales amount to 10,742, and it is said that the defects which cripple the energies of the Established Church in the large and populous districts of the kingdom is the want of churches and ministers, and the following facts would illustrate this position.

That in the 34 parishes of the metropolis there is a population of 1,137,000
And church-room for only 101,682
In the diocese of Chester there are 38 parishes (principally in Lancashire) with a population of . . . 816,000
And church-room for only 97,700
Or about one-eighth.
In 20 parishes and districts, each with a population of 10,000 at least, in the diocese of York, there is an aggregate population of 402,000
With church-accommodation for only 48,000
The proportion varying from one-sixth to one-thirtieth.
And in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry there are 16 parishes or districts, with an average population of . 235,000
Church-room for about 29,000
The proportion varying from one-sixth to one fourteenth.

From these reports there appears to be a deplorable deficiency of accommodation for public worship in all the populous districts of the kingdom, and as far as the Church Commissioners are concerned, it was perfectly proper that they should present these statements, but when parliament is called upon to legislate, not for a sect, but for a nation, it behoves them to enter more deeply into the inquiry, and to ascertain what is the real deficiency. According to the Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, there are 10,742 parishes in England and Wales, and from the population returns of 1831, we learn that there are

8,000 parishes with a population varying from 10 individuals to 1,000
2,430, with a population from . . . . 1,000 to 5,000
200 . . . . . 5,000 to 10,000
110, above 10,000

Each of these parishes contains a parish church, and it may be fairly assumed that 10,000 of them at least have ample church accommodation, while in many of the parishes where the population exceeds 5,000 there is, undoubtedly, a deficient supply; but even in those selected by the Commissioners, each with a population exceeding 10,000, the deficiency is by no means to the extent that these reports might seem to indicate. Let us next inquire as to the large towns and manufacturing districts selected by the Commissioners, and first of the metropolitan parishes, with their population of 1,137,000, and in which there are now 194 churches and episcopal chapels which afford accommodation to 126,480 persons; and 256 chapels, not of the Establishment, which, according to the Rev. Baptist Noel, will accommodate an equal number of hearers. So that in reality there is double the quantity of accommodation for religious worship to that stated by the Church Commissioners.

Of the 38 districts in Lancashire in the diocese of Chester, with a population of		816,000
There is church room for	97,700	
Chapel accommodation	97,700	
		195,400

In the county of Lancaster there are 68 parishes, containing 320 churches and Episcopal chapels, and 530 chapels not of the Establishment.

LIVERPOOL.

Episcopal churches and chapels	29
Other places of worship	46

The estimate of average attendance is as follows :—

In the Establishment		45,000
Dissenting congregations	38,000	
Roman Catholics (communicants)	12,000	
		50,000
		95,000

Population, 168,175.

This return nearly corresponds with that made by the town-clerk of Liverpool, and is independent of Sunday School scholars, of whom there are belonging to the Church	6,000
To the Dissenters, Methodists, and Catholics	13,000

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD.

Population, 272,761.

	Accommodation.
29 churches and chapels of the Establishment	33,000
71 chapels not of the Establishment	43,700
	76,700

SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

In the borough of Manchester.

	Scholars.
25 schools of the Established Church	10,000
61 schools not of the Establishment	22,909
	33,196

In the town of Leeds there are—

			Accommodation.
Churches	9		13,235
Independent chapels	6	6,030	
Catholics	2	1,630	
Wesleyan Methodists	7	11,160	
Methodists not Wesleyans	9	4,980	
Miscellaneous	5	2,696	26,496
	29		39,731

As appears from the statistical returns made in the year 1839 :—

Population, 82,121.

In the Sheffield Union there is church and chapel accommodation, from the returns made by the Clerks of the Poor-law Union in 1838, as follows :—

	Churches.	Accommodation.	
In Sheffield	8 ..	11,170	
Attencliffe and Brightside . .	1 ..	2,000	
Handsworth	1 ..	600	
	—10	———	13,770
	Dissenting places.		
In Sheffield	18 ..	16,005	
Attencliffe and Brightside . .	8 ..	3,520	
Handsworth	4 ..	1,080	
	—	———	20,695
	30		———
			34,465

Population, 71,720.

NOTTINGHAM.

Return made by the Town Clerk to Parliament.

Churches	5
Dissenting chapels . . .	23
These five churches are estimated to contain . .	5,800
And the Dissenting chapels	12,000
	———
	17,800

Population, 56,680,

Exclusive of 6,726 Sunday-school scholars: of whom 1,678 belong to the Established Church, and 5,048 to the Dissenters.

BIRMINGHAM.

In the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry there are

17 churches and chapels of the Establishment, accommodating	23,600	persons.
44 chapels not of the Establishment, which accommodate	31,100	„
	———	
	54,700	

The population of Birmingham, according to the census of 1831, amounted to 146,986, and it has since increased considerably.

There are 15 Sunday-schools of the Establishment giving instruction to 4,565 scholars.

There are 41 Sunday-schools not of the Establishment, giving instruction to 12,101 scholars.

From these returns it appears that the accommodation at public worship in the large manufacturing districts of the kingdom is by no means so deficient as the House will be led to suppose from the returns of the Church Commissioners, upon which the hon. baronet wishes the House to legislate. These examples might be multiplied to almost any extent with similar results, and, I must say, that within my own experience, I scarcely ever knew an instance of any family, poor or rich, who had a desire to attend a place of religious worship, and who showed that desire by their conduct, that did not succeed in obtaining accommodation, and who did not prove the truth of the observation of the old divines, that 'where there is a will there is a way.' The ecclesiastical statistics of this country are most reprehensibly defi-

cient, but according to the best calculations made upon the subject, there is church and chapel accommodation for about one half of the whole number of the population, and of that accommodation nearly one half is furnished by the Dissenters, the Methodists, and the Roman Catholics. In the year 1838, returns were made to the Poor-law Commissioners from 246 Unions, comprehending something more than one-third of the population of England and Wales. These returns have not yet been laid before parliament, and they are described as not very accurate in their details, but they are said to exhibit the following results :—

RETURNS MADE TO THE POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS IN 1838.

Churches and chapels of the Establishments .	4,300 in 246 Unions.	
Dissenting places, probably including licensed rooms	4,900	
Accommodation in churches, &c. for . .		1,730,000
Ditto in Dissenting and other chapels not of the Establishment, for		1,530,000

In order to show what has been effected by the various classes of Protestant Dissenters to supply the people of this country with religious instruction, and at what cost they have effected that object, it may be stated from the most authentic sources of information, that the number of dissenting chapels in England and Wales amount to upwards of 8,000, as follows :

	Congregations.	
Congregationalists or Independents .	2,060	
Baptists	1,460	
Presbyterians	62	
	3,582	
Wesleyan and other Methodists . .	3,720	
Calvinistic Methodists	130	
Welsh Methodists	640	
		8,072

Exclusive of 500 Roman Catholic chapels, and 453 Home Missionary stations, and a vast number of rooms licensed for preaching. The cost of erecting these chapels, and the purchase of the land upon which they stood, has varied from 500*l.* to 10,000*l.*, and may be fairly taken at an average of 1,000*l.* each, making an aggregate expenditure of £8,000,000

The stipends paid to Dissenting ministers by their congregations, vary from 80*l.* to 400*l.* a-year, and average 150*l.* each, making in the whole	£1,200,000
The contributions to the poor of their respective congregations, the cost of repairs and other expenses of places of public worship, with their theological seminaries, and contributions to Missionary and other religious Societies, and to the education of the poor children in their Sunday and day-schools, is estimated at	800,000
Making in the whole an expenditure of . .	2,000,000

So that the different denominations of Christians not of the Established Church, after having expended from eight to nine millions sterling, in building places of worship for the religious instruction of the people of this country, impose upon themselves a voluntary tax of two millions a-year for one of the noblest objects by which man can be actuated, namely, a desire to impart moral and religious instruction to his fellow-man, and that without receiving or asking from the State, or from the Church, any part of the revenues. If these be facts, and they are incontrovertible, I would ask this House if it is wise, or if it is just, to force from those who do so much of their own free-will, contributions for the erection of edifices, and for the support of ministers, to whose doctrine or discipline they have conscientious objections? As to the quality of instructions given by the Dissenters to that part of the people who choose to receive at their hands religious knowledge, I shall only say this, that such is the effect of that instruction, that very rarely indeed are dissenters to be found either in your prisons or your workhouses. From the first they are kept by the cultivation of religious habits and moral principles, and from the last by that prudence which is inculcated upon them in their youth, and which regulates their conduct in their riper years. It was totally unnecessary—it would be a total waste of the public money—to provide religious accommodation for all the people. Many would not go to church even if it were brought home to them; there were many who could not attend, and a very large class who would attend their own chapels. The right hon. baronet had spoken in a manner that was very unwarrantable of the Dissenters—it was a course which he would not follow, because he thought the example a bad one. Was he aware that the Dissenters had expended a sum of eight millions in the erection of places for public worship? Now, all those places were for the purpose of teaching the people religious truths; they annually expended no less a sum than two millions for religious purposes. They did not come to the House, and demand a sum from the Consolidated Fund. Nor did they say that the funds of the Church were appropriated to the instruction of the whole people, which was the fact; and that now it did not give instruction to more than half. They had a right, then, to complain of the hardship which the right hon. baronet wanted to throw upon them. The hon. baronet had spoken of the scanty means of the Church. He stated it at 3,400,000*l.* He took that from the returns of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. They were very inaccurate. Let them look at the returns made by the Tithe Commissioners, and they would find that the amount was not less than 5,000,000*l.* These were very different sums. It was the richest Church in the world. He confessed he did not know any richer Ecclesiastical establishment in the world. Why, then, did they come and ask the House to take the contributions of Catholic Ireland, of Presbyterian Scotland, and Dissenting England, for the extension of that rich church? Why put their hands into their empty pockets in order to give their money to those who were so wealthy? The hon. baronet had boasted much of the petitions which had been presented upon the subject. Now he fully believed that not one of them had ever been subjected to the ordeal of a public meeting;

they were all hole and corner petitions; they were sent from London to about 10,000 parishes, and only 2,000 had been returned, with an average of from 60 to 70 signatures. The Churchmen had had a twelvemonth start of the opponents of the measure, yet their petitions, public petitions, amounted to nearly as many in number, and with more signatures. Had the First-Fruits and Tenths been applied in a proper manner since the days of Queen Anne, they would have had enough of Church accommodation in every parish in England. (Cheers.) The misapplication of that fund had led to all their difficulties. The hon. gentleman quoted from the speech of Lord Stanley at the late general election, to the effect that the wealth of the Church should be so distributed as to raise small benefices, and that pluralities ought to be abolished; he therefore hoped the noble lord would vote against the motion of the right hon. baronet, as he had acknowledged that there was enough of wealth in the Church to supply the present destitution. There was another source of revenue; the Church leases might be made serviceable for extension, as it seemed now settled that they were not to be made available for the extinction of Church-rates. In the borough of Leeds, within the last three or four years, a sum of no less than 40,000*l.* had been contributed towards Church-extension. That was an example that ought to be followed, and then such a demand as was made by the right hon. baronet would be unnecessary. Let the House also look at what had been done in the metropolis in answer to the almost divine call of the Bishop of London to build fifty churches. He hoped the Church would go on in such a good work, and he trusted the Dissenters' exertions would be increased also, and no call upon the people of so unjust a character would be rendered necessary. He hoped the House would pause and consider what was the destitution of the Church accommodation, and what were the means of the Church, before they made so enormous a demand upon a bankrupt Exchequer as 10,000,000*l.* for that was the amount stated to be necessary by that warm Church-extensionist, the Rev. B. Noel, in his letter to the Prime Minister, he said, 'My lord, give us 2,000 churches.'

Even the speech of Lord John Russell is highly valuable as indicating the extreme reluctance of the government to comply with any such demands as those of the member for Oxford, and a strong conviction of the propriety of supplying the deficiencies of the Church of England itself by the better management of its own revenues. It also contains a distinct admission that the voluntary system is 'especially adapted to the present times, and that it is specially the *mode* of the present day.' He assures us, moreover, that it is 'not inconsistent with the ancient mode;' certainly not, for it is the *same*, and nothing that Lord John Russell says proves the contrary. He tells us that 'in former times, when property 'was entirely confined to a few hands, when there was immense 'property belonging to the few, and the rest of the community 'was a wretched vassalry, then these great persons contributed, out 'of their great means to the support of the Church. Now, how-

'ever, there is a different state of society, and every person contri-'butes sums, little in amount, but by which considerable funds are 'raised, and thus there has been an increased number of churches, 'and an augmentation in the amount of religious instruction.' This is a correct representation, but the contrast is not between the compulsory and the voluntary system, but between different *modes* of the voluntary system itself. The large sums of the few in ancient times, and the small contributions of the many in modern times were alike *voluntary*. As we have already asserted, the bulk of the property of the Church of England itself was, in its origin, voluntary. But the whole speech is worth reading. It shows, that while the present government is in power, or any government animated by similar principles, there is not much chance that the project of 'Church-extension' will be carried into effect. It will be the fault of Dissenters if any government whatever taxes the people to the amount of a single shilling for any such object. They have the power to prevent it, and we are much mistaken if they have not also the will. There are three things which make the demands of the church especially unjust; the first is, that as the richest church in the world, enjoying a revenue of little, if anything short of five millions a-year, it ought to provide amply for the religious destitution of its own members. The second is, that even if it were less opulent, it ought to be ashamed to put its hands into the pockets of men who, like the Dissenters, have voluntarily done so much to supply its own lack of service. The third is, that the whole conduct of the Church towards us entitles it to anything except our gratitude. Its insolent tone, its arrogant demands, the inveteracy with which it urges all its claims, and retains every vestige of mischievous power, its vexatious prosecutions for church-rates, its frequent resort to distraint and imprisonment, all loudly proclaim the folly of extending its means of insulting and wronging us. If, with the recollection that John Thorogood has been in gaol nearly two years for not paying a rate of five shillings and sixpence, Dissenters can quietly suffer the Church to tax them just that she may perpetuate and multiply the wrong, we can only say that they are not the men we take them for; if they suffer this, we shall expect to find them in due time subscribing for a cat-o'-nine-tails, and putting it into the hands of the Church with a prayer that she will be graciously pleased to apply it vigorously to their nonconforming shoulders.

Art. VIII. *Proceedings of the General Anti-slavery Convention held in London,* 1840. [Reports of the Sun, Patriot, and Anti-slavery Reporter.]

WITHOUT waiting for the authenticated statement which will be issued as soon as it can be satisfactorily prepared, we shall take advantage of the reports which have appeared in the public papers—we may name the *Sun* and the *Patriot,* as containing the most extended notices—to present to our readers an immediate account of the origin and proceedings of one of the most interesting and important assemblies ever convened. We are aware that errors are unavoidably incidental to newspaper reports; but those now before us will sufficiently serve our present purpose, as on the one hand of undoubted substantial accuracy, and on the other susceptible of amendment where their correctness may fail. The greater comparative utility of a prompt notice of the subject will fully justify our determination.

The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, the formation of which took place in the month of April, 1839, was early noticed in this journal, and commended to the readers of the Eclectic* in a manner which its subsequent proceedings have amply justified. With this Society has originated the scheme of a gathering which has created a lively interest in every quarter of the globe, and has produced a sensation, to use a technical phrase, of no slight intensity, even in a city so wearied with excitements as the metropolis of the British empire. A suggestion casually made at a meeting of the committee was the seed of this noble movement. The idea was promptly taken up, and, meeting with general concurrence, it was, after short but sufficient deliberation, converted into an element of action. Early in the autumn of last year a circular address was issued by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, taking upon themselves the responsibility of inviting the friends of the slave in every land to assemble in London in the month of June, 1840, for the purpose of holding deliberations, and devising and adopting measures, conducive to the great object of extinguishing universally both slavery and the slave-trade. In this paper the committee were careful—as they have been in all their documents—to exhibit prominently that distinguishing principle of their constitution which restrains them to the use of moral, religious, and other pacific means for the attainment of their end; and this with the very proper view, of course, of providing against the contingent, and otherwise very possible introduction of questions involving the use of armed force. In papers subsequently issued, the committee explained their wish that the parties attending the convention should, generally speaking, be delegates from anti-slavery bodies; reserving to themselves,

* See Eclectic Review, vol. vi. p. 313.

of necessity, the power of admitting other persons, whose presence might be useful or important to the proceedings.

The announcement of this design created a wide and lively interest, not in Great Britain and Ireland only, but in France, the West Indies, and the United States; and it was soon found that it had taken a deep hold on the hearts of abolitionists throughout the world. It was not so much in the first instance, perhaps, that they saw so clearly what they would have to do as they did afterwards; but they felt that they were no longer to be a scattered body, existing as insulated individuals, or as scarcely less insulated societies, in distant regions of the world; but that at length they were to be one, manifestly united by a bond of brotherhood, and practically assured of each other's love, co-operation, and support. As a matter of generous impulse, at least, if not of rigorous calculation, it was certain to all that such an assemblage could not be without important, beneficial, and lasting results. The honorable enthusiasm which was thus kindled in many hearts awoke also the lyre of a transatlantic bard * not meanly gifted with the fire of poesy, to whom we are happy to have an opportunity of rendering our critical homage, and from whom we shall again quote before we have done.

'Yes, let them gather!—Summon forth
The pledged philanthropy of Earth,
From every land whose hills have heard
The bugle-blast of Freedom waking;
Or shrieking of her symbol-bird
From out his cloudy eyrie breaking.
Where Justice hath one worshipper,
Or Truth one altar built to her;
Where'er a human eye is weeping
O'er wrongs which Earth's sad children know,
Where'er a single heart is keeping
Its prayerful watch with human woe;
Thence let them come, and greet each other,
And know in each a friend and brother!'

As the period which had been fixed—the 12th of June—drew near, the interest attached to this unexampled gathering rose to a great height. Intelligence had been received that a numerous body of delegates, comprehending men of the first eminence, might be expected from the United States; that the anti-slavery societies formed in the emancipated British colonies in the West Indies had made similar appointments, in which were included the Rev. W. Knibb—a man whom the enemies of negro happiness will not permit to be obscure—and some persons who had recently been slaves; that there would be present various gentlemen who, by foreign travel, and in some cases by official situation, had be-

* J. G. Whittier. Lines entitled The World's Convention, in the Anti-slavery Reporter, March 25, 1840.

come possessed of large stores of new and important information; and finally, that the originator of the anti-slavery movement in England, the venerated Thomas Clarkson, would, notwithstanding his great age and weak health, become the president of the convention. Who could resist so many attractions? Who that loved his species did not wish to take part in such an assembly? The anti-slavery societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and some bodies not strictly anti-slavery but sufficiently akin to it, did their part nobly in the appointment of delegates; and the committee were besieged with applications for the admission of other gentlemen, on the ground of the great interest they took in the proceedings. The number of persons expected to assemble, their several appointments having been reported to the committee, was five hundred and fifteen; of which number about a hundred were prevented by various causes from fulfilling their design. The convention actually consisted of four hundred and seven gentlemen. Of these three hundred and fifty-five were from different parts of Great Britain and Ireland; and fifty-two from the colonies or from foreign countries. Forty delegates represented the several American anti-slavery societies; and three the French anti-slavery committee. In addition to this general statement, we can scarcely content ourselves without putting on record the names of some of the more distinguished persons who formed part of this assembly; but the difficulty of knowing where to stop makes us forbear and we leave such of our readers as are curious in this matter to consult the list of delegates as printed in the papers before us. Suffice it to say that they were all determined friends of freedom, and honest lovers of their kind; and in this respect the *elite* of the countries from which they came.

Of the many anxious days spent by the committee in making the various arrangements necessary to the satisfactory entertainment of so many friends, and the orderly conduct of such important proceedings, we shall say nothing, beyond bearing our cheerful testimony to the general care and skill which were exercised throughout. We pass on to the meeting of the convention. The place selected for it—and it was well chosen and admirably arranged — was Freemasons' Hall. From one of the papers before us we take the following account of the opening of the convention.

'The Hall was densely occupied with delegates, and a considerable number of ladies (including a band of distinguished female abolitionists from the United States) as spectators, before the appointed hour on Friday; and shortly after it the venerable CLARKSON entered, supported by William Allen, Joseph Sturge, and an American delegate, to open the convention, and to be installed as its president. The sight of this hoary champion of freedom was deeply affecting. Bowed down and trembling beneath the weight of years, he seemed to claim the sympa-

thy due to the feeble; while the remembrance of his unbending principles and unfailing constancy strangely blended with this feeling the admiration due to a hero. The convention received him standing, with reverence rather than applause. A lady and a child accompanied him to the platform. And who were these? The former was the widow of his son, the latter his grandchild, the sole inheritor of his name and male representative of his house. With beautiful simplicity and pathos Mr. Sturge presented the lad to the convention, and said,

'"I hope I shall not be wounding in the slightest degree the delicacy of his widowed mother, in saying, that it is the dearest wish of her heart that her beloved and darling child should devote his life to the cause in which our dear friend has now worked for more than half a century. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till last night, that this is the birth-day of the youthful Thomas Clarkson, who is now nine years of age. I believe that, in venturing to give expression to the prayer of my heart that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that, with the descent of the mantle of his venerable and venerated ancestor, a double portion of his spirit may rest upon him, it will be responded to by my friends who surround me. When many of us are removed to that bourn where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and where the distinctions of clime and color will be swept away for ever, may he see that the divine blessing has rested upon our exertions, and behold that happy day when the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant, or set upon a slave!'

'There was not a heart in the assembly that did not respond to this aspiration, and scarcely an eye that was not suffused with tears. It was a scene of thrilling domestic interest. For a moment the convention was like a family, and its members recollected only that they were husbands, parents, and children.

'Mr. Clarkson's address on opening the convention was highly appropriate, and delivered with much energy. He called affectingly to mind that he was one, and the only survivor, of the little company who formed the committee for promoting the Abolition of the Slave-trade in the year 1787. And truly did he address to the assembly sentiments worthy of that noble band. Most heartily would the whole of them have joined in the language so fervently uttered by their venerable representative:—

'"I have been permitted to come among you; and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place in reference to your future labours, take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that, though my body is fast going to decay, my *heart* beats as warmly in this sacred cause now, in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance.'"—*Anti-slavery Reporter, June* 17.

It added unspeakably to the interest of these introductory proceedings that they were not accompanied by the clapping of

hands and stamping with the feet which all but uniformly supply to a popular English audience the mode of testifying applause. Silence had been particularly requested in consideration of the feelings of Mr. Clarkson in his age and weakness; but if the granting of this request was advantageous to him in preventing excitement, it was at least equally so to the assembly in giving scope for those deep emotions which thrilled every heart almost to ecstasy, and which could have been experienced only in silence. The noise of tumultuous applause would have drowned them in the very moment of their birth. During the delivery of Mr. Clarkson's address the *coup d'œil* of the convention was extremely interesting; and we do not wonder that the professional enthusiasm of Mr. Haydon was so kindled by it as to fix on it for the scene of the historical painting on which he is understood to be engaged.

Before quitting the introductory proceedings of the convention we feel inclined to notice one incident more. Mr. Henry Beckford, an African ebony black, and a delegate from an anti-slavery society in Jamaica, was introduced to the president, and, after cordially shaking hands with him and with his grandson, addressed the assembly as follows:

'I am desirous of returning thanks to Almighty God, who has been so kind and merciful as to look with compassion upon those who were confined in slavery, and to restore us to our liberty. I rejoice to see here the root of that society (referring to Mr. Clarkson) by whose instrumentality this has been effected. You have heard of slavery—I have felt it—I have seen the blood shed by it. I have seen my brethren and sisters confined in ropes and chains; and, O! how my soul rejoiced to see the day when we were restored to freedom. Slavery brings a man down to the level of the beasts. The slave-owner regards the slave no more than the cattle which he turns out in his fields to feed. O! may we not rejoice that when we return no one can say to us—'Where have you been this long time!' I rejoice to meet you here. I come here as a freeman. I shall remain so. I shall return as such to my native land and friends. O look on me, and work on! I was a slave twenty-eight years. O look on me, and work on, until every man and woman are as free as I am this day—until slavery is abolished throughout the world!'—*Patriot, June* 17.

Among the topics which engaged the early notice of the convention was slavery in the United States. Messrs. Birney, Stanton, Phillips, Colver, and other Americans who spoke on this subject, all did themselves in their treatment of it the highest honor. It was evident that they felt as Americans keenly alive to the painfulness of their position, while exposing in the face of so many nations the shame of their country; but they did make nevertheless a full and faithful exposure of the enormities perpe-

trated there. They were the very prototypes of their gifted countryman's description.

> 'And thou, whose glory and whose crime
> To earth's remotest bound and clime,
> In mingled tones of awe and scorn,
> The echoes of a world have borne,
> My country! glorious at thy birth,
> A day-star flashing brightly forth—
> The herald sign of Freedom's dawn—
> Oh! who could dream who saw thee then,
> And watched thy rising from afar,
> That vapors from oppression's fen
> Would feed thy upward-tending star?
> Or that Earth's tyrant powers, which heard,
> Awe-struck, the shout which hailed thy dawning,
> Would rise so soon, prince, peer, and king,
> To mock thee with their welcoming,
> Like Hades, when her thrones were stirred
> To greet the down-cast Star of Morning!
> 'Aha! and art thou fallen thus?
> Art THOU become as one of *us?*'
> Land of my fathers!—there will stand,
> Amidst that world-assembled band,
> Those owning thy maternal claim,
> Unweakened by thy crime and shame—
> The sad reprovers of thy wrong—
> The children thou hast spurned so long.
> Still, with affection's fondest yearning,
> To their unnatural mother turning,
> No traitors they!—but tried and leal,
> Whose own is but thy general weal,
> Still blending with the patriot's zeal
> The Christian's love for human kind,
> To caste and climate unconfined.'

The entire statements and reasonings of the American delegates deserve the most attentive consideration, and we would gladly quote them, together with some of Mr. O'Connell's vehement—but not more vehement than righteous—denunciations on the same subject, if our limits would permit. All the transatlantic speakers seemed to labor with the sentiment that slavery might be put down by a vigorous use of British influence, but that it could not be put down without it. The southern slave-holders, it was emphatically said, will resist us—the abolitionists of the United States—will resist all the arguments we can employ, and all the influence we can exert; but they cannot resist the strongly expressed sentiment of England. Mr. Wendell Phillips made some strong and, we thought, convincing remarks on the im-

portance of saturating with the anti-slavery spirit all departments of British literature—which is still the literature of America—and especially the more influential periodicals.* In this respect we can boldly say, that in our humble sphere we have done what we could; but it has long been to us matter of regret, and we think it might justly be matter of surprise, that reviewers of a higher walk---the Edinburgh and the Quarterly, for example, which, upon the appearance of every number, are immediately reprinted and circulated entire through the whole union---have never spoken out on this interesting and momentous subject. Their responsibility is great, for they can effect much. Why will they give southern slave-holders a pretext for saying that the anti-slavery feeling of England is *not* deep, imperative, and unchangeable?

In relation to slavery in the United States, however, no part of the proceedings of the convention was in our judgment so important as the decision taken respecting religious fellowship with slave-holders. As the resolutions adopted on this subject, after repeated discussion and ultimately without opposition, lay a basis for extensive action on both sides of the Atlantic, we quote them entire.

'That it is the deliberate and deeply rooted conviction of this convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity, and is therefore *a sin against God*, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

'That this convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed, in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the western world, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion without censure those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

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* The following resolution was proposed by Mr. Phillips, and unanimously adopted by the convention.

That while the literature of Great Britain exercises so vast an influence over the public opinion of America, we deem it the duty of British abolitionists, individually as well as collectively, to make systematic efforts to secure a frequent, clear, and full expression of the sentiments of the nation, through its leading religious, political, and literary periodicals, on the subject of slavery and the anti-slavery enterprise in United States; to fix the attention of the world on the successful results of the West India emancipation; and to spread before the American public evidence of the deep indignation of the civilised world against a slave-holding republic.—*Sun, June* 16.

'That this convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submit that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or of holding them in slavery; a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

'That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of this convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world.'—*Sun, June* 19.

Upon this point the Eclectic has already taken a stand which we are far from being disposed to relinquish. We are aware nevertheless that the sentiments of the religious community are as yet only partially with us, and that both the feelings of pious men and the real difficulties of the question demand a patient and good tempered discussion. Scarcely, we think, in the convention was such a discussion granted. Some of the transatlantic delegates seemed to think that the decisive settlement of the question with them left nothing for English abolitionists but instant and unreasoning—we might almost say uninquiring—acquiescence. The vote was in some danger of being carried by enthusiasm rather than by conviction, and those who had a question to ask or a doubt to express were rather cried down than satisfied. It may be so that American abolitionists are gone a-head (to use a term of their country) of their British brethren on this point; but a little knowledge of human nature might have taught them that their English associates would have followed much more readily in the wake of their wisdom by being convinced than by being overborne. The old English maxim, however, 'think and let 'think,' may be better understood on the other side of the Atlantic at a somewhat greater distance from 'the martyr age.' To return to the resolutions, we earnestly hope that they will be considered and ultimately acted on by all Christian churches. To the Congregational churches in this country, who have a full liberty of action, we more especially commend them. If they will make themselves acquainted with the melancholy and afflictive facts which are now of authentic notoriety, we are sure that they will see a case made out for action, and will be stimulated by an urgent sense of duty to discharge the responsibility which devolves on them. We are not concerned to make out the position that no slave-holder can be a Christian. It is not necessary to the consistency of our views that we should do so, nor is it requisite in order to justify the course we recommend. It is

enough that slave-holding is a manifest and glaring violation of the laws of Christ, and uniformly tends to the dishonor of his name and the injury of his church. We would therefore deal with the person practising it, as we would with any other individual whose conduct was, in any department, at open variance with the law of Christ. Whatever might be his excellencies, however consistent his conduct in other respects, we would say to him, '*Here* is a palpable deviation from the mind of your 'gracious Lord,—a practice which, in our judgment, no sound 'or scriptural reasoning can reconcile with the honor of your pro-'fession. Your slave-holding, therefore, must be abandoned, if 'you would have us accredit the profession you make. With 'what excellent intentions, or amidst how many excuses, or with 'what supposed justifications, you may have become or may 'continue a slave-holder, we ask not; *here*, in the robbery 'and oppression of your fellow man—your fellow believer it 'may be—is so monstrous an inconsistency with the spirit and 'precepts of your Master, that we must bid you keep at a 'distance from our fellowship till such inconsistency be removed. 'Repent of and abandon this sin; wash yourself clean from this 'pollution, and we will then rejoice over you as, in this respect, 'a consistent disciple of our Lord.' The scriptural ground of Christian fellowship is not sincere but consistent piety. The temper and conduct of one who would become a professor of religion, or be recognised as such, should exhibit such a conformity with Christian precepts as will be conducive to the honor of Christianity. We may refer to some directions given in the New Testament in reference to the exclusion of members for an illustration, and we think for a confirmation, of our view. Such are 2 Thess. iii. 6, 12; Rom. xvi. 17, and others. We should be glad if any who may differ with us in the principle would read these passages, and then permit us to propound this question—Whether facts which constitute a valid cause for cutting off a person from Christian fellowship would not, if they were known, afford a just ground for refusing admission to it. If this is affirmed, it seems to us to carry the principle we have above expressed. As to the eminently pious and benevolent slave-holders whose actual existence has been so positively asserted by persons who say they know the fact, without affirming the non-existence of these gentlemen and ladies—we are glad it is admitted they are few—we shall content ourselves with saying, that we think their position as slave-holders is one in which a just regard to the honor of Christianity should induce them voluntarily to relinquish the profession of it. Involved as they are—involuntarily, or even against their will, as is alleged—in the support of a system so unrighteous as slavery is at the best, and so atrocious as American slavery is in fact, they should not wait to be told by

their brethren of any church, we cannot hold Christian fellowship with you. They should anticipate this step, and say once for all, We will never solicit Christian fellowship till we can wash our hands of slavery.

Next in importance to those which related to the United States, were the proceedings of the convention which had reference to France. The French society for the abolition of slavery was represented in the convention by three distinguished men, M M. Isambert, Lauré, and Cremieux, all of whom were received and heard with great interest. There was a marked difference, however, between the men who had crossed the Atlantic and those who had only crossed the Channel. The former seemed to be heavily burdened with the crimes of their country, and boldly spoke forth its shame; the latter were desirous rather of claiming credit for their nation, and of placing in the most favorable light what had been done for improving the condition of the slaves, and what was contemplated for their emancipation. We should be glad to see a different spirit. It is high time, we think, that the Code Noir should be spoken of in terms of indignant reprehension, and that the question of immediate and unconditional emancipation should be more vigorously grasped. M M. Isambert perceived, we hope, that it gains no plaudits from a British audience to be told that the French plan of abolition includes the continuance of slavery for from ten to twenty years. We intreat the abolitionists of France to look to this melancholy and murderous element of the plan which they seem to regard with so much complacency.

Among the finest and most valuable proceedings of the convention was the reading of an admirable paper by Dr. Madden on the state of slavery in the island of Cuba, which has justly been called 'the centre of the slave system,' and which, as to the actual horrors of slavery there, is still to the public a *terra incognita*. Dr. Madden has been for three years the official Protector of imported Africans at Havanna, a post which he has filled with the justice and the firmness belonging to an Englishman. He has had ample opportunities of observation, and has with rare courage and fidelity detailed what he knows. We applaud not his fidelity only, but his courage also, because he is about to return to Cuba, and to face the men whom he has exposed. The paper, which will of course be published in the proceedings of the convention, is in course of translation into the Spanish language, and is designed for extensive circulation in the Spanish dominions.

Notice was subsequently taken of slavery in the colonies of Holland, Denmark, and Sweden; but we must pass on to advert briefly to the subject of Mohammedan slavery. This was introduced to the convention by Dr. Bowring, whose statements, made in great part from personal knowledge, were listened to with much interest. It is pleasing to see that Mehemet Ali, who is one of

the most extraordinary men of his age, evincing a sensibility to the sentiments of Europe; and we hope the attention paid to his proceedings in this instance will contribute both to reward him for what is past, and to encourage him in what is to come. The convention adopted in relation to his Highness the following resolution:

'That this meeting has heard with deep interest the measures adopted by the Viceroy of Egypt for the suppression of the abominable slave-hunts by his Highness's troops, and especially the declaration of his wish to aid in bringing about the extinction of slavery. That the thanks of this meeting be communicated to him, with the assurance that the friends of civilization throughout the world will hail with delight every step taken by the Viceroy in furtherance of his just and generous purpose, whether by impeding the importation of and traffic in slaves, by the encouragement of agricultural productions in Central and Eastern Africa, by the abolition of slave-markets in his dominions, or by any other legitimate and pacific measures which may facilitate the manumission of slaves and the entire overthrow of slavery.'—*Sun, June* 18.

The convention directed its attention also to the almost unapproachable subject of slavery in British India, and passed an extended series of resolutions to which we shall not now refer at length. It has been recently stated in the House of Commons that persons have been employed by the government to inquire and report on this specific matter, and that their report may shortly be expected. We trust it will furnish information as ample as it will doubtless be authentic, and that it will prepare the way for the prompt and effectual remedy for this crying evil.

We must find room, however, for the resolutions passed by the convention in relation to Texas, a nest of pirates and banditti striving to thrust themselves among civilized nations as a young republic. The French government, we hope, will not forget the shame expressed in the convention that the independence of Texas had been recognised by Louis Philippe. We may add that proof has been recently given that the slave-laws of Texas are not to be a dead letter, by a proclamation of the president ordering all 'people of colour'—the slaves are chattels, not 'people'—to quit the state by the first of January, 1841. The following are the resolutions.

'Whereas the people of Texas, by their late revolt, have shown themselves signally ungrateful for the national hospitality that was extended to them as strangers, as well as for the benefits conferred on them as emigrant settlers, by the Mexican government, and also in the violent dismemberment of Mexico have shown themselves reckless of the peace and integrity of States; and whereas the said people of Texas, in re-establishing slavery in that country from which the justice and humanity of Mexico had wholly expelled it, and in their formally

authorising and encouraging the slave-trade from the United States, leave no room to doubt that their aim is to perpetuate those iniquitous systems through all time; and whereas the said people of Texas, in thus acting, having shown themselves regardless, not only of the claims of natural justice, but of Christianity, have arrayed themselves in hostility to the public sentiment of civilized Europe, but more especially to the principles and measures of the people and government of Great Britain, in relation to the abolition of negro slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world: wherefore be it resolved,

'1.—That Texas ought not to be received into the family of nations whilst she retains in her written form of government a provision for the establishment and maintenance of negro slavery, or authorises and encourages the slave-trade by granting a monopoly of it to the slave-holders of the United States.

'2.—That, in the opinion of this convention, it would justly bring under suspicion the sincerity of those nations who have abolished slavery among themselves, and pledged their efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade throughout the world, were they to acknowledge the separate national existence of the people of Texas, so long as they continue their detestable warfare against the happiness and freedom of the negro race.'—*Sun, June* 22.

Brazil, Madagascar, Ceylon, Africa, Sierra Leone, the colored people in Canada; the prejudice against color, the internal slave-trade, and the colonization society, in the United States; compensation, the results of emancipation, and free and slave produce,—these and other topics engaged the attention of the convention; but we must pass them all by, with the single observation that we think the last topic received far less attention than it deserves. We have often marvelled at the apathy of abolitionists on this subject, which slave-holders know very well—and they have told us so, but we will not learn even from them—to be the key of the whole case.

We cannot pass without notice, however, an admirable paper which was drawn up and read by Mr. John Sturge, on the comparative cheapness of free and slave labor. It is an idea that yet lingers in the minds of many, that produce can be raised at less cost by slaves than by free laborers, so that, while condemned in principle as unrighteous, slavery has nevertheless the argument from cupidity on its side. And this, marvellous to say, has been thought to be proved by the high price of sugar at the present moment! This inference proceeds upon the inconsiderate and fallacious assumption that the cost of production regulates the cost to the purchaser. Nothing can be more untrue. The cost to the purchaser is determined by the supply in the market, and by nothing else. If there is a short supply of any article, he pays dear for it, however cheaply it may be produced; and, although it may cost the producer very dear, if the market is glutted, every buyer

gets it cheap. With the present ratio between the supply and the demand, sugar could not be cheaper than it is if it were grown and manufactured for nothing. The high price of sugar, therefore, is no evidence of the dearness of free labor, or of the cheapness of that of the slave. A consideration of the subject on its proper grounds leads to the conclusion that free labor is decidedly the cheaper of the two. The substance of Mr. Sturge's paper is embodied in the following resolutions, which we think sufficiently important to subjoin entire.

'1.—That upon the evidence of facts to which the attention of this convention has been directed, it is satisfactorily established as a general axiom, that free labor is more profitable to the employer, and consequently cheaper, than slave-labor.

'2.—That of all kinds of slave-labor that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly, and the least productive.

'3.—That the large profits which, notwithstanding the disadvantages of slave-labor have been realised in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and other tropical productions, have arisen from, and depend on two circumstances: first, the large tracts of rich, unoccupied soil, which, by their extraordinary fertility, have repaid the expenses of imported slave-labor, under the rudest and most wasteful husbandry; and, secondly, the artificial maintenance, by fiscal regulations, of the high prices it gained for tropical productions on their first introduction into Europe—those prices being so high as to support slave-cultivation in the absence of the planters from the management of their own estates, by and under a system which could not have succeeded in any other branch of the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of this or any other country.

'4.—That the continued employment of slave-labor invariably tends to lessen and exhaust the fertility of the soil, so as eventually to destroy the profits of the planter, who finds himself unable to compete with the possessors of fresh lands. That, owing to this course, the cultivation of tropical produce by slave-labor has been to a great extent abandoned in the middle States of the American Republic, where the slave-population is reared for the purpose of being sold to the planters of the South; thereby proving that the value of the slaves would otherwise have been destroyed by their numerical increase and exhaustion of the soil, as also that imported slave-labor is dearer by the profit realised upon the rearing of the slaves.

'5.—That the higher cost of imported slave-labor, even the labor of a native slave-population is strikingly illustrated by the fact, that the cultivation of cotton in the United States has reduced the market-prices of the cottons of Brazil, cultivated by imported slaves, about one-third, and that, while the cultivation of Brazilian cotton has been stationary, that of American cotton has steadily increased.

'6.—That the superior cheapness of free-labor has been strikingly evinced in the cultivation of indigo, which, fifty years ago, was wholly supplied by slave-labor. As the result of British skill and enterprise, the indigo of India has gradually displaced from the market the slave-

grown indigo of the Carolinas and South America, till there is now not an ounce imported into Europe; and, so far as regards the cultivation of that article, the labor of hundreds of thousands of slaves has been superseded by free labor, the annual produce averaging in value between three and four millions sterling.

'7.—That there is every reason to believe, that the success which has attended the application of free labor to the growth of indigo in India, would follow upon the extended cultivation of other tropical produce by the free natives of that vast empire, and of other portions of the world; so as to supersede in other articles the produce of slave-labor, and thereby contribute to extinguish both slavery and the slave-trade. That in particular, as slavery in the United States is mainly dependent for its existence upon the import into Great Britain of the slave-grown cotton of America, to the amount, in 1838, of more than 400,000,000 lbs. weight, were measures adopted to encourage the growth of cotton in India and elsewhere by free labor, not only would an incalculable benefit be conferred upon the millions of the human race now unemployed, but by supplanting slave-grown cotton in the European market, it would, as the certain result, materially aid the extinction of American slavery.

'8.—That the advantages of free-labor cultivation cannot be fairly tested or fully realized under a system of husbandry and general management which has grown up under the existence of slavery, and which is attended by a waste of human labor, that, but for monopoly prices, must have absorbed all the profits of cultivation. That the unrestricted competition of free-labor in the cultivation of sugar would necessarily introduce a new system, by which the cost of production would be further diminished, and the fall of prices that must ensue would leave no profits upon slave-grown sugar.'—*Sun, June* 20.

On none of the subjects to which the attention of the convention was directed were the statements more satisfactory, or the gratification more sincere, than in relation to the rapid progress, domestic, social, moral, and religious, exhibited by the negros since the period of their emancipation. These are unspeakably the most important bearings of that great measure, and its most valuable results. If it ever was an experiment its issue in these respects has been not only satisfactory, but triumphant. On this point we have much pleasure in quoting the language of Sir T. F. Buxton, who addressed the convention after Mr. Knibb had sat down.

'He said it was not every one in that large meeting that could appreciate or enter into his feelings of delightful satisfaction, and still stronger feelings of intense gratitude to the Great Creator, which filled his mind at being allowed to hear the statement made by his worthy and philanthropic friend, the Rev. Mr. Knibb. He well remembered the day when he and his hon. friend near him (Dr. Lushington) were treated with the utmost scorn, because of what was called their fanaticism, in thinking and saying that the negro would do all those things which his

friend Knibb said they were now doing. He remembered the time when they were laughed to scorn for saying that the negro would work for wages—when he was asked was he a friend to humanity; for, if his views were carried out, the whites would be all massacred, the colonies would be ruined, and the blacks themselves would again become barbarians. These alarms did not come from slight authorities. Even in 1832 a man of high standing as a merchant—the Governor of the Bank—told the Government that such must be the results of emancipation. These fears were the greatest obstacles in their way. Then with what grateful satisfaction must he look back to the career of the emancipated, when he found that every one of those predictions had been falsified? Where was the great increase of crime? He would tell them to look at the empty gaols. Was there any increase of immorality? He would cite to them the large spread of religion, and the increase of marriages. Had the planter been ruined? He would point to the fact of the enormous increase in the value of property in Jamaica. —(Cheers.) It was said that the whites would be liable to constant insults and assaults from the blacks. It gave him great satisfaction to find, from the reports made by the Governors of the Colonies up to a late period, that ever since the abolition there had been only one case of assault of that nature.—(Cheers.) Then how they were taunted, and contradicted, and laughed at, when they affirmed the negro would work for wages! Their enemies said they were friends of freedom in the abstract; prove to us that they will work for wages, and all our doubts will be removed. The story now was very different, for they have found the negro so very fond of wages, so well acquainted with the principle, that they will not work unless they are well paid.—(A laugh.) The masters found them too astute upon the question. Then let them only conceive the immense spread of education and Christianity. He had hated slavery for its cruelty to the body, but far more because its cruelty to the mind, and to the soul.'—(Cheers.)—*Sun*, *June* 20.

To this testimony we are constrained to add the resolution passed by the convention, in which they not only expressed their delight in the advancing welfare of the negros, but did full and most cordial justice to the worthy but maligned agents by whom it has mainly been achieved. The resolution we are about to quote refers specifically to Jamaica, and the Baptist missionaries; one subsequently passed comprehends all other missionaries and ministers who have acted in a similar spirit.

'That this convention, having heard with the deepest interest and the greatest satisfaction the proofs adduced by the Rev. W. Knibb, and the Rev. John Clark, of the moral advancement, the orderly behaviour, and the Christian progress, of the emancipated laborers of Jamaica, expresses its warmest sympathies with those devoted and calumniated men, Mr. Knibb and his coadjutors, who, under circumstances of much excitement and great difficulty, have, by their prudence, firmness, and Christian courage, protected their colored brethren in the

enjoyment of those equal rights, and that entire independence, which were intended by the great act of emancipation, and which the liberality of the British people gives them a right to demand.'—*Sun, June* 23.

The last topic which our limits will permit us to notice at any length, is the implication of British subjects, and the employment of British capital, in the support of the slave-trade. We have been desirous of reserving room for this subject, and we entreat our readers to give it particular attention. Early in the sittings of the convention, a committee was appointed to inquire and report upon it, under specified heads; and the mover, Mr. Richard Allen, of Dublin, subsequently brought up the following report, which, from its great importance, we print entire.

'1.—The committee are credibly informed that, previously to the year 1838, negro collars and manacles were manufactured in Birmingham so openly, that the dealers in those articles publicly announced them in their shop bills and invoices of sale; and that the same articles are still manufactured there with but a small measure of concealment. They have it also upon indisputable evidence, that the casks of shackles which are continually seen passing through the custom-house of Havanna, in the island of Cuba, are universally held and reputed in that island to be of British manufacture.

2.—With respect to the manufacture in Great Britain of fire-arms for the African slave-wars, although the fact seems to be notorious, the committee have not been able to obtain any specific information. Fire-arms of British manufacture are positively stated to be among the articles constantly on sale in Cuba for the purpose of the slave-trade.

3.—Of equal notoriety is the asserted fact that there are cotton fabrics of a peculiar kind adapted exclusively to be used in the purchase of slaves, and that these fabrics are manufactured extensively at Manchester and Glasgow. The value of the exports in this department from British warehouses is asserted to be not less than half a million sterling annually.

4.—The Mining Companies in action in Brazil are six, and in Cuba, three. In whole or in part the mines are all wrought by slave labor and the committee have been able to ascertain that the entire number of slaves employed in them is no less than 3325. Of these, 415 are employed by the Brazilian Imperial Company, and 441 by the Cata Branca; and this number, however large, cannot exceed the average employed by the companies respectively. There can be no doubt but these companies are to a great extent actual holders of slaves. A recent balance sheet of one of them presents the fearful item of £45,000, as cost incurred for 'live stock.' This would be sufficiently painful if it were to be supposed only that in this item men, women, and children were indiscriminately mixed with the beasts of burden; but it has been ascertained that, in the practice of this company, all brute help is hired, so that the whole of this sum of £45,000 has been laid out in the purchase of slaves. It is perfectly

notorious that the great majority of shareholders in these mining associations are British subjects.

5.—Among the British Joint Stock Banks there is one which has extended its business where the slave-trade prevails. The Colonial Bank has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico, and has been making strenuous efforts to establish another at Havanna.

6.—To ascertain the quantity of gunpowder exported from the various ports of Great Britain to Africa and to other parts of the world respectively, although not difficult, requires more time than it has been competent to the committee to employ. They have been put into possession, however, of a document extracted from official sources at Liverpool, by which it appears that in the year 1839, there were shipped from that port 19,369 barrels of gunpowder; of which 17,581 barrels were shipped to Africa, and 681 barrels to Brazil, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranham; while to all other parts there were sent only 1106 barrels. In this respect Liverpool may probably be taken with safety as a sample of the British ports in general.

The committee thus arrive at the revolting and melancholy fact, that, notwithstanding the costly endeavors of the British government and the unwearied efforts of British philanthropy to extinguish the slave-trade, British hands and British capital are yet employed in forging the instruments and nourishing the sinews of it. The value of British goods, including cotton fabrics, muskets, gunpowder, shackles, &c., annually sold to be employed in the slave-trade in Cuba alone, is stated to amount to £200,000 sterling.

Although beyond the immediate limits of their inquiries, the committee beg permission further to state, that British subjects resident abroad are not unfrequently compelled, as claimants on bankrupts' estates, to receive and hold shares in slave-ships, and that they are found too often voluntarily to enter more or less deeply into slave-trading speculations. It is even affirmed by Mr. Turnbull in his recent work, 'that there are men of large capital at this hour resident in London, and in the full enjoyment of the rights and franchises of Englishmen, who do not scruple to enrich themselves under cover of a foreign partnership, by supplying the actual slave-dealer with the means of carrying on his ruthless war of extermination against the African race.' He speaks of it also as a fact within his knowledge, that other persons, 'to all intents and purposes British subjects,' and resident in this metropolis, not content with risking their money to secure a high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping partners in one of the most notorious slaving-houses at Havanna.

The committee cannot better express their sentiments after this affecting recital, than in the words of the writer they have just quoted. 'These, it must be admitted, are grievous blots on the national escutcheon. As long as a single vestige of them remains, to justify either the taunts of our enemies or the honest regrets of our friends, we can never afford to sit down with tranquillity or composure under the disgraceful imputation. Every man of us is bound to exert himself in the cause as if his personal reputation were at stake. From all

this pollution there is but one way of escape. It is by the suppression of the trade, finally, absolutely, irretrievably.'—*Anti-slavery Reporter, July* 15.

We know not what our readers may think of these statements; to us they are not afflictive merely, but appalling. On the part of some of the persons thus brought before us, their implication in the support of the slave-trade is known and intentional, and we cannot stop short of pronouncing it directly and deeply criminal. In point of principle, the manufacture for the slave-trade of muskets, manacles, and cottons, differs nothing from the building of ships for the same traffic. The former is done in England, and the latter in America. But how differently do we treat the two cases! To denounce the Baltimore clipper-builders we throw ourselves into a phrenzy of indignation, and exhaust our vocabulary of wonder and invective; while criminals of the very same stamp reputably pursue their callings at Birmingham, Glasgow, Manchester! The men that do the one of these would do the other if they could. And it is only because it would, by its greater publicity, arouse public indignation, and expose the parties to legal penalties, that slave-ships are not at this hour building in the Clyde, the Mersey, and the Thames! But we go further than this. We affirm that direct participation in the slave-trade is the same in principle with the indirect. A maker of manacles or a lender of money for the slave-trade may revolt at the idea of becoming an actual slave-trader, and, were an opportunity afforded him, he might actually refuse to enter into it; but in point of moral rectitude he might as well do the one as the other. It is in the accidents only, and not in the essentials, that the two things differ. He aids the perpetration of all the crimes and miseries of that atrocious traffic as truly and efficiently as though he were the commander of a slave-ship, or the owner of a barracoon. Than either the one or the other of these abhorred wretches, he has not more principle, but only less audacity. This is the whole difference; and if his own conscience does not speak on this matter, it is time that public indignation should. We hope the abolitionists of the United States will take up this subject. Aye, let the slave-holder of the south and the slave-breeders of the middle states whet their reproofs. Is there no O'Connell among them, who will make the impassioned denunciations which thunder from Great Britain across the Atlantic reverberate with a just and irresistible vehemence against these English slave-traders?

We have spoken thus severely concerning those persons whose implication in the slave-trade is known and intentional. We do not involve in their guilt those who may not have been hitherto aware of the position they occupy. These are a large and most respectable class, consisting chiefly of the share-holders of

the mining associations operating in Cuba and Brazil, and of the colonial bank. It is high time, however, that these respectable persons were aware of their circumstances. It is an excellent thing to be a share-holder in the Colonial Bank, which pays a large dividend, and the shares of which are rising; but is there not enough in the fact that this institution has a branch at Puerto Rico, and is using efforts to establish one at Havanna, to make virtuous persons shrink from partaking of their profits? By such branches they must supply money to slave-traders, and render their capital the direct sinews of the slave-trade. We ask the share-holders, for it is their loans, whether this is to their satisfaction, or according to their intention? There are gentlemen, whose names for the present we forbear to mention, of the highest standing in society, not for knowledge of business only, but for benevolence, probity, and religion, in connexion with this institution; and we can tell them that the public is waiting for a decision from them, by which they may wash their hands of such polluted gains, and set an example challenging the imitation of humbler names.

Similar remarks are applicable to the mining associations. Let our readers ponder the appalling fact, that all their mines, both in Cuba and Brazil, are in whole or in part wrought by slaves, and that no less than three thousand three hundred and twenty-five slaves are so employed continually. Hear this! proprietors in foreign mining companies. British noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, ladies, hear this! Your money goes to buy slaves, and work them to death! You are actually purchasers, holders, and masters of more than three thousand slaves! When you took shares in mining companies did you mean this? Do you mean it now? Will you tolerate it? We hope and believe you will not; and most earnestly do we entreat you to take promptly the only steps by which you can wipe away so foul a stain, either from your country or yourselves.

Prevented by our limits from noticing in detail any other proceedings of the convention, we shall now express in a few words our general view of the character and influence of this unprecedented and remarkable assemblage. We have not called it remarkable because it has sprung from concealed or unsuspected causes, or because it has in any way taken us by surprise. It has been the natural expression of the anti-slavery feeling as it is now diffused through the nations. The world was ripe for it. It was held just when it ought to have been held, and it was just what it ought to have been. It was not in the nature of things that such a gathering together of between four and five hundred men to a free expression of their sentiments should not disclose some marked and tenacious differences; and such in fact did appear, as another article in our present number will show: but upon anti-

slavery questions, and more especially upon all the great principles involved in them, there was a marked and striking unanimity. Neither was it in the nature of things that such multifarious and complicated business should be arranged and conducted by a few untrained though diligent and upright men, without some indications of fallibility; but as a whole their arrangements were eminently wise and successful, and the issue has afforded much reason to believe that the spirit of prayer in which the scheme was undertaken has been influential in bringing down on it a divine benediction. Nor should the kindness of Providence be unacknowledged, by which (with one painful exception which we need not here detail) the lives, safety, and health of so many persons, in such various journeyings, and in not a few instances in such lengthened voyages, have been mercifully preserved.

The moral influence of the convention must be great. Its unquestionable disinterestedness and purity of motive attach power, and even majesty to it. It has tampered with no selfish, political, or party object. It has not in a single instance turned aside from the simplicity of its design. It has uttered its voice in the ear of princes, and they will listen to it. It has spoken to the churches of Christ, and many of them will hearken. It has declared its sentiments in the hearing of the world; and all that is benevolent and virtuous—the heart of the world, will respond to its call. It has collected treasures of information, which will shortly be spread out before the public eye, and will be made to penetrate into countries yet unawakened, with the effect of sunbeams on a region of darkness. It has told the universal slaveocracy that their doom is sealed, that the hostility to slavery is invincible, and that its existence is reduced to a mere question of time. It has given augmented energy, and—what is still better—it has given combination to anti-slavery effort. It cannot be long before its fruits appear. We cannot better close our remarks upon it than by quoting a few more lines from the pen of Mr. Whittier.

> 'A holy gathering!—peaceful all—
> No threat of war—no savage call
> For vengeance on an erring brother;
> But, in their stead, the God-like plan
> To teach the brotherhood of man
> To love and reverence one another,
> As sharers of a common blood—
> The children of a common God!—
> Yet, even at its lightest word,
> Shall Slavery's darkest depths be stirred.
> Spain, watching from her Moro's keep
> Her slave-ships traversing the deep;
> And Rio, in her strength and pride,
> Lifting, along her mountain side,

Her snowy battlements and towers—
Her lemon groves and tropic bowers,
With bitter hate and sullen fear,
Its freedom-giving voice shall hear.
And where my country's flag is flowing,
On breezes from Mount Vernon blowing,
Above the Nation's council halls,
Where Freedom's praise is loud and long,
While, close beneath the outward walls,
The driver plies his reeking thong—
The hammer of the man-thief falls—
O'er hypocritic cheek and brow,
The crimson flush of shame shall glow:
And all who for their native land
Are pledging life, and heart, and hand,
Worn watchers o'er her changing weal,
Who for her tarnished honor feel—
Through cottage door and council-hall
Shall thunder an awakening call.
The pen along its page shall burn
With all intolerable scorn;
And eloquent rebuke shall go
On all the winds that southward blow.
From priestly lips, now sealed and dumb,
Warning and dread appeal shall come,
Like those which Israel heard from him,
The prophet of the cherubim,
Or those which sad Esaias hurled
Against a sin-accursed world.
Its wizard-leaves the Press shall fling,
Unceasing from its iron wing,
With characters inscribed thereon
As fearful in the despot's hall,
As to the pomp of Babylon
The fire-sign on the palace wall!
And, from her dark iniquities,
Methinks I see my country rise:
Not challenging the nations round
To note her tardy justice done—
Her captives from their chains unbound,
Her prisons opening to the sun.
But tearfully her arms extending
Over the poor and unoffending;
Her regal emblem, now no longer
A bird of prey with talons reeking,
Above the dying captive shrieking;
But spreading out her ample wing,
A broad, impartial covering—
The weaker sheltered by the stronger!'

Literary Intelligence.

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Under the direction of the Directors of the London Missionary Society, The Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to the South Sea Islands. By Rev. E. Prout.

Just Published.

A Dialogue between a Romish Priest and Rev. Richard Knill, Missionary.

Wesleyan Takings: or Centenary Sketches of Ministerial Character; as exhibited in the Wesleyan Connexion, during the first hundred years of its existence. One volume.

Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia, with Observations on the Condition of Mahommedanism and Christianity in those Countries. By the Rev. Horatio Southgate. 2 vols.

The Life of Luther, translated from the German of Gustavus Pfizer. By T. S. Williams, Johanneum College, Hamburgh, with an Introductory Essay by the Author of 'Natural History of Enthusiasm.'

An Essay on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By the late Rev. John Dick, D.D. Fourth Edition.

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Ancient Christianity. No. 5.

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A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell, F.L.S., V.P.Z.S. Parts 18 and 19.

The Sanatorium. A Self Supporting Establishment for the Lodging, Nursing, and Cure of Sick Persons of the Middle Classes of both Sexes.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For SEPTEMBER, 1840.

Art. I. *Eminent British Statesmen: Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.* Vol. IV. Henry Marten. By John Forster, Esq. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

WE doubt not but that many of our readers must have paid a visit to Chepstow Castle. In wandering over its magnificent and picturesque ruins, they may have been struck with a round tower at the south-east angle of the first court, where the place of confinement is still shown, in which, as the guide-books tell us, 'one of the regicides was most undeservedly allowed by 'the son of the murdered monarch to live, after being found 'legally guilty of the crime!' A nobler writer, however, once thought differently; exclaiming in his early days of hope and enthusiasm,

> 'For twenty years, secluded from mankind,
> Here Marten lingered. Often have these walls
> Echoed his footsteps, as with even tread
> He paced his prison: Dost thou ask his crime?
> He had rebelled against a king, and sat
> In judgment on him; for his ardent mind
> Shaped goodliest plans of happiness on earth
> And peace and liberty. Wild dreams,—but such
> As Plato loved; such as with holy zeal
> Our Milton worshipped!'

The subject of our present article was born at Oxford in the year 1602, opposite Merton College, where his father then

resided, who was an eminent civilian. This gentleman, after carrying off all the honors of Alma Mater, became successively a Doctor of Laws, judge of the Admiralty, twice Dean of the Arches, and in 1624, a judge of the Prerogative. He was also knighted, represented his university once in parliament, served afterwards as one of the members for St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, and ultimately bequeathed his son, yet more celebrated than himself, a handsome estate in Berkshire of £3000 per annum. No blessing accompanied the inheritance. It descended indeed upon a successor endowed with pregnant parts, and raised by Providence to a position in which he magnanimously served his country. Yet piety formed no feature of his character. It possessed wit, erudition, and that sparkling perspicacity which makes a jovial companion so agreeable to the mere men of a false and hollow world. But the fine gold was wanting. That precious foundation upon which Vane and Eliot built for eternity will be sought for and not found, even by those who are in no respect disposed to depreciate the real patriotism of our hero. His biographer has imposed upon us the necessity of being very candid on this point, through a light and reprehensible indifference as to principles which will alone survive, when learning, eloquence, genius, or politics, shall have become like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor. We are liberals to the backbone. We admire mercurial spirits,—flashing humor,—generous philanthropy,—and unshaken energies, quite as much as any amongst our contemporaries. Yet there is no reason upon earth why all these, and more also, should not be found in connexion with that fear of the Lord which is the beginning and end of true wisdom: nor, whilst we render most cheerfully and cordially every just honor to the civil memory of Henry Marten, will we fail in entering an indignant protest against the profligacy of his morals, which proved him unworthy of the cause he professed and intended to advance, as well as of those illustrious companions in whose counsels he mingled, but in whose virtues he had unfortunately so little share.

He acquired a respectable portion of credit in his academical career; having the degree of bachelor of arts conferred upon him before he was eighteen. He then travelled through France and on his return married a rich wife, it is said, to oblige his father more than his own inclinations: which some persons perhaps are ready to urge as a poor excuse for his wicked devotedness to wine and women. Mr. Forster nevertheless with more correct feeling observes, 'after the birth of a daughter, they rarely 'met again: but it is a touching circumstance to record, that in 'the last lonely years of his wretched imprisonment, this wife and 'daughter were the only persons in the world that seemed to 'recollect his existence, or that to his own mind, gave him still

'some interest in life.' He was chosen member of parliament for Berkshire in April 1640, by an immense majority; glorying even thus early in the friendship of such men as John Pym, Nathaniel Fiennes, Hyde afterwards Lord Clarendon, and the immortal Hampden:

> 'Men wondered at first, in those times of solemnity and precision, when they saw a man so free in living and so liberal in speech, admitted to the intimacy of the gravest and most religious men of the age. They had yet to learn, what to the penetrating glance of the leaders of this parliament had been already revealed, that under the condemned habits of recklessness and dissipation lurked in this case one of the most active and useful dispositions, one of the most frank, liberal, and benevolent spirits,—in a word, one of the best and most serviceable politicians, that the country had produced.'—p. 243.

All this, we presume, is urged in the way of exposition rather than justification. However, as matters turned out, Henry Marten by no means disappointed, but on the other hand, even exceeded the fond hopes of those who brought him forward. The shafts of his sarcasms on the court were shot from a quarter of the House of Commons whence people expected nothing beyond grave orations, somewhat heavy through the very weight of their wisdom; and when graced with flowers at all, presenting such as adversaries declared to be neither more nor less than somniferous poppy-heads. The member for Berkshire kept every one awake. He was a Merry Andrew, discoursing felicitously about plain things; uttering homely truths amidst so much mirth, that no one could forget afterwards what he had said; and 'with his quips, 'and cracks, and wanton wiles,' instructing an entire nation just beginning to appreciate the sublime of common sense. King Charles accordingly honored him with his resentment, which helped to elevate not a little, what the royal dulness conceived, its frown must necessarily extinguish. In the short interval between the two parliaments of 1640 the monarch, meeting the patriot in Hyde Park, applied a gross expression to the latter; who knowing well that hard words break no bones, only presented himself with greater confidence before his county at the next election, as the insulted victim of a pusillanimous sovereign. Supported, therefore, by an augmented majority, he again took his seat, when that famous assembly met, which has no parallel in our national history. He was among the first to avow, if not to hold republican opinions. His name appears prominently in nearly every memorable struggle, throughout that period of preliminary logomachy which ushered in the civil war. On the 4th of July, 1642, when Charles had retired from London, and was on the eve of setting up his standard at Nottingham, Marten

received his appointment as a member of the Committee of Safety, consisting as it did of fifteen 'eminent and trusted per-'sons.' He had also bestowed upon him not merely one of the earliest commissions as a colonel of cavalry, but also the military governorship of Reading. Meanwhile he was far from relaxing in his parliamentary duties, whensoever circumstances would allow him to fulfil them. We find him, at one time, boldly attacking the House of Lords, 'to whom he never affected any 'attachment;' at another, taking two horses out of the mews of his majesty, and declining attention to sundry remonstrances from the upper house for having done so. He proved himself a man of deeds as well as words. 'We have taken,' he observed, 'the ships and forts of the king, and may as well use his horses, 'lest they might be employed against us.' The Commons espoused his side, voting that he had done rightly,—nor could the peers then presume to do ought else than quietly succumb. An aristocracy must always be, amidst an excited people, like the ghost of a magic lanthorn; apprehension being absorbed in contempt, so soon as the lookers on understand that a phantom, at first seeming dreadful, depends upon two or three moveable glasses for its existence. In fact, the historical destiny of Marten lay very much in teaching, or at least attempting to teach his fellow-countrymen to leave off being affrighted at shadows! Even the cry of 'the Church in danger' possessed no horrors for him. He feared the face of no man, nor of any set of men. A Puritan minister, named Saltmarsh, had published a book declaring that 'if the sovereign would not grant the fair demands 'of his subjects, they ought to root out him and his royal line, 'and collate the crown upon somebody else.' Several senators having severely condemned such sentiments, the member for Berkshire ventured to remark, that he saw no reason for such strong condemnation, since it must be better that one family should be destroyed rather than many. Sir Nevil Poole then moved that the last speaker should be compelled to explain what one family he meant: when Marten interrupted him with the declaration that such a motion was needless, since he intended to allude to no other than the king and his children! An immense hurricane of words ensued; and in the end, our humorous and gallant patriot was expelled the house, committed to the Tower for a fortnight, then discharged without being obliged to pay his fees, but was not permitted to resume his place until after a year and a half had elapsed. Few can help discerning, from this instance, the immense importance of raising up the public mind to its appropriate pitch by accustoming each class to fair political discussions. Children will acquire sufficient courage in this way to pull the bugbears of their parents by the beard. Some of those, who turned pale at the propositions of Saltmarsh in print,

survived to realize them at the revolution; to say nothing of their witnessing a royal execution in front of Whitehall! How plainly also it appears, that this execution might have been prevented, had the Stuart possessed a few grains of sincerity, or some glimmerings of common understanding. That parliament which could expel Henry Marten, as it thus did under the circumstances, must still have had loyalty sufficient to have enabled an upright monarch to terminate the controversy after an honorable manner, without appealing, as was done so fatally, either to the edge of the sword or the passions of an infuriated empire.

The too forward republican was an individual of imperturbable good humor. Expulsion itself could not put him out; if the pun may be pardoned. Debarred from attendance for a considerable interval on the House of Commons, he opened his own house, called Becket, in the parish of Shrineham, to almost every person of his own party who might choose to come and participate in rural festivities. Berkshire rang with his praise and popularity. The shortest way to the hearts of a larger class than is commonly supposed being down their throats, Roundheads innumerable flocked to the hospitalities of the vale of the White Horse; where the courtesy of the suspended county member at least kept dulness at bay, although at the expense of his still handsome patrimony. He also contributed upwards of £3000 sterling out of his own resources towards the maintenance of the war. Continuing to hold his commission as a colonel, he was present in several skirmishes and engagements. The contest had hitherto been carried forward on the parliamentary side in rather a whiggish way: Lord Essex himself seems often to have been afraid of acting out his own principles: the leaven of aristocratical caste sometimes neutralized the noblest measures: energetic professions were followed up often by the most pusillanimous practice: until it became plain that other religionists than Presbyterians, and other warriors than those who fought at Edgehill, must rescue Liberty from its perils, if it was then to be rescued at all. In other words a section of independent politicians, with such as Vane and Marten as their leaders, gained strength in influence and numbers. A resolution for the reinstatement of the last was carried on the 6th of January, 1645—6: nor is it difficult to imagine the cordial welcome he received upon resuming his seat. Debates would appear to have been sadly flat without him. His intellect and genius now broke forth in brighter coruscations than ever. The citizens of London loved him not a little; and not a few of his happiest efforts occurred in their common hall. He bound himself in the closest connexions with St. John and Cromwell: whilst it is delightful to observe how invariably his voice and vote were on the right side, whenever an act of mercy might be demanded on behalf of public delinquents, or trouble-

some yet sincere spirits. He even interfered with Prynne to save the honest but intemperate John Lilburne from serious difficulties. He knew this poor creature as well or better than his persecutors: so quarrelsome was his temper by nature, that he once happily observed, 'if there were none alive but himself, John 'would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John!' Political differences were forgotten when victory had thrown the unfortunate under the hoofs of power. When Judge Jenkins, an intrepid loyalist, had openly insulted the House of Commons at their own bar, Henry Marten literally saved him from the death his rashness, if not his royalism, had almost deserved, by a stroke of humor not less felicitous than it proved successful. His wit on subsequent occasions won several of these honorable and bloodless trophies. It preserved the life of the author of Gondibert, part of which was written in the prisons of the Commonwealth, by arresting a proposition for his execution through this droll allusion; 'You are going,' said the merry member, 'to sacrifice 'William Davenant, a rotten and imperfect subject, as none can 'deny: but please to recollect that under the Mosaic law, sacri-'fices were always required to be pure and without blemish.' Various other instances could easily be adduced; although of course it is not our intention to affirm that his philanthropy was much more than the amiability of natural temperament. Real religion alone could have brought him within the evangelical beatitude,—'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain 'mercy.'

Towards Charles the First he indulged no relentings. He conceived it impossible to negociate for any important purpose with a monarch so steeped in perfidy; more especially after the disclosures of the cabinet, taken at Naseby, had fully developed his character. He moved, and Hazlerig seconded him, that no more addresses should be made to the king; that his person should be demanded from the Scots; and that the army of Fairfax should march into the north to enforce the application. He had learned to abhor monarchy, says the twaddling Bishop Burnet, 'from his study of Greek and Roman models:' no very serious charge certainly. But whether this were the case or not, he remained unchanged to the day of his death; nor had he the slightest notion of robing his ideas in a costume of words conformable to the tastes of his audience. From the very commencement, as he once told Lord Clarendon, 'he never thought 'one man wise enough to govern all!' Yet in 1647, his talents are found blended with those of Ireton, in preparing that final body of proposals, which issued from the Council of Officers. Upon the plan of this document, parliaments were to be biennial; never to sit less than 120 days, nor more than 240; small boroughs were to be abolished, and their representatives of coun-

ties augmented; so as to render the House of Commons an honest echo of the public mind. It was indeed stipulated, that the royalists should not sit in the subsequent parliament; and a very small number were to be exempted from the privilege of compounding for their estates. The scale of that composition, however, in general was calculated to fall far more leniently upon its subjects than had ever been before fixed. Effectual provision was also to be made for future freedom of elections, and certainty of due returns. These military tribunes of Great Britain further demanded that the judicial powers of the two houses should be clearly ascertained and settled; and that no pardon from the crown should be valid for public servants, unless with consent of parliament. The rights of conscience moreover received attention. There was no longer to be an imposition of the Covenant on the one hand; nor was Episcopacy to continue its coercive jurisdiction on the other. Charles and the country had never been favored with a nobler opportunity for winding up their mighty quarrel. The former might still have remained a monarch, in the sense of being an hereditary executive of liberal institutions. His authority over the militia was to be controlled for ten years by a council nominated in effect from the Commons. He complained deeply against all such limitations of the prerogative: yet how could Marten or Ireton have acted otherwise, with any wish to keep their heads upon their shoulders? Their views appear to have been statesmanlike, masterly, and comprehensive. They openly avowed their object at the conclusion of their memorial: it being no other than 'that the things here 'before proposed being provided for settling and securing the 'rights, liberties, peace, and safety of the kingdom, his majesty's 'person, his queen, and royal issue may be restored to a condition 'of security, honor, and freedom, without diminution of their 'personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the legal 'power, than according to the particulars aforegoing.' Even Hallam, an inveterate Whig, admits the terms to have been quite tolerable, situated as the king then was; having in truth only to make his election 'whether to be the nominal chief of an aristo-'cratic or democratic republic.' Yet both Sir John Berkeley and Lord Capel in vain appealed to his reason as well as his fears. 'Still tampering with the Scots, and keeping his eyes fixed on 'the city and parliament, he at that very moment came to an 'open breach with the army, disdainfully refused the propositions 'when publicly tendered to him, and that with such expressions 'of misplaced resentment and preposterous confidence as con-'vinced the officers that they could neither conciliate nor trust 'him.' This unexpected haughtiness sealed his destiny. Henry Marten went directly to Oliver Cromwell, then in his triumphant career against Caledonian royalism; the famous purge was ad-

ministered by Colonel Pride to the lower house which prostrated Presbyterianism before the Independents; whilst at several subsequent meetings of the military council, our gallant, plain spoken member for Berkshire cut the matter short after his usual manner, by forgetting the senator in the soldier, and telling them that 'they should serve his majesty as the English did his grand-'mother,—AND STRIKE OFF HIS HEAD!' Clement Walker can probably be followed in this instance as a genuine authority.

It may not unfrequently be observed, that in very critical periods, the current of public thoughts, after running a long while underground, suddenly appears above it, through some single individual daring to open his mouth, and thus becoming among the first to utter, what multitudes have been long meditating in their minds. So it seemed in the present instance. Baillie, in a letter to Alexander Henderson, as early as the 19th of May, 1646, mentions that hints were even then beginning to get wind with respect to *executing* the late sovereign, 'if God have hardened 'him.' In the course of 1647, the Scots in their parliament remonstrated against similar language. Berkeley positively affirms that the resolution was taken at Windsor, by a council of officers, soon after the royal prisoner had been confined at Carisbrook; as may be seen in a rather curious tract once published by Baron Maseres. Adjutant-General William Allen corroborates the statement, though differing a little in the precise date, which he places in the commencement of 1648. However all at once, on the 23rd of December, 1648, when, with respect to the proposals of the army, it was resolved that justice should be done upon delinquents, CHARLES THE FIRST was forthwith denounced as the capital criminal, and a committee of thirty-eight persons received their appointment to prepare charges against him. Widdrington and Whitelock, together with Henry Marten and Thomas Scot, were amongst the number; but the two former, feeling their responsibility as keepers of the Seal, shrunk with true conservative timidity from their awful task, and left it to such men as Marten. He had, indeed, sternness enough, and to spare, for whatever might lie before him. Having overheard Cromwell inquiring at a preliminary consultation, how the king could be answered were he to demand at his trial, by whose authority he was called to account; his voice immediately proposed the only correct reply,—namely 'that the Commons and 'Parliament assembled, as the representatives of all the good 'people of England, arraigned Charles Stuart;' to which no one present objected. The culprit arrived meanwhile at Windsor, where every absurd ceremonial of departed royalty was soon ordered to be laid aside. Republicanism had already invested with its plain and unassuming habit the entire executive. The new year of 1649 ushered in a new and most memorable era.

Europe was to behold a spectacle then without a parallel. One of the ablest, but most sanguinary pontiffs, had envied our queen Elizabeth the honor of decapitating a sovereign in the case of her unfortunate cousin: but what would he have said to this dread triumph of popular power, which, after having dethroned the monarch of three realms, deliberately conducted him to an execution ominous both to crowns and tiaras! John Bradshaw, chief justice of Chester, presided in a scarlet robe, on a crimson velvet chair, and in a broad brimmed hat, over the tribunal in Westminster Hall. A desk and velvet cushion stood before him; Say and Lisle were on each side of him; and two clerks sat below at a table, covered with rich Turkey carpet, on which were laid the sword of state and a mace.

'The rest of the court, with their hats on, and, according to Rushworth, in their best habits, took their seats on side benches, hung with scarlet. A numerous guard of gentlemen carrying partizans divided themselves on either hand. Such was the simple appearance of this memorable court. When its members had all taken their seats, the great gates of the hall were thrown open, and the vast area below was at once filled with crowds of the English people, eager to witness the astonishing spectacle of a monarch brought to account for crimes committed in the period of his delegated authority. This presence of the people was the grandest feature of the scene. Surrounding galleries were also filled with spectators. Charles entered and advanced up that side of the Hall next the Thames, from the house of Sir Robert Cotton. He was attended by Colonels Temlinson and Hacker, by thirty-two officers holding partizans, and by his own servants. The serjeant-at-arms with his mace received him and conducted him to the bar, where a crimson velvet chair was placed for him, facing the court. After a stern and stedfast gaze on the court, and on the people in the galleries on each side of him, Charles placed himself in the chair; and the moment after, as if recollecting something, rose up and turned about, looking down the vast hall, first on the guards which were ranged on its left or western side, and then on the eager waving multitude of the people, which filled the space on the right. No visible emotion escaped him; but as he turned again, his eye fell upon the escutcheon which bore the newly designed arms of the Commonwealth, on each side of which sat Oliver Cromwell and Henry Marten;—and he sank into his seat!' —p. 306.

More than eight, and indeed nearly nine years, had now elapsed since the potentate and the patriot had encountered each other in Hyde Park, as before related. How were their relative circumstances changed in Westminster Hall! Whilst the indictment was being read, his majesty is said to have smiled at the terms applied to himself in the course of it, not feeling himself to have been either 'tyrant or traitor.' The lesson, pregnant with wisdom for kings, was then only in its rehearsal: the end had not yet come, nor could it be believed, even by that party most con-

cerned in it. Yet two or three minutes afterwards, a trivial incident more forcibly impressed upon his mind the precipice on which he stood. In touching Coke gently on the shoulder with his cane, *its golden head dropped off!* None stooped to pick it up even for royalty; so metamorphosed had all minds become: yet the superstition of those who looked on awoke; nor did the soul of the Stuart himself fail, though perhaps for the first time, to tremble. On went the solemn trial, which Marten closely attended throughout the seven days, and which of course formed the most remarkable incident of his life. To him, with Scot, Ireton, Harrison, Say, Lisle, and Love, was entrusted the duty of preparing the draft of a final sentence, 'with a blank for the 'manner of death.' On the 26th of January, this was engrossed at a private meeting; and on the 27th of January the court sat for the last time.

'On that memorable and most melancholy day, the king was brought for the last time to Westminster Hall. As he proceeded along the passages, some of the soldiers and rabble set up a cry of 'Justice,—Justice, and Execution!' This, as Godwin justly remarks, exactly corresponds with the spirit of the mutiny which took place amongst the army in November, 1647. These men distrusted the good faith of their leaders; and seeing that six days had now passed without any conclusion, suspected as the manner of rude and ignorant men is, that there was some foul play and treachery. One of the soldiers upon guard said, 'God bless you, sir.' The king thanked him; but his officer struck him with his cane. 'The punishment,' said Charles, 'methinks exceeds the offence.' The king, when he had retired, asked Herbert, who had attended him, whether he had heard the cry for justice; who answered, he did and wondered at it. 'So did not I,' said Charles: 'the cry was no doubt given them by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like, were there occasion.'' —p. 309.

The other and more brutal outrages, which have been copied into so many of our histories, are now known to have been gross fabrications. Charles, when placed for the last time at the bar, requested that before 'an ugly sentence' should be pronounced upon him, he might be heard before the two houses of parliament, since he had something to communicate, which nearly concerned the welfare of the kingdom. His petition, however, whatever this proposed communication might have related to, was ultimately rejected; and sentence was pronounced by Bradshaw, all the commissioners having stood up to declare their assent to the same. The famous warrant for his execution received the sign manual of fifty-nine memorable individuals. Henry Marten was watching every signature closely, when up came Oliver Cromwell, splashing the ink of his pen in Marten's

face, who at once returned the practical jest in good earnest. Hume quotes this anecdote, and we think justly, as an instance of indecent buffoonery: our biographer imagines that it was a mere desperate relief from temporary nervous excitement. The whole was a dark duty gone through by a mixed medley of men, some truly conscientious like Colonel Hutchinson,—others weak and insincere, like John Downes, who burst into tears on the occasion.—and others worldly ungodly persons, like the too humorous member for Berkshire. Then ensued the solemn scene on the awful 30th of January, 1649, in the open street fronting Whitehall. Through every part of it there appeared the most serene composure on the part of the royal sufferer:

'He addressed the crowd from the scaffold, forgave all his enemies, protested that the war had not been begun by him, declared that the right of the people was only to have their lives and goods their own, *a share in the government being nothing pertaining to them*,—and concluded with words, which perhaps expressed a sincere delusion, that he died the martyr for his subjects. When his head fell, severed by the masked executioner at a single blow, one dismal, universal groan issued from the crowd;

'He nothing common did, nor mean,
Upon that memorable scene;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try:
Nor called on God with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right;
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed!'

'So in a few years after wrote a most generous adversary, whose name is dear to every lover of literature or of liberty, Andrew Marvel, and in an ode too to Oliver Cromwell himself! The lapse of two centuries has confirmed the poet's praise.'—p. 315.

On the 6th of the ensuing February it was moved in the House of Commons, 'that the House of Peers in parliament was 'useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and that an act 'should be brought in for that purpose.' Henry Marten, never having loved the lords, yet now proposed, as an amendment, that they were *useless* but not *dangerous*. It was indeed an exquisite sarcasm. Only the day before, their lordships having desired a conference, sent their messengers to the Commons requesting one; but the latter allowed them to wait at the door, until fatigue or tedium overcame them, without deigning to take the slightest notice. The upper chamber soon had information that a vote of forty-four against twenty-nine set aside its constitutional existence.

Prayers were then read; a vacant rectory was disposed of; earls and barons adjourned to the next morning, as though nothing had happened; and that adjournment lasted until the Restoration.

Monarchy was now formally abolished. Marten even proposed that the royal statues should be taken down; and the following inscription be placed upon their several sites; *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, Anno domini* 1649. This was done accordingly; after which, he introduced a bill for selling all crown property, as well the palaces, lands, and forests, as the regalia, costly furniture, and works of art. The courts of Spain, France, the Spanish Netherlands, and Sweden, were the principal purchasers. On the first day of term he also brought forward an act for maintaining the fundamental laws of England, whilst the oaths were repealed of allegiance and supremacy. Arrangements had been made with the learned sages of the Bench. Six consented to serve; but six resigned. The great seal was broken in pieces, and a new one made. The Council of State comprised all the leading republicans, and of course Henry Marten amongst them. He there signalized himself as being the first to propose a repeal of the statute of banishment against the Jews. That he proved unsuccessful was no fault of his: and much good ensued even from his noble attempt; since it opened the way for the Protector to achieve the point, although by a subsequent exertion of arbitrary power. It was now urged by many patriots that the executive should dissolve parliament; but Marten spoke decidedly for avoiding an appeal to the nation, under its present excited circumstances. He told the House of Commons that they might find the best advice from scripture, as to what ought to be done; for when the infant Moses was discovered on the banks of the river, the charge of nursing him fell to none other than his own mother. He observed that their commonwealth was as yet of very weak growth, 'with a very tender constitution: therefore his opinion was that 'nobody could be so fit to look after it as the parent, who brought 'it forth; nor should they think of putting it under fresh hands 'until it had obtained more years and vigor.' He further glanced at the war with Holland as another reason against running risks, since the royalists would be sure to seize upon every possible advantage. He once again befriended and assisted John Lilburne about the same time; both his power and purse being always open to such calls, come from whatever quarter they might. Yet we regret having to add, that lands were granted to himself and his heirs, to the amount of one thousand pounds per annum, out of the public property. His regiment of horse, too, became part of the standing army: so that of the glory of having served his country for nought his memory stands inevitably deprived.

His good sense appears to have worn better than his professed disinterestedness; since he resisted almost single-handed allowing fornicators, adulterers, or incestuous persons to becapitally punished for their crimes: nor even with regard to his apparent selfishness may we forget, that he claimed the national bounty for arrears due to him as a military officer, as well as for the pecuniary losses sustained by him during the civil wars. Meanwhile Ireland and Scotland had now bowed before the sanguinary and irresistible prowess of Oliver Cromwell. Henry Marten began to perceive that the egg of ambition was already laid in the bosom of the conqueror, waiting for the warmth of popular prosperity to hatch it into an eagle or a cockatrice! The world had not then seen a Washington; nor could there fail to be ten thousand curious eyes upon the hero of Preston and Dunbar. Our undaunted member for Berkshire said openly in the house, that if government were to be invested in any single person, 'the last 'king would have been as proper a gentleman for it as could be 'had in England, for his faults lay not in his person, but in his 'office:' an instance of inaccuracy, into which we surmise he would not have fallen before the act for settling his parliamentary estates had been obtained. Divisions nevertheless between the leaders waxed more and more frequent. The public newspapers even noticed them: and on one occasion, Cromwell, having addressed Marten in the heat of a debate, as *Sir Harry*, the wit rose and bowed,—adding 'I thank *your majesty;* I always 'thought that when you should become king, I should be 'knighted!' Oliver quickly contrived to elbow so formidable an antagonist to his schemes out of the Council of State. In February 1650, he with two others were rejected in the annual re-election. Persecution always sharpens humor, unless it altogether extinguishes it. Marten could not be excluded again from the House of Commons: and accordingly there he labored with all his eloquence, his sarcasms, and his humanity, to save the freedom of his country. He fought manfully under the banners of Vane to procure a reform in the representation. Some of the Puritans, with more piety than penetration, had been excited by the future Protector against the profligate colonel; and an occasion happened, when one of them proved weak enough to move that 'all profane and unsanctified persons' should be expelled from their seats. The real object of this motion rose in a moment, to propose as an addition, that 'all fools might be put 'out likewise;' in which case, he could not help remarking, that 'the House would probably be thin enough!' His repartees at this period seem to have possessed all the influence ascribed to such trifles under the regime of Louis the Fourteenth amongst our volatile French neighbours. They defied, and to a certain extent overcame, for a season, the force of the sword itself. In

the fourth year of the Council of State the name of Henry Marten re-appeared on its list; nor could it be struck off until a twelvemonth had elapsed,—by which time the defeat of Charles the Second at Worcester had turned out 'a crowning mercy,' to the victor, as indeed that victor accustomed himself not infrequently to term it. Soon afterwards ensued that famous forcible dismission of the Long Parliament, which paved the way for an analogous extinction of the almost equally celebrated Council. Marten however had been already once more rejected from that executive; yet he never consented to acknowledge the usurper, even after his presumed connexion with Wildman and Overton's conspiracy had consigned him to a prison. Nor did he ever cease inciting his old friends Scot and Bradshaw to be faithful to their common principles. These men gave utterance, in innumerable important discussions, to the opinions and hopes of their incarcerated colleague. After the resignation of the protectorate by Richard Cromwell, the member for Berkshire once more resumed his seat in the House of Commons, the survivors of the Long Parliament being recalled. He saw presently how matters were going; and one of his latest satires was directed against General Monk, in the shape of a bitter compliment. On the Restoration, as might have been expected, he was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and had to take his trial in the ensuing October with the regicides.

He manifested his usual readiness in defending himself; concluding his address, however, with an application for mercy to the king, which for once his majesty seemed disposed to entertain. The fact was, that Henry Marten had many friends, whose personal attachment surpassed even their admiration for his talents and varied accomplishments. Sir Henry Ludlow is declared by his own son to have had his death chiefly occasioned through grief at the expulsion of so attractive a debater from the House of Commons, in 1643. It may remind us of a more modern statesman, whose brilliant powers shone the brighter from their being perpetually enshrined amidst such habitual good-nature and graceful proprieties of manner, that his vices seemed (and only seemed) to lose something of their evil, 'by losing all their 'grossness.' The overstrained strictness of Puritanism had prepared the nation for a recoil into the multiform abysses of profligacy. Many royalists could even interest themselves for the only republican they had ever known, who sanctioned by his presence and example their own abominable excesses. Anthony à Wood winds up his angry portrait of him with no little accuracy and correctness, in these words. 'Marten was a man of good 'natural parts,—boon, familiar, and quick with repartees, exceed-'ing happy in apt instances,—pertinent and very biting; so that 'his company, being esteemed incomparable, would have been

'acceptable to the greatest persons, *only he would get drunk too* '*soon*, and so put an end to all the mirth for the present.' This presented the best chance in the world for opening a door of favor in the heart of a wicked and witty monarch. His minions almost clamored to save from the scaffold the most entertaining debauchee of their age. There were others, and not a few, whom the facetious genius of 'gallant Harry,' as he loved to be called, had materially served in the days of his influence and power. They all persuaded him to transmit a very humble petition to the two houses, which was done accordingly. The Commons took little or no notice of it; but in the Lords, Viscount Falkland, with many peers, spoke warmly on his behalf. Through their efforts, a remission of his capital sentence ensued; yet he was ordered to be imprisoned for life, first in the Tower, then at Windsor, and finally in Chepstow Castle. 'Such,' says an indignant yet sympathising royalist, 'was the last sad doom of this gentleman, 'whose quickness of thought, elegance of manners, vivacity, wit, 'and charming gaiety had often fascinated not only the convivial 'board, but the grave, austere, sour, republican chiefs in the 'House of Commons, who so often chose him for their manager 'and director!'

He lingered for twenty years in his last place of captivity, which must have been peculiarly bitter to him from its being on the border of the Welsh counties, which at the period of his greatest fame in the country had always desired to have him for their commander-in-chief. The jointure of his lady, whom until now he had grievously slighted, just supplied him with necessaries; all his estate beside having been confiscated by the crown. When his wife died, his daughter most dutifully supplied her place; beyond his parental deserts, as must be admitted. An anecdote is mentioned respecting him, which shows with how sincere a determination he retained his political predilections:

'He had been suffered, during the last few years of his life, in consideration of his harmlessness, no less than the infirmities of his great age, to walk out of his prison occasionally, under the strict conduct of a keeper, into the neighbouring village of St. Pierre. A person of the name of Lewis lived here, and when he saw him, he would ask him into his house. It grew into a habit at last; and a visit to this house and a conversation with its owner, were the old man's last remaining comforts. Some unlucky day, however, this Lewis, who was a staunch royalist (as people who lived in the neighbourhood of royal castles in those days generally were), happened to ask his visitor if, supposing the deed were to be done over again, he would again sign the warrant for the execution of Charles the First. Marten told him, 'Yes,'—and was never after received into the house. At length in 1681, enfeebled with the weight of seventy-eight years, and the sufferings of a

long imprisonment, against which his strong natural health had wonderfully borne him up, he was suddenly, whilst sitting at dinner, struck with apoplexy. and fell dead from his chair.

'A paper containing the following verses was found in the room where he died. They appear to have expressed the very latest of his thoughts, and he had formed the initial letters, as will be seen, into an acrostic of his own name,—an old fantastic resource from the wearying length of lonely hours :

> 'Here, or elsewhere (all one to you,—and me),
> Earth, air, or water, gripes my ghostless dust,
> None knowing when brave fire shall set it free :
> Reader, if you an oft-tried rule will trust,—
> You'll gladly do and suffer what you must !
>
> 'My life was worn with serving you and you,
> And death is my reward,—and welcome too :
> Revenge destroying but itself.—Whilst I
> To birds of prey leave my old cage, and fly !
> Examples reach the eye ;—care then, mine says,
> Not *how you end*,--but *how you spend* your days !'
>
> —pp. 358, 359.

One would fain hope, that something like a spark of repentance, with regard to his practical heathenism and forgetfulness of his Maker, may by possibility be discovered in so melancholy and pensive a memorial of the ashes of Henry Marten.

The main interest of his biography turns without question upon the republicanism of his politics, and the part he took in that notable transaction, characterized by our Established Church as 'The Martyrdom of the blessed King Charles the First.' We will conclude our article by venturing a few remarks upon these subjects. And first, with regard to his political peculiarities in wishing to abolish the monarchical principle, our readers may rest assured that we have no sympathy with him on that point. Our honest conviction is, that however the predictions of M. de Tocqueville may be realized in Europe, her great leading governments must never surrender an hereditary executive. By all means let popular and liberal legislation and administration be developed to their uttermost safe extent under its shadow : let responsibility be the characteristic of all official existence whatsoever, so as to keep clear of legal subtleties, serviceable for nothing but to entangle the minds of honest men : but at the same time, let crowns and sceptres remain, as they are interwoven with all national associations ; although they must be also surrounded by free institutions, and practically as well as professedly recognizing the doctrine, that the source of all power, under divine providence, lies in the people. Marten and his party

seemed to desire what the North American Union has conferred upon millions of our brethren beyond the Atlantic; or what Dumas, with a multitude of dreamers and theorists, may expect to see some day or other carried out in France and her dependencies. Now we are cordial supporters of monarchy, so limited and arranged, that on the one hand, a vast form of social organization, which has endured for ages and which has become part and parcel of the heart and mind of Christendom, may receive no unnecessary shock or violence; whilst on the other, all authority shall be considered *as a mighty trust*, to be administered not on behalf of the few at the expense of the many, but for the benefit of every individual member, high or low, forming the body-corporate of the commonwealth. We believe such to have been the grand idea, and genuine intention of the patriotic founders, both the early and later ones, who constructed the ark of our constitution. The maxim that a king or governor of these realms 'can 'do no wrong,' was never meant to override another, which is the *ultima ratio* of society,—namely that *Salus populi est suprema lex.* The notion of a people existing at all, as Burke somewhere says, involves the idea of a corporation formed more or less artificially for the advantage of those concerned in it. The whole as to its primary foundations must rest upon equity and utility, according to Philo and Cicero, more especially the latter, who lays down in his Offices, that *Unum debet esse omnibus propositum, ut eadem sit Utilitas unius cujusque, et universorum, quam si ad se quisque rapiat, dissolveretur omnis humana consortio.* There will every now and then arise occasions, when wise statesmen will consider that they best consult the real spirit of our constitution, by doing what Hallam says the Whigs did in 1688, appealing not so much to the Magna Charta of King John, as to the inherent rights of man; in other words, by substituting Hooker and Harrington for Coke and Chief Justice Hale.

Yet supposing this to be a correct view of the matter, it follows that right must stand connected with might: or else the germ of popular liberty expires. What we mean is neither more nor less than the avoidance of a *reductio ad absurdum;* for what would be the use of admitting or maintaining the responsibility of all rulers to their subjects, were these last utterly left without a conceivable power of realizing their freedom, and avenging its violation? Attached, therefore, though we are to our limited and constitutional monarchy, we contend as strongly that governors are essentially trustees! Accountability we look upon as inseparable from official existence in a free state. Had we lived, therefore, in the seventeenth century, we should have been for the trial of Charles Stuart, provided the investigation had only taken a legal form, which, however, it unfortunately did not. Nevertheless, there was nothing in the nature of things to prevent this from having

been the case, had a large majority of the nation, for instance, summoned him as a culprit to their bar, expressing their will *through legitimate representation*, or 'at least by such a fair and full convention, as might in great necessity supply the place of lawful authority. But it was, as we all know, the act of a bold but very small minority, who, having forcibly expelled their colleagues from parliament, had usurped, under the protection of a military force, that power which all England reckoned illegal. Thus far we agree with our elegant and learned constitutional historian, Mr. Hallam; whilst, in what follows we venture to differ from him altogether. 'I cannot perceive,' he goes on to say, 'what there was in the imagined solemnity of the proceedings, 'in that insolent mockery of the forms of justice, accompanied by 'all unfairness and inhumanity in its circumstances, which can 'alleviate the guilt of the transaction; and if it be alleged, that 'many of the regicides were firmly persuaded in their consciences 'of the right and duty of condemning the king, we may surely 'remember, that private murderers have often had the same apo-'logy.' We much prefer the philosophical opinion of Charles James Fox, whose authority will be admitted by most persons, as that of one of the noblest statesmen of modern times: 'If,' he observes in his beautiful Fragment, 'if we consider this question 'of example in a more extended view, and look to the general 'effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted 'but that the opportunity thus given to Charles to display his 'firmness and piety has created more respect for his memory 'than it could otherwise have obtained. It has been thought 'dangerous to the morals of mankind, even in romance, to make 'us sympathise with characters whose general conduct is blame-'able; but how much greater must be the effect, when in real 'history our feelings are interested in favour of a monarch, with 'whom, to say the least, his subjects were obliged to contend in 'arms for their liberty? After all, notwithstanding what the 'more reasonable part of mankind may think upon this question, 'it is much to be doubted whether this singular proceeding has 'not, as much as any other circumstance, *served to raise the cha-'racter of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general.* 'The truth is, that the guilt of the action—that is to say, the 'taking away the life of the king—is what most men in the place 'of Cromwell and his associates would have incurred; what there 'is of *splendor and magnanimity in it,—I mean the publicity and 'solemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of displaying.*'

The fact is, that Marten and the other judges, with Bradshaw at their head, went into Westminster Hall, with their lives in their hands, as much as the arraigned and fallen sovereign who sat before them. They could have been never ignorant, that the pulse of the nation beat not with them, but with their prisoner.

The English are the most forgiving people upon the face of the earth. Their oppressor had sat down in the dust; and that alone was enough to extinguish in their bosoms every recollection of his tyranny and crimes. From the moment that sentence was pronounced, liberty fell prostrate at the feet of loyalty, as though kings came into the world with crowns upon their brows to dazzle and stultify mankind. Feeling that they were, as they really were, a small minority,—that a change, by no means improbable in parliament, might send them, one and all, to an ignominious scaffold,—that the dagger of incensed fanaticism, or royalism, or levelism, hung over their heads by a single hair, like the sword of Damocles, as was soon afterwards demonstrated in the assassination of more than one of their number—it certainly proved that they believed themselves engaged in the mighty cause of advancing the best interests of their species; and that therefore, cost whatever it might, they would never draw back. Of course, we now speak only of those among them, whose courage was genuine, and whose conscientiousness was beyond suspicion; of such men as Ludlow and Hutchinson, names ever dear to all true patriotism. Algernon Sidney and Sir Henry Vane, who would have preferred the deposition to the decapitation of their late sovereign, were beyond a question wiser than their fellows in holding that opinion. But the demonstration of this could only be given after the game had been played; besides which, despotism, we may depend upon it, has never read the last hours, or rather moments of Charles the First, without considerable paleness and palpitation. The masked executioner, who held up in public view that severed visage, which he denounced as having belonged to a traitor, could have probably discovered not a single echo of approval, amongst the assembled thousands and myriads, who groaned, and wept, and wailed before the windows of Whitehall. Yet surely, if treason be correctly defined by jurisconsults, or if history be suffered to give an impartial verdict, the rising voice of ages pronounces a very similar sentence! Grievous beyond calculation, as was the inexpediency of that awful execution, (and the ghost of Strafford himself could have exacted no bitterer vengeance from posterity,) the party thus suffering had trampled under foot the most solemn social compact—had carried fire and sword over the fair face of three kingdoms to set up absolutism, and put down liberty—had forfeited his pledged honor and word, until both were mocked at and scorned —had deceived friends and foes, so that victory had come to be considered on either side almost as perilous as defeat,—and after all, had surrendered episcopacy itself, that last talisman whereby he kept the Church of England by his side in life, and won from her the honors of a canonization when the axe had done its work. It is not our purpose to dwell now on his indecency towards ladies in public, although he has been pourtrayed

in legends as the chastest husband of his species; nor on the ordered murder of Lord Loudon in the Tower, an unquestionable fact, though his admirers have vainly suppressed, or feigned to disbelieve it; nor on some of his military cruelties, such as the massacre of Leicester, during the war, which alienated so many of his own adherents, until public opinion compelled him to admonish Rupert that 'he ought not to anticipate the divine wrath upon his rebellous subjects;' nor on his supporting Laud in his fierce wishes to have Felton put on the rack of torture; nor upon his perfidy with regard to the Irish insurrections, the intrigues with Lord Glamorgan, or as displayed in the contents of his Naseby cabinet. But we merely recall to the recollections of our readers, that after having sworn and promised never to desert that form of ecclesiastical government to which we believe he was really and conscientiously more attached than to aught else in the world, he nevertheless did, in the Isle of Wight, sign a secret treaty with the Scots, by which he bound himself to renounce episcopacy, and accept the covenant in solemn parliament for both kingdoms! That his treachery reaped no reward, beyond an abundant harvest of shame, we conceive, can have no effect in alleviating the dark shadows of guiltiness, which would have buried in oblivion any other name, nor have failed to do so, even as to his own, had not the bauble of a diadem floated it down the stream of time, and a church, in unhallowed communion with the State, enrolled it among the memorials of her martyrology!

In sober sadness, what an outcry would have been made had nonconformity ever patronized, or even winked at such an office as that in the Church of England appointed for the thirtieth of January. Our beneficed clergy are obliged to avow solemnly and publicly their *ex animo* assent and consent 'to all and every 'word and thing' in this form of prayer contained; they are bound to use it on the day appointed, and to fast on that occasion; the entire object being to 'implore the mercy of God, that neither 'the guilt of that *sacred and innocent blood,* nor those other sins 'by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our king 'into the hands of cruel and unreasonable men, may be at any 'time hereafter visited upon us, or our posterity.' Throughout this profane, and we had almost written, *blasphemous* office, there is a parallel drawn inferentially between a hypocritical tyrant beheaded by his aggrieved people, and the divine Saviour of the world who died for the transgressions of mankind. The second lesson is the twenty-seventh chapter of St. Matthew; and the second prayer is the following fair average specimen of the general genius, so to speak, and tendency of the whole matter: 'Blessed 'Lord, in whose sight the death of thy saints is precious, we 'magnify thy name for thine abundant grace bestowed upon our 'martyred sovereign, by which he was enabled so cheerfully to

'follow the steps of his blessed Master and Saviour, in a constant 'meek suffering of all barbarous indignities, and at last resisting 'unto blood; and even then, according to the same pattern, praying 'for his murderers. Let his memory, O Lord, be ever blessed 'amongst us, that we may follow the example of his courage and 'constancy, his meekness and patience, and great charity!' In another prayer occurs the following, in reference to his son and successor, where God is blessed for 'not leaving us for ever, as 'sheep without a shepherd, but, by his gracious providence didst '*miraculously* preserve Charles the Second from his bloody 'enemies, hiding him under the shadow of the divine wings, until 'their tyranny was overpast;' and again, 'that he was set upon 'the throne of his father to *restore true religion*, and settle peace 'amongst us!' It is afterwards supplicated that '*according to the* '*example* of the royal martyr, we may press forward to the prize 'of the high calling set before us, in faith and patience, humility 'and meekness, mortification and self-denial, charity and constant 'perseverance unto the end.' The gospel in the morning is the parable of the husbandman killing the son of the householder. Instead of the *venite exultemus* is used a selection of thirty-two verses, taken both from the canonical and apocryphal scriptures, amongst which such portions as these are applied to the unfortunate, and certainly not *innocent* monarch; 'The people stood up, 'and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord, and 'against *his anointed*;' or again, from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, 'Now the sins of the people, and the iniquities of the 'priest, they shed the blood of the JUST in the midst of Jerusa-'lem;' thus throwing a vicarious character over the execution of poor fallen creature. These are but specimens, it will be remembered; but upon the whole, (with the exception of a similar office for the twenty-ninth of May, wherein the most heartless profligate that ever corrupted the morals of a nation, is lauded before God with adulation, false as it is fulsome,) we must declare our unfeigned belief, that nothing more offensive is contained in the Roman breviary; when, we mean to say, *that degree of superior light is taken into the account*, with which it has pleased the Holy Spirit to favour our episcopal church. Surely our evangelical friends of the establishment, instead of almost literally bringing death itself into Exeter Hall, by their exciting accusations of that communion, (whence their own ordination and sacraments, in their view of the subject, if they are consistent, derive their validity,) would be far better employed, were they to begin their reformation at home, and purge their common prayer-book from stains which public opinion could never have endured for an hour, had not an unhappy alliance between Church and State secularized the one, without sanctifying the other. The persecutors of Maynooth, with the whole train of those who listen to and applaud

certain anti-catholic orators in the present day, are either sincere or not so; but if the former, as we are quite willing to take for granted,—why should their protestantism expose a vulnerable heel to the shafts of an acute and able antagonist, as the poets say Achilles did to Paris in the temple of Apollo? They very possibly imagine that these things are not known, or, if known, are permitted to pass unobserved; yet let them rest assured that this is far from being the case. It is admitted, that, as between the archbishop of Canterbury and the pope of Rome, the latter, to say the least, is not losing ground in these kingdoms. We ought indeed to state the affair more accurately, as lying between her Majesty and his Holiness; our gracious queen being the recognized head of the Anglo-episcopalian church, as by law established. Alas! had the nation been only educated for a century, how different would be the aspect of society. We concur in the animated remarks of a living authoress, which we recommend to those who are more ready to spout hot speeches from a safe bench in parliament against Socialism or Chartists, than to mend their own ways: 'If you must blame, blame the selfish monarchs, the 'temporizing ministers, the barbarous aristocracies, the vain-'glorious generations of the people, that have passed away,— 'rather than the descendants on whom they have entailed the 'consequences of their mutual follies. The spirit of barbarism 'lingers about its mortal remains! Barbaric wars are hushed, 'the dead having buried their dead; barbaric shows have faded in 'splendor, and are as much mocked at as admired; barbaric 'usurpations are being resisted and supplanted day by day; but 'the infatuation, which upheld them so long, is not altogether dis-'pelled; and if we rashly suppose that it is, we deserve to suffer 'for coming within its reach!'

Art. II. *Lectures on Biblical Criticism; exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science.* By S. Davidson, LL.D. Professor of Biblical Literature in the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. Edinburgh, T. Clark; London: Hamilton and Co. 8vo. pp. 411.

THE integrity of the sacred records is a matter profoundly interesting to all believers in divine revelation. The authority of the word, as the rule of faith and practice, though resting exclusively for its support on the evidences of divine intervention, would yet be practically nullified, if we could not satisfactorily establish the general integrity of the text, which has been made the vehicle of the mind of God. It must hence be a subject of deep regret, that there should appear among Christians in general so little knowledge of a subject which involves the reasonableness of their faith, and the foundation of their hope. It might, even

with the strictest justice, be affirmed that a large portion of professed believers are not merely ignorant of the method employed for settling the canon of scripture, and of the principles on which the literal integrity of the text is to be determined, but that they evince an utter distaste for such inquiries, and a contemptuous indifference to the invaluable labors of the men who critically pursue them. 'Few Christians among us,' says the admirable Baxter,* 'for aught I find, have any better than the popish implicit 'faith in this point, nor any better arguments than the papists have, 'to prove the scriptures the word of God. They have received it 'by tradition, godly ministers and Christians tell them so; it is 'impious to doubt of it; therefore they believe it. Though we 'could persuade people never so confidently, that scripture is the 'very word of God, and yet teach them no more reason why they 'should believe this than any other book, to be that word, as it 'will prove in them no right way of believing, so it is in us no 'right way of teaching. It is strange to consider how we all 'abhor that piece of popery, as most injurious to God of all the 'rest, which resolves our faith into the authority of the church; 'and yet that we do, for the generality of professors, content 'ourselves with the same kind of faith; only with this difference, 'the papists believe scripture to be the word of God, because 'their church saith so; and we, because our church, or our leaders 'say so. Yea, and many ministers never yet gave their people 'better grounds, but tell them that it is damnable to deny it, but 'help them not to the necessary antecedents of faith. It is to be 'understood, that many a thousand do profess Christianity, and 'zealously hate the enemies thereof, upon the same grounds, to 'the same end, and from the same inward corrupt principles, as 'the Jews did hate and kill Christ. It is the religion of the 'country, where every man is reproached that believes otherwise; 'they were born and brought up in this belief, and it hath increased 'in them upon the like occasions. Had they been born and bred 'in the religion of Mahomet they would have been as zealous for 'him. The difference betwixt him and a Mahometan is more 'that he lives where better laws and religion dwell, than that he 'hath more knowledge or soundness of apprehension.'

The ground that still exists for applying these severe strictures, even very extensively, to the Christian church, must be our apology for entering somewhat at length into this subject. Though we feel fully persuaded that the dissenting communities are more awake to its importance, and contain a larger measure of acquaintance with it, than is to be found among the same number and the same rank of persons within the Established Church, yet we are deeply impressed with the necessity of inviting to it more

* Saints' Rest, part ii. sect. 1.

attention. Great good might be effected by popularizing a subject, unacquaintedness with which is undoubtedly one of the chief advantages permitted to infidelity, of which it has but too effectually and too disastrously availed itself, to the irreparable injury of souls, and the deep disgrace of the Christian cause.

It shall be our endeavor to present as concise a view as possible of the manner in which the canon of the scriptures has been settled, with some prefatory observations on their authority.

The two testaments are placed in widely different circumstances both as to their integrity and divine authority. The separate existence of the Jewish people, as a nation, through the whole period of their history to the present time, affords a sort of self-perpetuating guarantee, a permanent living witness, both to the general integrity, and divine inspiration, of their sacred books. Let us divest ourselves of all ideas both of the genuineness and authenticity of the Mosaic writings, and just take them up as we should works which we receive for the first time, an ancient copy of which is well known to have been long preserved. On the perusal of this professedly sacred book, we should say, if this is a true history, and bears the name of its real author, we shall find ample means of ascertaining its veracity, arising out of the events and circumstances which it records—for these profess to be national documents—a national theory of religion, a national code of laws—a national history, and all these so unique, so unlike every other thing of the kind, that, if false, nothing will be easier than the detection of imposture in matters of so public a nature; while, if true, their corroboration and establishment cannot be difficult. If the writer has composed a fabulous history, a fabulous code of laws, and theory of religion—or, if the whole be partly true and partly fabulous, then nothing could be more absurd than for the author to put this forth to his countrymen as veritable, because every one of them would be able to detect the imposture, while every surrounding nation would be able to confront it as mere fable. It would have been utterly impossible for such a complicated system as that contained in the Mosaic writings ever to have gained any credit, or to have preserved it, if gained, through a single generation, upon the supposition that it had wanted its counterpart in the existence, the history, the civil and ecclesiastical polity of a real people. Again, supposing the record in question not to have been made public at the time to which it relates, not during the generation that could alone have accredited or discredited its statements, but long after, then the total absence of all collateral testimony, the silence of contemporary writers upon the events it records, the complete unconsciousness among neighbouring nations of the facts it professes to relate, or even of its professed author, as the legislator and general of the people whose origin and history it pretends to recite—would go far to

prove it, either a mere fabrication of recent times, or, if really ancient, yet certainly fabulous. But if the document be incontestibly ancient, that is, of or near the very age to which it relates, then, from its peculiar nature as a public record, a national history, and a national code of law, and system of religion, there will be discoverable, without much labour of research, ten thousand collateral circumstances which will attest its credibility.

Now this book attributes itself to a certain person as its author, who represents himself as having been brought up in Egypt, though of a race distinct from the native inhabitants, that he was educated in the court of one of its kings, that at a certain time he emancipated himself with a vast multitude of slaves of his own race from the thraldom in which they were held, led them out of the country, kept them in a migratory state for about forty years, carried on certain wars during that period with various neighbouring nations, and at length settled his people, or was the means of causing them to settle, under his successor in a certain possession, which they continued to hold for many centuries, in defiance of all the hostile attacks of powerful enemies, and all the casualties incident to a small and semi-barbarous people. These few facts, to say nothing of the rest, and of the more extraordinary ones contained in the record, supply various points of contact with other sources of information, by which the general truth or falsity of the work may be ascertained. If this author was known at or about the time, as the leader and legislator of the Jews; if among the Jews and among other nations there remain traditions of these events accordant with the writings of Moses, if his name and character appear to have been familiarly known to his contemporaries of other nations, and if there is every internal as well as external evidence, that he was the author of the work ascribed to him, evidence at least equal to that on which we concede the genuineness of any other ancient writings, then we cannot reasonably refuse to accept these as the works of the Jewish legislator.

The Mosaic books profess to be a public record, and to contain mainly well known and public facts, though for a special religious purpose it extends its communication beyond the people to whom it particularly refers, and even beyond the sphere of tradition, to events and circumstances, concerning which no source but revelation could afford certain knowledge. But leaving what is strictly matter of revelation, we may find in that portion of its contents which related to the Jewish nation sufficient means of testing its credibility. We wish it to be particularly observed, that it did not first come to light as an ancient document; it did not come forth, professing to have been written at a certain remote period, and to detail extraordinary events, of which nobody had ever heard till it announced them; it had not remained buried, or locked up in some tomb, or cabinet, or in an unknown language,

through many centuries, till some discoverer brought it to light. But it was written and made public, and generally appealed to during the lifetime of its author, and in fact had become, long before his death, the law of the people over whom he ruled. The whole nation of the French are not more certain of the genuineness of the Code Napoleon, nor the English of their Magna Charta, than the Jews of that age, and of every succeeding age, of the genuineness of their Mosaic history, their civil and ecclesiastical code. From the time of its first promulgation, during the life of their founder and legislator, the whole nation were either in possession of the record, or fully informed of its contents; had read it, or were accustomed to hear it read, and recognized it, both as a true history of their public affairs, and an exact account of that peculiar religion which they had observed and practised from the date of their sojourn in the wilderness. At the time of their first reception of this work of Moses, there were alive a large proportion of the parties concerned in the history. It was in fact the history of themselves, and the main part, therefore, of the circumstances related in it, were as familiarly known to themselves as to their legislator. The publicity of the recorded events, as well as the publicity of the record itself—followed by its immediate reception by the whole people at the time, and succeeded by its unquestioned authority through all their future generations, afford to us an ample guarantee, both of its genuineness and authenticity. The whole nation of the Jews were the witnesses to the authenticity of the detail contained in the books of Moses, as well as to the authorship—and they are accordingly often and openly appealed to, as the still living witnesses to the truth of the matters therein narrated.

The generations that immediately succeeded that first race, which witnessed the transactions and attested the truth of the public records, were competent judges of these two points, first, whether such a public document had been in existence before their time, had been spoken of by their fathers, and taught to themselves as containing both their law and their religion, or whether it had first been heard of in their own day. The total silence of their predecessors or elders upon the record or the matters contained in it would afford a convincing proof that it could not have had any previous existence, and certainly could not have been known as a public document, the only accredited standard of law and religion. It would be hard indeed to conceive that the first generation after that contemporary with Moses, could ever have been deceived into the belief, that their law had existed as a written document before their age, if it had only arisen to notoriety and been established in the times that themselves had witnessed. A nation may be persuaded to believe a thing on the credit of others—concerning which they could pretend to no

knowledge themselves. But no people, we suppose, were ever yet persuaded to believe that a law, enacted in their own days, was enacted before they were born, or that an event they had themselves witnessed, had really not taken place in their own age, but properly belonged to that of their ancestors. It would hence be impossible to gain general credit for any public document under such circumstances. The obvious fallacy of its statements would effectually preclude its reception. No nation would suffer itself to be imposed upon by a record so utterly false. Its authority never could be established, even among barbarians. The attempt to persuade them that they had received their religion from their fathers, and had heard them tell of a law, a religion, and a history, all of which had first been divulged and published in their own times, would be rejected as too absurd even for fable. But the Jews of the time of Moses did receive his writings, as containing an account of facts which themselves had witnessed, and of the religious observances which commenced in their own age, as well as of the national polity by which they were first incorporated.

But the case is greatly strengthened when we advert to the nature of the facts recorded; for their being extraordinary, and in some instances miraculous, and yet all alleged to have taken place openly and before the eyes of the whole people, it would become still more incredible to suppose that an immense number of persons who had never witnessed any of them, should be persuaded to believe and admit they had. Can any one believe it possible for a living writer to produce, and cause to be universally accepted as true, a history which should state that all the contemporaries of his own nation, and of about his own age, had formerly lived in a state of slavery to a neighbouring nation; and that about forty years since, he had delivered them in a certain manner from that vassalage, and brought them into the possession of the land they inhabited;—that in their course they had witnessed the miraculous dividing of a large body of waters to admit their passage; that they had for a number of years been living on a peculiar kind of food, which fell in the night upon the ground, and was gathered every morning for their daily supply? Not only would it be found impracticable to persuade a whole people that they had seen and experienced things so strange, when nothing of the kind had really occurred, but the very attempt would be ridiculed, and if it did not bring upon its author the indignation of his people, it would at least defeat itself, by sinking into immediate contempt and forgetfulness. It is not in the nature of things that it could be respected as true, or that the law combined with it could have exercised any authority over the understandings and consciences of men. The whole must have been instantly scouted as a barefaced attempt at imposition. It

could have gained credit and permanence among no people. Many false records have no doubt been fabricated, and many fabulous narratives have been believed,—but never by the parties to whom they principally related, when their own consciousness supplied the evidence of that falsity. The detection of the imposture would be entirely in their own hands, and it is impossible to admit that a whole people could be brought to assent to the truth of a record essentially false, especially when its authority was employed to bring them under the restraints of a law, which the greater part of them loathed and complained of as an intolerable burden. The necessary inference is, that the Jews of that age must have known the truth of the Mosaic history, and have felt the divine authority of the code of law under which they were then placed, and that their successors of the next and of all following generations, must have found it impossible to shake the foundation of their great legislator's authority; or to shake off from their own shoulders the stringent obligations to obey it, and to transmit it unimpaired and unimpeached to their descendants age after age; or otherwise, had there been a flaw in his statements, or a want of authority in his law, they would gladly and long since have delivered themselves from the yoke, under which they have so often groaned, but which has held them, as with an adamantine fetter, to the law and religion of their forefathers.

Some general rules have been laid down by learned men as applicable to the belief of such matters of fact as are recorded in the Mosaic history. When these four *criteria* meet in reference to any alleged facts, those facts may be admitted as certainly true.

1. If the things recorded be such as the witnesses might judge of by their senses.

2. If the transactions or events were open and public.

3. If some public monuments and national observances were expressly appropriated to keep up the memory of them.

4. If such monuments are known to have been erected, and such national observances to have commenced, at the precise period of the facts which they were designed to perpetuate, or immediately after, while the memory and impression of them was strong and universal.

Dr. Middleton is said to have endeavored for twenty years to find out some pretended or fabulous narrative, to which these four rules should apply, but without success.

It may, therefore, be safely affirmed, that the genuineness and authenticity of the Mosaic records are substantiated by ample evidence, such as no other facts, no other records, of ancient history possess: and that, if these be set aside, all history must be abandoned as fable. In the first place, the facts and circumstances were all public,—we speak of those which took place during the lifetime of Moses: secondly, they were of such a character that

all could judge of their reality by their ordinary senses, and all were conscious of having witnessed them; they and their children were all concerned in them: thirdly, there were various monuments of the different events preserved from time to time as they occurred, and remaining from age to age; there were the overthrown walls of Jericho, the miraculous stream of water in the wilderness, the tables of the law, the pot of manna, Aaron's rod that periodically budded, the feast of the passover, regularly commemorated every year from the night of their departure out of Egypt; there was circumcision, the annual feast of tabernacles, and that of Purim; there was the family of Aaron, and the tribe of Levites, the conquest of Canaan, and expulsion of the Canaanites; the twelve large stones set up in Gilgal, and many other memorials or observances connected with the different events of their extraordinary history, all attesting, at the time, the certainty of the facts they were intended to perpetuate, and the truth of the history that recorded them. The commencing of these monuments and observances in the very age of their occurrence, and their preservation down to the latest periods of the Jewish national history, afford full satisfaction to the fourth rule above laid down; and in connexion with the preceding, completely answer to the tests that have been established.

We might notice several other important topics intimately connected with the argument, especially the remarkable fact of the inflexible attachment of the Jews to their religion, amidst the great reverses of their fortune, and the abundant materials to be gathered from profane writers, attesting their national existence as far back as the time of Moses. But as we are merely introducing to the notice of our readers the subject of the canon, and the ascertainment of the text, we must cut short our observations, with briefly observing that the sanction given alike to the Mosaic writings and the rest of the Old Testament, by Jesus Christ, sufficiently authenticates it for all the sacred purposes for which we as Christians use it.

We propose, therefore, now to give a brief account of the manner in which the scriptures of the Old Testament came to be universally accepted by the Jews, and to be formed into one sacred volume. In the first place, the law of Moses, with the rest of the pentateuch, was, as we have already stated, written and fully established as of divine authority during his life time. An authentic copy was kept always deposited in the ark of the covenant;—many other copies were used for the service of the priests; and, probably, most of the families, or at least the heads of the people, were in possession of it, as they were commanded to read it to their children, and make them thoroughly acquainted with its contents. Then there could be no difficulty, no uncertainty, about its preservation in the early

periods of their history. Every prince succeeding to the throne was required to copy it out with his own hand, in order to secure his complete knowledge and accurate memory of its contents. Its integrity was therefore nearly as well guarded as that of the Bible now is among us, by its universal diffusion. The book of Joshua, that of Judges, of Ruth, and the two books of Samuel, which were on the best authority admitted, at the time, to be written by Samuel, or under his inspection, with some slight circumstantial additions to the books of Samuel after his death, were all preserved during the Babylonish captivity, in the hands of various individuals, because there was then no public depositary. But after the return, Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah, all inspired men, together with the great Sanhedrim, exercised the utmost care in making a general collection of all the sacred books ; or settling the canon up to their own times. They were fully competent to such a task, being themselves under the guidance of inspiration, at the head of the nation, and having the command of all suitable means. They were an ample guarantee to their own nation, and therefore to us, for the authority of those books, to which they gave the sanction of divine authority. From the second book of Maccabees, ch. ii., ver. 13, we derive a valuable historic testimony to the fact that Nehemiah added to the law or writings of Moses the other sacred books expressly named, as the two books of Kings and Chronicles, the prophets, the writings of David and Solomon, and in short that collection appears to have contained all the Old Testament as it now exists, with the exception of Malachi. What was historical in the entire collection, was of a public nature, and therefore of public notoriety, and of equally public scrutiny ; for, after the time of the return, and this recension of their sacred books, they were publicly read in the synagogues throughout the whole land every sabbath day. These synagogues were also instituted in other countries as well as in Judea, and thus the sacred writings of the Jews may be said to have been secured by their multiplication after the time of Ezra, against corruption or material alteration ; and from this period they became matter of curious inquiry to the philosophers among heathen nations. Their integrity, therefore, through the period from the return to the coming of Christ, is amply guaranteed by the fact of their publicity. No important alteration could have been introduced. It would have been just as impossible as to alter the text of Homer or Virgil, at the present day, without adequate authority. The short prophecy of Malachi, which was written about 420 years before the Christian era, could not have been added to the canon without the authority of the Sanhedrim. It is generally admitted to have been done in the time, and with the approbation of Simon the Just; but at all events it was done with the consent of the national council, and

upon the evidence which its author had given of being a true prophet. And indeed it may be remarked of this book, as well as of all the other books of the prophets, they carry their own vouchers with them, being now severally verified as inspired by the accomplishment of the great subject to which they all more or less relate. Their internal evidences are alone sufficient to attest their claim to inspiration. But we have an additional voucher for the integrity of the whole Jewish canon up to the year 285 before Christ, in the production of the Greek version, which was certainly made from the standard authorities of the Jews, and deposited in the hands of the heathen literati, who had been curious to possess the Hebrew writings in a language familiar to themselves; and whether all that has been recorded of the occasion and circumstances which led to the production of that version, be true or false, of its actual appearance in the Greek tongue about that period, there can be no more reason to doubt, than of the existence of the Hebrew original, from which it was made. From that period it became additionally impossible for the Jews of succeeding times, to effect any material alteration in their sacred books, had they been so disposed. But we know that on the contrary they exercised the most scrupulous care, even to the numbering of verses, of words, and of letters.

About this period, or perhaps before it, the Hebrew had become a dead language, except for religious purposes. The Syriac and the Greek superseded it, and these continued in common use up to the time of Christ's appearance. Thus, then, we have the double security, first, of the ancient copies which the Jews kept in their temple, and in their synagogues generally throughout the world, and which were perpetuated and multiplied from age to age as circumstances required; and then we have the Greek version, which came into public notoriety and general use before the time of our Saviour, wherever the Greek language was spoken, and the scattered Jews dwelt, and which it was impossible for either Gentiles or Jews to corrupt, in any thing of importance. The Greek version and the Hebrew original thus mutually check and support each other.

Considering the manner in which books were then preserved and multiplied, the length of time through which the Jewish scriptures have been kept, we may say, without material infraction or corruption, considering the amazing disasters and vicissitudes which both the Jews and their Grecian conquerors have experienced, it may well be a matter of admiration and astonishment, that these writings should have been preserved to the world in such a high state of integrity to the present times. There are probably some slight errors of the pen, arising from the multiplicity of copiers; sometimes words written on the margin for explanation, or to supply defects that had arisen from injuries in

former manuscripts, have at length crept into the text. Accidental errors, and officious as well as injudicious alterations have doubtless been made during the long lapse of ages, but there is no reason to suspect any intentional falsification, nor any alteration, materially affecting the import of these ancient and invaluable records. The various discrepancies among the numerous versions and ancient manuscripts, which the rigid and long continued scrutiny, both of friends and foes, has detected, cannot be said to affect the authority of any doctrine, the import of any precept, or the accuracy of any narrative. When it is considered that the five books of Moses are about 600 years older than any remaining writings, or known books of any nation in the world; and that most of the other sacred books of the Old Testament are of an age equal, if not superior, to any of the known writings of the Greeks; perhaps, even of the Chinese, with all their vaunted antiquity; the wonder will then be, that they should have come to us in so perfect a state, and that the evidence of their inspiration should be so full and triumphant.

It has been already observed that the Jewish nation have been a sort of perpetual guarantee from age to age, for the authority of their scriptures, and that Christ and his apostles have given their undoubted sanction to the canon of the Old Testament, as it existed in their day, and that this alone supplies, at least to Christians, a short and satisfactory method for settling the authority of that part of the sacred scripture. But the New Testament canon never did, and from the peculiar nature of the case, never could receive the same sanction. There was no succeeding race of apostles or prophets, upon whose judgment their contemporaries and successors could rely. Neither had it been possible in the first age of Christian inspiration, to hold any general assembly or council of inspired men, who might have settled the question at issue between the genuine and the apocryphal books. The Christian churches in that age were not combined into a regular and compact body. They had adopted no system of general dependance and subordination. Every church was complete in itself, and independent of every other church, at least so far as authority and control were concerned. The jealous and persecuting spirit both of the Jewish and heathen governments, precluded the possibility of any general council. The Christian churches, therefore, long continued to communicate their sacred writings to each other in a confidential and secret manner. The utmost vigilance was employed by their enemies to discover and destroy these sacred books, supposing that they should thereby weaken, if not eradicate, the Christians themselves.

Another preliminary consideration, in reference to the canon of the New Testament, which it is important to notice, implicates indeed the very foundations of the Protestant religion, and involves the gist

of our whole controversy with Romanists, and we may add, with the modern Oxfordists, whose essential Romanism is no longer a matter of question.

The doctrine of these parties is, that the church, meaning by that equivocal term, at least from all such pens, not the body of believers, but the clergy, can alone determine what is, and what is not, genuine scripture; and that, therefore, our present canon of the New Testament depends altogether upon the judgment of the Romish church. Hence they are arrogant and presumptuous enough to affirm, that we Protestants owe our Testament to them; for that it was their church which selected the inspired books from the apocryphal, and which it has preserved pure and complete from the times of the apostles; and that it is the seal of the church that imparts the stamp of inspired authority. One popish author has affirmed, that the scriptures are of no more value than Æsop's Fables, without the authority of the church. Another says, he should give no more credit to Matthew than to Livy, unless the church obliged him; another calls this, 'the 'only way of distinguishing between canonical and apocryphal 'scriptures.' Indeed these parties are fully agreed that the church only can teach what is scripture, or of inspired authority, as well as determine among various senses which is the divine one.

This theory evidently admits the possibility of making any book to be received as divine which the church admits to be so, and also the possibility of depriving a divine book of its authority —or any part of the alleged canonical scripture of its natural and proper import, by imposing upon it another more agreeable to the wishes or opinions of the church. There have been times and states of the church of Rome, when all these enormities and absurdities were not only possible, but when they were actually effected. But the very proposition itself that the church has the authority entrusted to it of determining what the canon of scripture should contain, involves an egregious solecism, because the very foundation of the Christian church is the Christian revelation. There can be no church set up by inspired sanction, and especially can there be no church authority, until there is a previous settlement of the question of revelation. The Bible makes the church, and not the church the Bible. It is altogether absurd to vaunt ecclesiastical authority, or speak of divine rights and principles of revealed religion, till we have ascertained the divine source whence all these must proceed. So that it seems impossible to imagine a greater solecism than to say the church must determine what is scripture, when the scripture is the only authority competent to determine what the church is, or what it ought to be. They say the church must authorize the scriptures,—but when it is asked, who authorizes the church to authorize the scriptures? the only reasonable answer then can be given, is—

the scriptures themselves. Hence, therefore, the question of what is scripture? precedes the question, what is the church?

We come, therefore, now to state very briefly what is the true and only rational method of ascertaining the inspiration of any books purporting to be divine. There must be, in the first instance, sufficient evidence, of a miraculous kind, of the intervention of the Deity; for, without miracle or prophecy, or some supernatural proof, attesting a divine commission, the professed messenger cannot be received. But supposing those who were his contemporaries fully satisfied upon this point, and the grounds of their satisfaction to be open to our examination, while the contents of the supposed communication accredit themselves as coming from God,—then the authenticity of the entire report of the alleged divine message, must be open to every man's examination. His reason has a right to demand satisfaction, and his faith never can be genuine while it rests upon the mere *dicta* of fallible men, or, as it is stated by the Romanist, on the authority or decision of the church. If he believes in the inspiration of the record, because a body of men called the church tell him it is inspired, then 'his faith stands not in the power of God, but in 'the wisdom of men,' and it is repudiated by the apostle Paul as false in its foundation.

The proper method of determining the integrity of any and of every part of revelation, must be the same as that which is employed for determining the genuineness and authenticity of any merely human composition. We shall not here enlarge upon the nature and circumstances of the required testimony, as it would lead us into a disquisition too large for our pages at present.

From what has been stated, it may be apparent that the whole question respecting the canon of the New Testament, is obviously one concerning matters of fact, which took place eighteen centuries ago, and can be determined only by competent witnesses and other collateral evidence. If, then, the question be one of simple fact, its decision has nothing to do with church authority, or any other authority, but exclusively with testimony, its sufficiency and credibility. Thus, and thus only, we know that there ever was such a person as Julius Cæsar, who did such things and wrote such works as are ascribed to him by his contemporaries, without question or doubt. Thus we believe that Virgil, Livy, and Cicero, wrote the works now passing under their names; and thus we believe that the disciples of Jesus Christ wrote the several books attributed to them, and universally admitted, at the time, to be both authentic accounts and genuine productions of the individuals whose names they severally bear. Since the witnesses to be produced in this latter case are in all respects good and veritable, and, on account of many circumstances, more trustworthy than the witnesses for the genuineness and authenticity of the

ancient Greek and Latin writers, it is evident, that the principal method of determining the canonical books, must be by examining the most ancient records of the Christian church. Thence we learn what was the opinion of those who lived at and near the time when the alleged books were written, as well as the reasons upon which those persons founded their opinion. We must both know that they had a distinct opinion, and that this universally prevailed, or without any material deduction; and we must likewise be convinced that their judgment was reasonable and solid. The first foundation of the judgment which attributed inspiration to these works being well established, the chain which depends upon it will be secure, and the opinion of succeeding ages will rest, like a firm and well-cemented superstructure, upon a basis which cannot be shaken.

Now the sacred books, being at first written and made public separately, were committed to the inspection and care of the Christian churches while the authors were yet alive. Some were of a more general character, intended for all, and some were addressed as epistles to individuals or societies of individuals; but containing matter of general concernment, and adapted for general edification, they were gradually multiplied and communicated to all who from their unity with the Christian body, felt an interest in them. The numbers of these individuals and bodies were also at that time continually and rapidly increasing. Each separate church, therefore, formed a distinct court of inquiry or jury of examination, whose interest it was to admit nothing into their code of sacred instructions without the satisfactory seal of inspired authority. This process of investigation was perfectly simple and easy while the writers remained, or witnesses could be found capable of attesting the genuineness, both of the handwriting and of the doctrine conveyed by it. Each church, therefore, though dwelling in countries distant from each other, and raised up under the labors of different apostolic teachers, had either themselves received the original writing from its author, or they had received a copy from the church which held the original, and possessed the valid evidence of its genuineness. Such was the universal confidence in the writings which were then accumulated, that, by common consent, and without concert, they made them matters of supreme respect, of common appeal, and of final authority. These first churches not only perfectly agreed in their admission of the sacred books, but they transmitted their own testimony to the succeeding age, along with the sacred originals, of which, before their extinction or mutilation, myriads of copies had been taken; all of which, though taken at intervals, and some at first, others at second, and others at third hand, and though widely spread over divers nations, were found marvellously to harmonize.

In the ages that succeeded the apostolic, the most scrupulous care was exercised in the preservation of the books that had come from the pens of evangelists and apostles. Learned men of almost every age since, have made diligent search after all the books of those times, and though they have collected a large catalogue of names, yet comparatively few of these have been preserved in any form, or even by way of extract or reference. As to those that have been suffered to perish, it is obvious that they were deemed, by those who had the best means of judging of their value, unworthy of being placed in the same collections with the writings of apostolic men. Neither is there any reason to think that any uninspired book was ever imposed upon the early Christians, or admitted among the genuine remains of apostles and evangelists, or that any genuine writings of inspired men were ever rejected or lost. The catholicity of spirit which characterized those first Christians, led to the speedy communication of all their spiritual treasures to each other, while their jealousy for the honor of their religion induced them instantly to reject whatever had not the well-known 'token in every epistle,' or brought not with it ample testimony of its inspired authority.

Concerning the apocryphal books, of which mention has been made, but which are not now extant, there can be no reason for troubling ourselves; but some of our readers may be curious to know what may remain, and why they are refused a place in the canon. These are the following:

1. Our Saviour's letter to Abgarus.
2. Our Saviour's letter, which fell down from heaven, at Jerusalem, directed to a priest named Leopas, in the city Eris.
3. The Constitutions of the Apostles.
4. The Apostlical Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp.
5. The Shepherd of Hermas.
6. The Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour.
7. The Proto-gospel of St. James.
8. The Gospel of Nicodemus.
9. The Martyrdom of Thecla, or acts of St. Paul.
10. Abdias's History of the Twelve Apostles.
11. St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans.
12. St. Paul's Six Letters to Seneca.

There can be no doubt that many of these, with some smaller pieces, were written in very early times, some of them by well-meaning men, who added the name of an apostle only to give currency to their works, without any intention of imposing a false narrative upon the Christians. Some, however, are marked by folly, inconsistency, and fraud; and, without entering further into their merits it may suffice to observe, that none of them are quoted or appealed to as authority, by any Christian or heathen

writer of the first century. Since the apostles chose no successors, and none could assume their office with a true authority, the inquiry into the inspiration of the sacred books is restricted, for the most part, to the limits of that single age. All the writings that appeared afterwards were at best doubtful, if not obviously false; and accordingly we find that the first Christians never admitted any of the writings now denominated apocryphal into the Canon of the New Testament. After the departure of the apostles, the churches would more than ever reverence their writings, and be of course increasingly jealous of any rival claimants. Whatever their successors may have thought, or however prone some among them were to venerate other writings, or receive another gospel, yet it is abundantly manifest, that those who stood nearest the fountain-head of light, and were the contemporaries of the apostles, resolutely rejected all spurious scriptures, and kept with sacred care those which contained the charter of their hopes, and the rule of their private and social conduct. It is undeniably evident from several collateral sources, that the generality of the Christians, though widely spread, were very early in possession of most of the books now comprising the New Testament, and it is equally certain that they received these and no others. The controversies maintained with their enemies, contain numerous appeals to these books, and quotations from them as of final authority--while their opponents frequently allude to, or cite from, the same authorities. Hence we possess invaluable means of ascertaining both the books that were universally appealed to in controversy, and the kind of authority attached to them. These were the works they preserved with the utmost care, and transmitted to their successors as containing the life of Christ and the doctrine of his apostles. These continued to be quoted, transmitted, multiplied, and spread abroad constantly through the whole of the three first centuries, and no others. So that the New Testament canon was virtually settled, by the unanimity of their opinions, before there was any general council of pastors to give its sanction to the entire collection. This is proved by the fact that in the genuine writings, not inspired, of those first ages, the same books are cited and appealed to as of divine authority. And, considering the diversity and remoteness of the parties forming the Christian churches throughout the world, this is a fact of the utmost importance. It is evident that Justin Martyr at Neapolis, Theophilus at Antioch, Irenæus in France, Clemens at Alexandria, Tertullian at Carthage, who all lived within or about 130 years after the ascension of Christ, and some of them considerably earlier, and but a short time after the sacred books were written, have quoted most, if not all, the inspired books of the New Testament. The same

may be affirmed of Origen, Cyprian, and other writers of the next century.

It is further to be observed as a matter of the utmost interest and importance, that several of those authors who come close upon the first and second centuries, have preserved catalogues of the books then generally received and read in all the Christian churches. We shall here exhibit, for the satisfaction of inquirers, a list of those who have preserved catalogues of the sacred books.

1. Origen, 210.

This author gives a complete catalogue of all our present books with the exception only of the Epistles of James and Jude, though he owns them also in other parts of his works.

2. Eusebius, about 315.

He manifested great care about the sacred writings, and much anxiety to distinguish the genuine from the apocryphal. His catalogue is the same as ours, excepting only that he mentions some persons had doubted the authority of James and Jude, second of Peter, second and third of John, and the Book of the Revelation, though he gives it as his opinion that such doubts were without foundation, and that all these are inspired.

3. Athanasius, 315.

He gives a list which perfectly agrees with ours.

4. Cyril, 340.

Perfectly the same as ours with the exception of the Revelation.

5. Council of Laodicea, 364.

This council agreed in the catalogue as we possess it with the exception of the Revelation.

6. Epiphanius, 370.

He perfectly agrees with our canon.

7. Gregory Nazianzen, 375.

He recites all the books except the Revelation.

8. Philastrius, 380.

This Bishop of Brixia gives a catalogue the same as ours, excepting that he mentions only thirteen of Paul's epistles, most probably omitting the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of the Revelation.

9. Jerome, 382.

He agrees with our catalogue, except that he speaks dubiously of the Epistle to the Hebrews, though he quotes it elsewhere as canonical.

10. Ruffinus, 390.

His catalogue perfectly agrees with ours.

11. Austin, 394.

His perfectly agrees with ours.

12. Council of Carthage, 394.

All agreed in a list accordant with ours.

13. Dionysius, 390.

An anonymous author, under the assumed name of Dionysius the Areopagite, without giving a formal list, has described all the books so as to show, that he received exactly the same number as we possess.

We think, therefore, every candid mind must be prepared to acknowledge that there remains to us ample evidence of the integrity of those sacred books which form our sacred canon. No book of human origin can show such a mass of evidence in favor of its alleged authorship.

We fear that our readers will by this time begin to think that we have overlooked the work which stands at the head of this article, and that we mean to treat it with indifference and silence. But we beg to assure them that such is not the case. We should rather wish our sense of its importance and value to be estimated by the length of the introduction, which we have deemed desirable before offering any opinion upon the work itself. Its nature is indeed such as can scarcely be judged of by any specimens that might be presented. We shall therefore be less anxious to offer extracts than to put the reader in possession of our deliberate and critical judgment upon the entire work, offering not more than a single short passage in illustration of the ability with which the whole is executed.

The volume is strictly confined to the means used for the ascertainment of the genuine text of both testaments. The department of Hermeneutics or interpretations, which is, strictly speaking, *sacred criticism*, is left, for the most part, wholly untouched. It was to present a fair and solid basis for such interpretation, that the author deemed it first of all desirable to traverse the entire field of the literal history of the Bible. He has therefore brought under review the canon of both testaments, the MSS. and versions, the quotations and opinions of the fathers, with every thing else that

can contribute to throw light upon the true reading of the sacred text. His object is to put it in the power of every scholar to judge for himself of the various readings which have been collected, and then to adopt or reject, as may seem most accordant with the rules of sound criticism, whatever alterations or amendments have been proposed. In the execution of this important undertaking, the author has spared no pains which consummate learning and eminent talent could devote to it. It is not possible, nor will it be desirable, that we should follow him through the several parts of his comprehensive plan. It must suffice that we should say, he has performed a service to the cause of sacred literature the most important and invaluable, a service which was at the present time most desirable, and for which every student of the sacred originals of God's word will render to him cordial and hearty gratitude. He has produced a work of sound and comprehensive criticism worthy of the age, not of a would-be rational theology, but of the truly rational and devout theology of our British churches, from which neither the shallow philosophism of our own unitarian school, nor the bolder neologism of Germany, has been able either to force or seduce us. There is no attempt in this truly great and learned work to serve any favorite theory, or promote any sinister purpose, by parading various readings that are valueless, or concealing the predominating authority of others, that might be less acceptable. But the simple, uniform, and constant pursuit of the writer seems to be the integrity of the text, as it proceeded from the pen of inspiration. The execution of such a work demanded a combination of natural abilities, and acquired qualifications, but rarely united in the same individual. It is no slight or equivocal praise to say, that Dr. Davidson has manifested most, if not all, the rare accomplishments desirable in the individual who enterprises a historical, critical, and literary history of the text of scripture, and of the chief controversies to which it has given rise through the successive ages of its transmission. When we say that our language contains, to our knowledge, no work so complete, so full, so uniformly judicious, and imbued with so profound a veneration for the words of inspired wisdom, we shall have said enough to recommend the work to the careful perusal of every zealous student of scripture. But we shall even then have scarcely said enough to satisfy our own sense of the author's merits, and our high estimate of the work he has produced. Every part of it shows deep and indefatigable research, a thorough acquaintedness with all the sources of information bearing upon his subject, consummate caution, acuteness, and impartiality, with an independence of mind which has released him from all the shackles of favorite masters and dominant schools. He displays no bias but to discover the truth, to perfect the text, and to give preponderance to the best arguments and purest authorities.

We shall not attempt to verify the judgment we have pronounced, by citations which could scarcely be intelligible when taken from the course of argument to which they belong. We shall not do this, because we feel confident that the work will be eagerly perused by all who are anxious to obtain correct and comprehensive information upon the subjects of which it treats, and because we are quite satisfied that the perusal of the book will fully substantiate all we have stated. We shall merely present to our readers a short passage from the Lectures on the nature of the Hebrew language, premising that it is only an introductory paragraph, and must appear imperfect by being separated from the copious and learned illustration that follows.

'In entering upon this subject I might occupy myself with a preliminary inquiry concerning the *antiquity* of the Hebrew language. Whether it was the *original* language of mankind is a question that has been frequently discussed at considerable length. There was a time when 'the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech;' and it is an instructing inquiry to trace the relation between this universal language and that dialect which was afterward spoken by Abraham and his posterity. That there was an intimate connexion between the original language of men, and that afterwards called the Hebrew, is supported by all the evidence that can be obtained on such a question. From all the considerations we are able to bring together, we are led to believe that the dialect of the Israelites was substantially the same with that of the original parents of mankind. As far as we are able to judge from historical data, there was only one language spoken in western Asia, among the different dialects of which the Hebrew claims the pre-eminence in point of antiquity. It is not my present design to detail the various presumptions which appear to establish, with tolerable certainty, the truth of the opinion just stated. I pass on to consider the nature of the language itself, as a written dialect; and the various aspects which it presented at different times.

'In thus attempting to develop the nature of the Hebrew, we must compare it with its kindred dialects, to perceive the points of resemblance existing between them. Its features are to be traced in the alterations it has successively undergone, or as they still bear the impress of its early origin; and by contrasting them with those of the Shemitish languages, we will *(shall)* better perceive the peculiarities of the Hebrew no less than its high claims to great antiquity. It must be evident to all that this dialect is limited in *forms,* not only in reference to its grammatical structure and diction, but also to its entire range. Its forms are not developed in the greatest perfection. But this deficiency may be attributed in part to the character of the oriental mind, which regarded the substance itself rather than the form in which it should be presented. Another consideration should be kept in view as also influencing the genius of the Hebrew language. The tendency of the Jewish literature was exclusively religious. The language must therefore have been, in a great measure, confined to a par-

ticular circle of ideas, to which its modes of expression were necessarily adapted. The Hebrews attended rather to the idea than to its dress—to the essence of that with which the mind was occupied, more than to the garb in which it was clothed. Hence the form does not seem to be so ductile, or willing to follow the ideas, as in other languages; neither is the thought so definitely expressed. But, although the cultivation and development of this dialect was regarded as a matter of minor importance, yet we are not to suppose that it was destitute of scope for such expansion. On the contrary, it was possessed of the finest facilities for full and copious development. The Arabic shows how such germs as are contained in the Hebrew might have been nurtured and expanded, so as to exhibit a rich variety of forms, though the latter never reached that high degree of perfection, for which it was so well adapted by its internal character. The roots, or primitives of the language, were augmented and modified in various ways. When the naked idea contained in the root is coupled in conception with certain minute modifications, the root assumes a certain form suited to each of these shades or variations of signification. Hence arises what is denominated the *stem*, consisting of the root in a state of flexion, as adapted to the delicate distinctions connected with the original simple idea it before implied. In the further progress of the language, the words, as they now actually exist, proceeded as *branches* from the stem. Originally, all roots were monosyllabic. This was the most ancient mode of writing. Afterwards they became triliteral. As soon as the language began to proceed beyond its rudest and simplest elements, its roots must have been lengthened, and they gradually became triliteral. A few have extended to four firm sounds, and even to five, but the compass of three sounds was the regular fixed limit of augmentation. Hence the roots are almost all triliteral; and it is now impossible to trace them up to their monosyllabic state.'—pp. 260, 261.

We trust all our readers who are interested in the subjects of the present volume will gratify themselves by its perusal; and that wherever it may be yet unknown among our dissenting colleges or students, it may forthwith be made a *vade-mecum* to the theological class. The contents of innumerable volumes, and the cream of numberless controversies, will be found admirably compressed within the compass of this moderate-sized octavo. The only defect, and that not of much importance certainly, but still a disfigurement to a book of such admirable skill and learning, in the recurrence of those Scotticisms which we suppose our northern neighbors think it beneath them to correct. We cannot presume that Dr. Davidson is one of that class, otherwise we should recommend him to let one of the commonest of English correctors of the press read over the work before it goes to another edition. But we feel quite sure that a very small share of his attention, devoted to English grammar and idiom, would set this matter right.

Art. III. *The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome, during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Leopold Ranke, Professor in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by Sarah Austin. 3 vols. London: Murray, 1840.

THIS highly important and interesting book undertakes to develop the changing fortunes of the Papacy during two critical centuries, the sixteenth and the seventeenth. It opens with a rapid sketch of the rise and establishment of the papal power, in the first fifteen centuries; and it terminates with a brief outline of its history down to the present day. We have no work in our language expressly devoted to the same task, nor have our historians had access to a large number of important manuscripts, which were submitted to the inspection of Professor Ranke; in Berlin, Vienna, Venice, and in the great libraries (but *not* the papal library) at Rome. It would indeed be requisite to toil through many separate histories of the different countries of Europe, in order to collect and continue the outward history of European religion, as it is here presented to us. Nor is it the lowest recommendation of Ranke's work, that its reputation for learning and impartiality has seemed to make it worth while to execute a perverted French translation of it, in favor of the Romish side; an unfairness which the author feels painfully. The English version, by Mrs. Sarah Austin, has been perused and approved by him. 'An English lady,' says he, 'must redress 'the wrong which has been done to me in France.'

Most of us are better acquainted with the early history of the Reformation in Germany, than with its after progress; and when we consider that the human mind in Europe cannot have gone back since the sixteenth century, and how much harder it seems to take the first step as a reformer than to follow in the track of others, it is a natural subject of wonder to many that the Reformation stopped where it did. This book explains the causes of it; which are not indeed by any means profound and hidden, contrary as the fact is to what we might have expected. It is indeed a tale which makes the heart bleed; bitter, bitter instruction. Our forefathers have eaten the sour grape, to gain for us palatable and wholesome food. How plainly does the whole history set forth, that the love of power will shrink at no cruelties, and will never want religious justifications; and that there is no cure for these atrocities, but by yielding to every man the full, entire liberty of conscience, which we ask for ourselves. Yes, to *every* man; we repeat it; we must not except those who *seem to us* blasphemers, atheists, or whatever is worse. Constitute the civil power a judge of blasphemy, and the measures of the Inquisition become justifiable.

We cannot pretend to criticise in detail the professor's work; its established reputation justifies us in assuming its accuracy, on all the points upon which we have no means of better information; and we think our readers will not be displeased, if we lay before them some outline of the history, guided, for the most part, by his materials.

In the early world each nation had a partial civilization of its own, purely national and isolated, and bound up with certain national religions, the fruit of particular localities. Hence, to cast off one's religion, was in those ages to cast off one's country, to act the traitor to the state. As in Judaism, idolatry was treason against Jehovah, and punishable with death, so in every state of antiquity, to leave the national religion was a treasonable act. To subvert the national creed, was to subvert the state; to question it, was to sap the foundations of patriotism. Thus *persecution of apostates* was the universally received system in all known nations, approved alike by the statesman, the moralist, and the priest.

The enlightened policy of the Roman government, at first went a great way to break down this. To mould into one so many states, they carefully protected the religious rites of each, when not cruel and horrible to nature. But when special superstitions were transported beyond their own limits, and ceremonies the most discordant were celebrated, side by side, in the same metropolis, they destroyed each other's credit; and general unbelief became widely diffused. On the blending of so many nations into one empire, the old separate religions were no longer in appearance useful; they were a wall of separation, not a wall of strength. In this 'fulness of times' Christianity was preached, as an extra-political religion; separating the things of Cæsar from the things of God, which had never before been done. The Church and State were now no longer one. The personal responsibility of each separate conscience to God was proclaimed, and religion was made a right and a duty of the individual. Such was the great revolution in thought, introduced by the preaching of the apostles.

Meanwhile, Rome had been setting up a new universal religion that should bind together all their subjects, in the worship of the emperor's own image.* The obstinate resistance of the Christians to all such practices was treated as a seditious principle, and was punished more and more cruelly, in the vain hope of crushing it. At last, as we know, the Christian cause triumphed somehow; paganism was nearly suppressed within the empire, when the

* To this, in the opinion of many enlightened commentators, the Apocalypse alludes, under the title of 'worshipping *the beast and his image*.'

invaders from the north overturned the whole fabric of society. The Church had previously been rent in twain by factions; and miserably depraved by fanatical asceticism; she now had to struggle for her existence. One nation alone of the barbarians in the fifth century embraced the doctrine of Rome; namely, the rising German confederation, called Franks; all others were pagans or Arians. In these times, national bonds hardly existed; but sectarian agreement stood in the place of patriotic union. Accordingly Clovis, the Frank, gained great military advantage from his new profession, and was named the eldest son of the Church. From this time forward, the Frankish monarchs stood forth as the great patrons of Romish Christianity. Charles Martel, in the tremendous battle near Tours, saved all Europe from the Mahommedan yoke; Pepin his son, and Charlemagne, the son of Pepin, first bestowed on the pope a temporal sovereignty in Italy. The history of the popedom, in a political aspect, may be dated from the era when Charlemagne was crowned in Rome, A.D. 800.

But the Carlovingian line presently lost its energy; and its power passed over to the Germans. In the tenth century, Otho the Great invaded Italy, occupied Rome, deposed the pope, and took into his own hands the nomination to the pontifical office. This did but crown all that had been previously habitual to the German princes, who in each newly-conquered province appointed bishops instead of barons or dukes, merely as a more efficient means of governing and civilizing them. Various minor efforts were made by the papacy, to escape this bondage; but the energy of the German emperors unflinchingly upheld that essential prerogative of their crown, the right of ecclesiastical appointments. At length, the minority of Henry IV. offered a tempting opportunity to the daring and haughty pope, Gregory VII., the celebrated Hildebrand. He commenced the much-famed struggle for *investitures*, which convulsed the whole empire, and indeed all Christendom. His strength lay with the aristocracy of Germany, whose pretensions he in part favored, yet it was not for him to achieve the triumph he sought. Many years of blood were needed, ere the popes finally effected their emancipation, and established the principle that the clergy of the West must look to the supposed successor of St. Peter as their earthly head. In the beginning of the twelfth century, the monarchs were enfeebled, and the pope at the height of power over the whole continent. Only in England did our first Norman kings steadily maintain their prerogative against his encroachments. The rising crusades knit all Christendom together, and made it conscious of its common faith; an event of vast importance for the consolidation of the pope's dominion. Soon after, our cruel and contemptible king John received England from him as a fief, for which he was to pay homage; Arragon was transferred to him by its king, Naples

was given over into his hands. It was an age of enthusiasm, and must (in the eyes of devout Romanists) appear the most glorious period which history has recorded. So stood matters in the thirteenth century.

The decided ascendency of the Roman ecclesiastical power during the two centuries of the crusades, has had vast influence on Europe. It has impressed upon us those common features which make *Christendom* different from the rest of the world. Happening at the time when Spain was being re-conquered from the Moors, and when Christianity was pressing to her farthest limits over Prussia and Poland, it united almost all Europe into a single system. Russia was as yet unthought of, unknown, and thoroughly barbarous. Whether we have paid too high a price for 'Europeanism,' is a separate question; but that it has been principally produced by the papacy, must be admitted.

But in the fourteenth century, internal stability of governments had lasted long enough to produce fixed national languages, and with them a sense of national existence. So long as Latin had been the sole cultivated tongue, the ecclesiastical element predominated in all literature, and the priesthood had a practical monopoly of the higher posts of legislature and administration. The rise of English poetry, the use of English in our courts of law, the assembling of English parliaments, are but symptomatic of the change simultaneously working over all Europe; viz. *the development of nationality.* An immediate result was, a jealousy of foreign influence, and determined opposition to the papal claims. All readers of English history know with how much spirit our parliaments under Edward III. checked the encroachments of Rome; but all may not be aware that it was a truly European phenomenon. The French nation was the first to resist Boniface VIII.; the German electors were next; England was third in awakening to her rights. A schism in the papacy itself followed, which, by reason of the obstinacy of the antipopes, the ecclesiastical power could not terminate. Then came the celebrated council of Constance, by which the pope was deposed, and important restrictions imposed on the new pontiff; an event, which accustomed men to the thought, that he was not, after all, infallible. The secular authority now seemed to be the real arbiter of spiritual questions.

Thenceforward proceeded the steady *aggrandisement of monarchy* and centralization in Europe; until, at the end of the fifteenth century, the barons were generally subjected to the crown, and the pope was looked on politically rather than spiritually. It would have been inconvenient to a European prince to be at enmity with him, because it was hard to calculate how the clergy might behave if the quarrel were personal, not national; but the jealousy which, in the preceding age was felt by the nation, was

now concentrated in the bosom of the monarch. The outward decorum paid to the pope, might have seemed to indicate that his power was as absolute as ever; but time had wrought a silent revolution; and it was quite certain that the national churches must in any case have emancipated themselves from his intrusion, whenever it passed beyond the limit at which it was felt to be beneficial. The sovereigns had clearly learned, that temporal affairs were not within the province of priests, and universally declined to obey the pope farther than they found it convenient.

But so eminently was this the era of monarchical growth, that the popes themselves were infected with the example, and in the last half of the fifteenth century were busy about nothing so much as to found an Italian empire. Greek literature had been recently imported into Italy by the learned men who fled from Constantinople when it fell into the hands of the Ottomans; the rage for classical Latin was already at its height, and cardinals were projecting it as a valuable work to rewrite the old papal bulls into a Ciceronian idiom. The learned Italians sympathised so intensely with the ancients, and despised so thoroughly the impostures passed off as religion, that infidelity was widely spread; and the pope found no check in public opinion against his assuming the air of a mere secular prince. So little restraint did the clerical profession place on any of them, that it excited not a whisper of disapproval that these men, who were too holy to marry, had avowed sons and grandsons. The son of Innocent VIII. was married to the daughter of Lorenzo de Medici, 'the magnificent;' the son of Alexander the VI. was a monster whom we must more particularly notice; the grandsons of Paul III. broke his heart by rebellion. When such things were too common to excite reproof or wonder, the affairs of the church were likely to be administered with barefaced secularity. Ecclesiastical offices were conferred for any or every reason rather than the spiritual fitness of the receiver; direct payment of money for them was far from uncommon; the purchaser was of course greedy to indemnify himself by every extortion: children were made bishops and cardinals; the pope's sons or nephews* were always first to be provided for, and (when it was to be had) a dukedom was still better than a bishopric. Sixtus IV. (1471—1484) conceived the plan of founding a principality for his nephew Girolamo in the rich and beautiful plains of Romagna; but the Medici of Florence were in his way. Most opportunely, a conspiracy was formed by a Florentine family, the Pazzi, to assassinate both brothers on the steps of the cathedral altar. Guliano de Medici was killed, but Lorenzo escaped. The father of the faithful, careless that all the world believed him an accomplice in the murder, proceeded to excom-

* Hence the term *nepotism.*

municate Lorenzo, and laid an interdict on the whole territory of Florence. Hostilities followed, in which the pope induced the Venetians to join him; but when he found it convenient to make peace, he excommunicated all Venice, because they persisted in the war. In Rome he acted the usual policy of despots against an aristocracy, ferociously and treacherously murdering the noble Colonnas, the political opponents of Girolamo.—His successor, Innocent VIII. gave but a short respite to Italy; for in 1492 the ambitious sensualist Alexander VI. began his impudent career. He and his son, Cæsar Borgià, having conquered their opponents by help of the Orsini family, and others of the Guelf faction, entrapped their own supporters with long-calculated falsehood, and put them to death in cold blood. But Cæsar tyrannised over his father too. He murdered his brother, and threw his body into the Tiber, because the father was fond of him. For the same offence he hired assassins to stab his brother-in-law on the palace steps; but the wounds not being mortal, Cæsar himself burst into the chamber, where his sister was nursing her sick husband, and had the unfortunate prince strangled before his eyes. Alexander had another favorite, named Peroto; whom Cæsar remorselessly stabbed to death, while clinging to the pope's side for protection, and hiding under his mantle. The blood gushing out sprinkled the pope's face. But he was too deeply drenched in innocent blood himself to have any redress, and Cæsar remained pre-eminent in Italy while his father lived. To signalize the end of such a reign, the pope died by eating a poisoned dish, which he had intended for one of the cardinals.

One more scandal, different in kind, was yet to be added. Pope Julius II. laboured to extend the papal dominion in Italy for the benefit of the papacy itself, not for the aggrandisement of his own family; and, bold in his comparative innocence, appeared himself at the head of his troops as their general. At the storming of Mirandola, the aged pontiff marched through the breach over the frozen ditches. By his military talents and indefatigable exertions, he reduced the fairest part of Italy under his power; and, as Machiavelli observed, 'caused even a king of France to stand 'in awe of it.'

Such was the state of things when the sixteenth century dawned upon Europe, destined to open a new conflict, and work changes wholly unsuspected. The time of the struggle divides itself into four principal eras. The *first* begins with Luther's preaching in 1517, and ends with the decisions of the council of Trent, in 1562. This is the spring-tide of the Reformation, in which it overwhelmed Germany, Hungary, and Transylvania; prevailed very decisively in Scotland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Holland, Poland; in England and Switzerland gained the upper hand; was very vigorous in France, highly promising in Italy,

and far from hopeless in Spain. The *second* era marks a time of powerful re-action, commencing from the southern peninsulas. In these, protestantism was thoroughly extinguished; while a large part of Germany, Hungary, Savoy, and most of Switzerland, was recovered to Rome. In France, the Huguenots were repressed; in England, the Reformation stood its ground with difficulty; in Holland it triumphed over fearful odds, after a tremendous conflict. This era lasts from 1562 to 1588, when the Spanish armada was destroyed in the attempt to invade England. A *third* era is to be computed from the resuscitation of jealousy against Spain; the rise of odium against the Jesuits, and of national feeling in the Gallican church. A *fourth*, less distinctly marked off from the third, may be dated from the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, 1617. This is the last grand effort of Romanism, to win kingdoms by war; and it was foiled by the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swede. Since that time, the decay of Spain, and the aggrandisement of France, under Louis XIV., thoroughly changed the policy of Europe; making the balance of power seem more important than Catholic interests. Our author does not pursue the history with any minuteness through the 17th century.

We intend to state, somewhat more in detail, the events which, under each of these four eras, contributed chiefly to the grand result.

I. It has been seen, how, in the opening of the 16th century, all Europe seemed ripe for separation into national churches. The monarchs secretly longed for a result which alone was wanting to the consolidation of their despotic power; no small part of their enmity to the reforming preachers was that these appealed to the people, not to their rulers. But for some time, the tendency of the Reformation towards democracy was not suspected; more particularly, because Luther, understood far better than his coadjutors and their followers, the separation of civil and ecclesiastical power. This great man leaned probably towards high monarchical sentiments in politics, while upholding freedom of conscience in religious matters; and to the sharp separation which he drew between the two spheres, it is doubtless to be ascribed, that he has the honourable distinction of having always opposed religious persecution, under whatever name or pretence. So far were the German princes at first from discouraging rebellion against the pope, that the emperor Maximilian specially recommended Luther to the elector of Saxony, saying that 'he might be of use to them some time or other.' Nor were the Italian statesmen slow to impute to the emperor Charles, that he fostered Luther in order to have a check upon the pope. Indeed, Germany was suffering more than other countries from papal exactions; for grievances there remained unabated, which the energy of our first and third Edwards had stopped in England. The higher clergy were often

Italians, and the whole order was exempt from taxes, and from the ordinary civil tribunals; meanwhile their courts had contrived to draw into themselves a vast proportion of causes. So well prepared were men's minds, by all these excesses, that the Reformation poured over Germany, as it were of itself, with immense rapidity. No regulated societies, like the Jesuits, no orders of preachers under central superintendence, were needed to propagate it. The *negative* doctrine, disbelief in the pope and in all the paraphernalia of popery, spread far and wide beyond the limit reached by the preaching of the *positive* doctrines of the reformers. The universities also became Protestant, and no defenders of Romanism were reared. The monks and priests who clung to the old church, were generally the most ignorant, and quite behind their age; nearly all the erudition, as well as the earnestness of enthusiasm, lay with the Reformers. The same general description will apply, but with rather less force, to the Reformation in England, so far as it was not an event of court policy. In neither country was there, at this early stage, any attempt made to alter the hierarchical features of the church, or to lessen the temporal power. Nay, the grand reproach of the Lutheran church, as of the Anglican, has been on the opposite side: each has been too supple and cringing towards the civil authorities.

The case was altered when Calvin came upon the stage of Europe. This celebrated man published his Institutes in the year 1534, when only 25 years of age; a work which immediately found immense circulation, and exercised great influence. It was the first which endeavored to exhibit an entire syllabus of the doctrines of the reformers, and gained great attention for the author. In 1541, he was invited to Geneva, to carry into effect that reform in their church which he had before proposed; a task which he executed with promptitude and strictness. The closest union here was kept up between Church and State; church discipline was inflicted under the sanction of public authority. He labored incessantly, and with vast effect, to make Geneva the mother church of Protestantism, a pattern of government and of doctrine for all to follow. Not only was this rule secretly felt to be oppressive by many who dared not resist; he gave warning of tyranny by a terrible act of cruelty against a brother reformer, who went beyond him in innovation. Servetus was but passing through the country, with no intention to reside in it, yet Calvin intercepted, and burned him alive, for Arianism. From the same school came Knox, the disciple and intimate friend of Calvin; and hundreds beside, who spread the Puritanical views in Britain; the Protestantism of southern France was wholly Calvinistic. Great as is the debt of the Reformation to Calvin and the Puritans, we know not whether their good has not been outweighed by their

evil; for while professing to exhibit the reformed doctrines in fuller development than the Lutherans, they merged the state in the church as entirely as papists could have done. They held a priestly or (what is now called) a theocratic government. Orthodoxy gave them a right to demand, that the civil authority should perpetrate their edicts of persecution. This is the spirit which marred the prospects of the British churches in the seventeenth century; and how intense it was, we may judge, when the mild Baxter could declare that toleration was a most dangerous device of the devil.

It cannot be doubted that the sovereigns were made thoughtful at an early period, by the democratic tendency of institutions which vested the government of churches in the body of Christians. Early popular commotions in Germany must have forced this on their attention. The emperor Charles was moved through almost his whole life, by mere reasons of temporary policy. In the opening of his reign, he apprehended war with Francis I. of France; hence he tried to gain over the pope, by pretending to call Luther to account. Afterwards, when war had broken out between him and Clement VII., it is not wonderful that an emperor who could keep the pope prisoner, and order prayers to be publicly offered for his deliverance, should connive at the spread of the reformed principles. But when Charles found his reputation in all Europe to be endangered by his hypocritical profaneness, and it seemed to be his interest to conciliate the pope; then he assumed a show of orthodoxy, and declared his determination to suppress the new opinions. His haughty behaviour towards independent princes (for such the German electors were), led to the celebrated league of Smalkalde, in which those princes guaranteed to defend their honor, station, and liberty of conscience, against his unconstitutional and unjust encroachments. *But this was the crisis which decided the house of Austria for ever after to become the inveterate foes of Protestantism.* The league proved so powerful as to frighten and humble the emperor; who could then be satisfied with nothing but to trample out every spark of the religion which had originated this formidable union.

The king of France was the creature of impulse, as were so many monarchs of that line. He did the greatest service to the Reformation, by making Geneva a free city, in his spite against the duke of Savoy; nor did he take part against the reformers, except when ill-tempered, or low-spirited, or when he thought his honor to be insulted by them. He was, by bursts, an inhuman persecutor; yet he first assisted the league of Smalkalde, and afterwards became a public ally of Maurice of Saxony, then the champion of the Protestants; and thus was instrumental to the treaty of Passau, 1552, the Magna Charta of German Protestantism. Nevertheless, the Reformation, as it developed itself,

armed the French monarchy against it. As it spread over the provinces of the south, it afforded a new principle for the basis of liberty, and it was joined speedily by malcontent nobles. In fact, in France the Huguenot body soon made pretensions equivalent to a partition of the monarchy, and the contest was purely a civil one. As for orthodoxy, the French court seems never to have cared many straws about it.

How matters stood in England we know very well. The king determined to be pope himself, as resolutely as did queen Elizabeth afterwards; yet, as he acted by impulses and not steadily, the reformed doctrine went on and won its way, though not so fast as in Germany.

Meanwhile, the popes were in a most embarrassing position. As Italian princes, they desired a balance of power to be maintained between their puissant neighbours; and were necessarily terrified by the vast extent of dominion under the emperor Charles. By a chain of royal marriages, this young monarch inherited the thrones of Spain, Burgundy, the Netherlands, Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily; beside unknown and extending empires in the New World. He had been elected emperor of Germany, a post of ill-defined power, but great dignity, and he had obtained for his brother Ferdinand the title of king of the Romans (or second in the empire), with the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. Not satisfied with all this, he was ever busied to add Milan to his possessions. How could the pope help trembling for his Italian principalities? It was a crisis for all Italy, which felt that it was being swallowed up by Spain; and in the year 1526 they made a great effort for national emancipation. All was in vain. The Germans poured over the Alps,—all Protestants,—headed by George Frundsberg, who threatened 'to hang the pope in Rome.' His illness gave over the command to the constable Bourbon, a deserter from France, who unscrupulously marched to plunder the metropolis of Christendom. He was slain while scaling the wall; but his troops captured the city, and pillaged it with all ruthless and wanton atrocity. They blockaded the pope in his castle of St. Angelo, nor would the emperor release him without ransom. We cannot wonder, that after this, the court of Rome was never reconciled to this bad ambitious man, and rejoiced yet more in his humiliation, than in a triumph over the Protestants. In consequence, this same pope, Clement VII., negociated a secret treaty with the king of France, for the support of the German Protestant princes against the emperor, which ended in their extorting the peace of Kadan, the first great measure securing church property to the Protestants. In 1545 also, when the emperor was gaining great advantages over the Smalkaldians, pope Paul III. again, in much alarm, urged Francis 'to support those who were 'not yet beaten.'

England also was lost to the popedom, in no small measure from the secular position of the pontiff. The first schism was caused when Clement feared to disoblige the emperor, if he had consented to the divorce of the queen of England, the emperor's aunt. The second time, on Elizabeth's accession, Paul IV. took decided part against her, and alienated her for ever, partly from his passionate hatred of the house of Austria, partly to gratify the brothers of the house of Guise, who hoped to set their niece, Mary Stuart, on the English throne.

When political and religious interests were so complicated, it is not to be wondered at that no consistent and decided efforts were practicable on the part of Romish potentates, for repressing the Reformation; yet, if not repressed by force, it spread of itself. Only in Italy could the popes exercise direct authority; and, as early as the year 1542, they put the tremendous Inquisition into activity against all suspected of heresy. With this exception, no systematic efforts were made by the sovereigns during the whole reign of the emperor Charles; and accordingly, this is the era of Protestant progression. But meanwhile, the old church was summoning up her forces to the conflict: an internal process of reform, and would-be regeneration, was going on within her, of which we must give some account.

The intellectual tendency of the age had deepened theological study, and religious feeling; so that Italy herself produced not only elegant scholars, but men of profound thought, indignant at the desecration of holy things, and many of them decidedly agreeing with Luther as to the grand doctrine of justification, and its main dogmatic consequences. They formed themselves into a spiritual society* for common edification, and met, to the number of fifty or sixty, in one of the churches at Rome, most of them being men of high birth and superior literary acquirements. Eminent in this body was Gaspar Contarini, from whose writings our author gives several interesting extracts.

'The gospel,' says he in one of his letters, 'is no other than the blessed tidings, that the only-begotten Son of God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the Eternal Father. He who believes this, enters into the kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal, he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience.'
—Vol. i. p. 139.

This belief like a literary tendency or opinion (adds our author) spread over a great part of Italy. Pope Paul III., immediately

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* Named, The Oratory of Divine Love.

on his accession (1534) made this Contarini a cardinal, and, at his suggestion, summoned into the college likewise other distinguished men, most of them members of the spiritual society above spoken of. By this honorable act, so different from the conduct of former popes, Paul III. laid a foundation for reconciliation with the German reformers. The cardinals commenced a vigorous war against all abuses, and by the pope's command drew up a scheme of church reform. Contarini pressed his views by numerous essays, written in a free and evangelical spirit, and finally undertook the office of papal legate to confer with the Protestant leaders at Ratisbon. The pope, however, did not dare to commit to him the full powers which he wished, and which the emperor demanded. Hence, although the two parties came to a full agreement on all doctrinal points, all proved in vain. Luther suspected fraud; the cardinals at Rome violently opposed Contarini's views of justification; the pope, the French, and the Germans themselves, feared that the emperor would become absolute, if intestine religious quarrels among his people were extinguished, and, by the united result of these causes, the conference of Ratisbon broke up.

Eleven years passed before this same pope opened the council at Trent, so long promised. The proceedings of this celebrated council belong to two separate eras, 1545 and 1562. In the earlier, they built up an entire corpus of divinity, fundamentally opposed to the principles of the Reformers, as to justification and all the kindred topics. Contarini was no more; his successor Cardinal Pole (also one of 'the oratory of divine love,') was, however, his ardent admirer. Yet the legate, and his coadjutor the archbishop of Siena, with other champions of moderate opinions, were entirely overpowered at the council; and quitted prematurely, fearing that their own faith would be the object of attack. Thus were Protestant doctrines definitely and finally rejected from Romanism, and conciliation for ever rendered impossible.

The council did not effectively resume its sittings until the beginning of the year 1562, when, with great effort and much sincerity, Pius IV. assembled it to deliberate on reform; which was now the sole topic. Most strikingly did their discussions illustrate the tendency of Europe to assume the organization of independent national churches. Each of the three nations had its own complaints, and its own views. The Spaniards contended that the episcopal authority was not a mere emanation from the papal, but was an independent divine appointment. The German ambassadors, in the name of the emperor Ferdinand, demanded that the plan of the council of Constance should be adopted as the basis of reform. Besides, he claimed the cup for the laity, permission for the priests to marry, dispensation from fasting, the erection of schools for the poor, improvement of the liturgies, of the

catechisms, and of church music, and a stringent reformation of the convents. One of the articles which he proposed, was thus expressed: 'It were to be wished that the pope should humble 'himself according to the example of Christ, and submit to a 'reform affecting his own person, his dominions, and his cabinet. 'The council must reform the nomination of cardinals as well as 'the conclave.' Ferdinand used to say, 'As the cardinals are not 'good, how can they choose a good pope?' And on this occasion he pressed for the discussion of his articles in repeated letters.

Guise, cardinal of Lorraine, at the head of the French prelates, seconded the above. He further demanded that the public services should be celebrated in French, and that preaching should be introduced at the mass; letters also, which he brought from the king, strongly urged some of his requests. Moreover, the French clergy revived the decrees of the council of Basle, and openly asserted that the authority of a council was superior to that of the pope. All three nations cordially agreed in resisting the established order, according to which no one but the papal legate had a right to originate measures before the council.

In this state of things, very ample changes might have been expected. But the Italian prelates outnumbered and outvoted those of the other three nations; and made it an unprincipled contest for power. The sittings of the council lingered on for ten months, and the bitterest animosity arose. Now was the time for the sovereigns to secede, and to erect separate reforms for themselves in their respective nations! At length, fearing that nothing would be done, they allowed themselves to be talked over by the subtlety of Morone, the papal legate. This clever politician managed to content them with compromises, and with ambiguous reservations. He persuaded Philip II. that the Spanish clergy would be dangerous to him, if they were allowed to become independent of the pope; and meanwhile the French ministry, the Guises, aiming to put their niece, Mary of Scots, on the English throne, desired to make demonstrations of Catholic zeal. The divines also were wearied out with the tedious stay, and were ready to agree to any thing decent, in order to return home. Delicate questions, which would have compromised the interests of the higher powers,—the pope, cardinals, and sovereigns, —were evaded by Morone's address; and so much of reform as struck only against inferior offenders was at length carried triumphantly. The canonical rights of the pope over bishops, and of bishops over their inferiors, were defined with as much severity as was needed to check all practical licentiousness. The proclamation at the end of the sittings was drawn up by Cardinal Guise, and contained a distinct recognition of the pope's ecclesiastical supremacy.

The practical reforms are thus summed up by our author:

'The faithful were again subjected to severe and uncompromising church discipline, and, in pressing cases, to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded in which the young clergy were carefully educated in austere habits, and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, strict rules laid down for the administration of the sacrament and for preaching, and the co-operation of the regular clergy governed by fixed laws. The duties of their office, especially the supervision of the clergy, were strongly impressed upon the bishops, according to the several degrees of their consecration. They also solemnly bound themselves by a peculiar profession of faith (which they subscribed, and to which they swore), to observe the decrees of the council of Trent, and to render entire obedience to the pope. A measure, the consequences of which were most important.'—Vol. i. p. 357.

The council had laid down the law; this would have been useless, had not a new spirit arisen, willing to apply the law. The light which had been kindled in the opening of this century, had put to shame the secularity and impurity of the whole system. While some nobler and more enlightened spirits, with Contarini and Pole, sought to deepen the grounds of religion, and shed its influence over the heart first; there were many more who aimed at outward improvement without any renewing of spiritual principles. The first overt manifestation of this was in the rise of *new religious orders.* We need not speak in detail of minor attempts to reform the Camaldolites and Franciscans; nor of the new orders, called Theatins, Di Somasca, Barnabites—a sort of regular clergy with monks' vows; for all these are forgotten, in comparison with the Jesuits, the new order founded by Ignatius Loyola.

He was a noble Spanish knight, at an early age disabled by severe wounds. Having betaken himself to imaginative devotional contemplations, his misery became unbearable, under a sense that his heart was still in the world, which he was trying to leave. He escaped at length from his torment by learning (as he thought) to distinguish between the good and evil spirits which had access to his mind; and now he gave himself up to enthusiastic visions, which formed the whole of his religion. But he retained the old habit of a soldier, regarding *obedience* as the first of duties, and unswervingly held to the principle of absolute submission to the pope.

We must only concisely add, that he at length went to Rome with the young friends who had enthusiastically bound themselves to him, and that they there assumed the title, *The Company of Jesus.* Several times they were molested by the charge of heresy, but succeeded in obtaining absolution. The austerity of their lives, their zeal in teaching, their attendance on the sick, attracted numerous followers; their organization rapidly advanced, and the whole body resolved, *first,* to elect their general for life;

next, to vow that they would perform whatever the pope should lay on them, without discussion, condition, or reward!

It was impossible for the court of Rome to decline such allies; and in 1543 they received an unconditional establishment. Their influence was first manifested in the early sittings of the council of Trent; where their energy defeated Cardinal Pole and the moderate party. The institution soon spread through Italy and Spain. They got rid, to a great extent, of useless ceremonies which wasted the time of the monks, and aimed at mastering every department of human knowledge. Very rapidly they took into their own hands the education of youth, and drove out of the field the more classical and pagan masters. In half a generation they thus revolutionised the taste of Italy. Admiration of classical architecture, and of the beauty of classical authors, came to an end; antiquity was now studied as a matter of erudition, not of taste. Society became stiffer, and more exclusive; classical simplicity was at an end. Literature became more decorous and more formal, and originality vanished.

In the year 1551, the Jesuits were invited by Ferdinand to Vienna, and with wonderful rapidity extended themselves over half of Germany. The favor of princes introduced them to the universities; and by diligence, zeal, order, formal erudition, and ostentatious austerity, they carried all before them. Without genius, originality, nor any deep and ingenuous piety, they monopolized education, and conquered German teachers on their own soil.

The ascetic spirit had also thrown more and more of its supporters into the cardinalate; and the bigot Caraffa urged the pope (Paul III.) to erect a universal tribunal called the Inquisition, after the model of that by which Ferdinand the Catholic had extirpated Moors in Spain. In 1542 the pope gave way to their representations, and to an express memorial from the hand of Ignatius Loyola. The cardinals Caraffa and Toledo were the first commissaries, and they proceeded without delay and without remorse, to perpetrate atrocities which have justly earned for the very name of the Inquisition the deepest hatred of Europe.

But the ascetic spirit presently reached the papacy itself. The first pope elected for his purity of morals, was the aged Adrian of Utrecht, tutor of Charles V. This was in 1522, and indicated a turn of the tide. In 1534, Paul III. set the example of electing cardinals who had no recommendation but personal merit. In 1555, the power of the strict party was remarkably manifested by the election of *two* popes of their side. The former, Marcellus II., died on the 22nd day, and the most austere of the cardinals, Caraffa, was chosen to succeed him. This old man was, as we have said, a vehement ascetic and a merciless bigot; but he had also been reared in an intense hatred of the house of Austria;

and by his furious attacks on the rights of sovereigns, he did the papacy no small damage. His successor, Pius IV., though no zealot, for ever put an end to the bold treasons against the estates of the church, in which the relatives of a pope had been used to indulge; for he executed, without trial, Cardinal Caraffa, nephew of the late pope, and five of his nearest relations. Thenceforward nepotism showed itself only in a more legal form. But Pius IV., though himself a man of the world, did more than his predecessor for the spread of stricter morals, first, by forcing the Council of Trent to a termination, secondly, by the influence of his nephew, Carlo Borromeo, a man of purest integrity and simple piety, who was practically his prime minister, and afterwards Archbishop of Milan. This pope also terminated the vain effort of the papacy to support itself *against* the sovereigns, and commenced the close union with the Spanish crown, which each power found to be so profitable. We see, therefore, why his reign is the era at which Protestantism came to a stand.

II. Now commences the dreadful reaction in its full tide of power. His successor, Pius V., carried the ascetic principle to its highest point; and exhibited in his own character the deplorable and instructive union of deep devotion, singular purity, humility, and unearthliness, with fanatical and most cruel bigotry. Archbishoprics and bishoprics gradually fell to the ascetic party; the Inquisition went on its merciless work in Spain and Italy. Carranga, archbishop of Toledo, who, after Pole, had done more than any man to restore Romanism in England, was put to death for heterodoxy on the subject of justification: the members of the Oratory of Divine Love were extirpated. Speculative philosophy and physical science were punished with like furious and cruel zeal. It was by the advice of this pope that Philip II. endeavored to impose the Romish faith on Holland by force of arms: he approved Alva's bloody measures, and sent him the consecrated hat and sword in token of his approbation. In his papacy the Huguenots were utterly defeated in France, and preparations were made for the treacherous massacre on St. Bartholomew's eve, which his successor, Pope Gregory XIII., sanctioned. Thus between the years 1566 and 1572, the bloody struggle was well nigh accomplished, by which Europe was divided, as it were for ever, into Catholic and Protestant powers.

In the year 1563, Pius IV. had encouraged Albert, duke of Bavaria, to enforce Romanism in his dominions, by a gift of one tenth of the property of the clergy. Thenceforward, the Catholic princes of Germany cooperated with the Jesuits with the utmost zeal; explaining away or violating the treaty of Passau, and many of them imitating the cruelties of Italy and Spain. The Austrian rulers were more mild and prudent; yet many important steps were there also taken in the same direction. Only in

two countries had Catholicism met a direct check: in Holland and in England. The bloody and atrocious acts which will ever stain the names of Philip and of Alva, did not subdue the brave Hollanders: the Invincible Armada effected nothing against England. So ended this second era.

It may well perplex a moralist to discuss whether Rome was better towards the close of the sixteenth than at the end of the fifteenth century. Red-handed crime and bold-faced libertinism were driven out of the priestly order at the later period. Decorum of conduct was requisite even for a cardinal or a pope; none were too high to feel public opinion. Dignity and seriousness were universal; and wickedness paid to virtue the tribute of hypocrisy. But ambition and avarice were as active as ever; dissimulation had changed its form, not its nature, nor its ends; cruelty might find its vent under the garb of religious zeal: all freedom of inquiry, in philosophy or in science, was stopt by the inquisition, and the Romish kingdoms appeared to be banded for ever in implacable hatred and war against the Protestant powers.

III. In the third era, France begins to assume a new aspect. The French court had recently outdone Alva in treacherous cruelty to Protestants. But the weakness of Henry III. stirred up the house of Guise to usurp the royal power, under pretence that the king was not zealous enough in the Catholic cause. A great league of malcontents was formed; the Spanish armies and the Jesuits took part against the crown. Now it was that the subtle casuistry of the latter began to develop itself, and their doctrine that it is lawful to assassinate kings was spread. Henry himself had the two brothers of Guise thus murdered; and immediately after, he also suffered the same fate, by the hand of a monk. The pope, the Spanish ambassador, and the whole party, were delighted at the event; but it opened the throne of France to Henry of Navarre, a Protestant whom the pope had excommunicated.

Endless were the intrigues now set on foot, tedious the civil war. Suffice it to say, that Henry prevailed, by the active help of the Huguenots and our Queen Elizabeth; and issued the famous edict of Nantes, for the protection of Protestants: that he won the hearts of his Catholic subjects, who zealously acknowledged him; that the pope would not absolve him, even when he professed Catholicism (for he was a heretic twice lapsed!), so the Gallican church received him without the pope's leave; and successfully asserted her independence. France became reconciled to herself, and enthusiastically national; while at Rome, two hostile factions, French and Spanish, were organized.

At the same time great jealousy arose against the domination of Spaniards among the Jesuits: and the pope made a Neapolitan of the French party, *general* of the order. The Spanish party

accused the new and rising faction of heresies akin to Pelagianism: the French people assailed the whole order for their king-killing doctrine, which was awfully illustrated in an attempt to assassinate Henry IV. The spell of their sanctity was broken, and it began to be understood that they were crafty politicians, unsound moralists, whom the sovereigns had cause to dread. They quarrelled also with the Inquisition, which had dared to arrest and judge one of their members.

The Spaniards at the same time offended the papal court deeply, by dictating to it concerning the elections of popes; by which they threw the pope into the arms of France for succor. Moreover, in the sage republic of Venice, arose formidable enemies to the court of Rome. Long irritation had been produced by the pope's invasion of their Italian territorial rights, as well as by his ecclesiastical pretensions, and Leonardo Donato was elected doge, the great opponent of the pope's temporal claims. All Venice was laid under an interdict, but the Venetians pronounced the bull *ipso facto* null and void, and none of the clergy would obey it. The papacy, which had seemed to itself at the pinnacle of power and glory, was aghast to find itself impotent against so small a state. It needed all the efforts of France and Spain united, to heal the pride of the combatants, and smooth over the surface of affairs. Still, the effect was great on Europe, especially as it gave immense interest to the treatises of Fra Paolo Sarpi (the impartial historian of the Council of Trent), on the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal sovereignty.

But, next to the failure of the Spanish Armada, the most important event of this period was the permanent vindication of Sweden from a Catholic yoke. Its king, Sigismund Augustus, having overturned the Protestant rights of Poland, thought to do the same with equal ease in Sweden, when by the death of her king he became the heir. His haughty conduct gave full warning of his intentions, which were opposed by constitutional and vigorous methods. At length he tried the fortune of war against his uncle, Duke Charles, leader of the Protestants, and was totally defeated. Lutheranism was permanently incorporated with the constitution, and Spain lost all hope of getting a Swedish port to facilitate her attempts on England, Holland, or, if chance so required, northern Germany. This important revolution was finished, A.D. 1600.

Still the Romish cause gained ground in this era. Poland was won back to the old system, although neither Protestantism nor the Greek faith could be wholly suppressed. In Germany also, the counter-reformation continued to work; always by the cooperation of the princes and Jesuits. Even at Gratz, the central point of the Protestant doctrine and interest, the Austrian princes reared under the Jesuits, determinately enforced the Romish

doctrine. Matters became so critical, as to produce a new *Union* of Protestant princes, when the Catholics alleged that the recess of Augsburg (which had expounded the treaty of Passau) was null and void. The Romanists dared not go forward, but both sides prepared for war.

It is evident that the ascetic impulse whence the counter-reformation had sprung, was already spent in most parts of Europe. In Spain and Italy, where it achieved its work most rapidly, it scarcely outlived the career of those who, like Philip II., had been young in its commencement. Yet the effects survived. Especially the pure and sainted life of Carlo Borromeo, and others of his school, as St. François de Sales, spread a new and better spirit across the Alps, and gave rise to a great internal regeneration in the French church and monasteries. The real piety and striking usefulness of the new Gallican saints, did more mischief to Protestantism in that country than the swords of their enemies had effected.

IV. The fourth era opens with the Thirty Years' War in Germany. In this period of dreadful confusion, warfare began first to be practised on a large scale, and with principles of modern science. The Lutheran princes ill supported the Calvinistic elector Palatine. France and Spain renewed their alliance; the imperial armies were triumphant; but just when the Protestants appeared to be swallowed up by their enemies, an unexpected door of deliverance was opened. The Spaniards had severely wounded the pope in his Italian interests, and the policy of Urban VIII. was decidedly anti-Austrian. He stirred up war on the side of France, and drew off the Austrian armies to another object. The power of the Emperor Ferdinand was already vast; should he utterly subdue the Protestant princes, what could withstand the house of Austria? It was no time for the pope to be over nice, and Cardinal Richelieu had no Catholic scruples. He called in the able and victorious Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to assail the emperor in the north: the pope was cognizant of the whole affair, and of the stipulations made with Gustavus. The Protestants had not been really subdued; they were ready rather to 'restore Germany once more to her ancient solitude and 'barbarism.' Italian intrigue pervaded all the empire, and won over the German princes. Among other victories of diplomacy, they induced the emperor to dismiss Wallenstein, his overbearing but victorious general.

Now properly the war commenced, A.D. 1625. Gustavus Adolphus for a time carried every thing before him, and seemed likely to become emperor of all northern Germany. It was known that the pope rejoiced in his success: but the furious protests of the Spaniards, Austrians, and even of the cardinals, had no effect on the violent and determined Urban. Gustavus fell

prematurely in his career of conquest, yet the war lingered on with dreadful atrocities, and, Cardinal Richelieu's armies distracting the emperor, neither party was strong enough to end it. The pope himself then impeded peace, by making inordinate claims at the very last; stubbornly enforcing the very things which the Protestants were fighting to avoid. At length a congress of the powers made peace in the very face of the papal nuncio, and against his protest. So strikingly did the theoretical rights of the papacy disable the pontiffs from retaining influence over the Catholic states!

Meanwhile, a vast effect was wrought both in France and on all Europe, by the administration of the ambitious Cardinal Richelieu. His incessant efforts were directed to suppress the political power of the Huguenots, and concentrate the entire force of the kingdom in the hands of the crown. He was not, properly speaking, a persecutor of the Protestants; for he granted them a certain toleration as soon as he had taken their last fortress. After this, he added his exertions to those of the English and Dutch, to wear out Spain by war. This country was already half ruined by misgovernment and by the oppressive effects of enslavement in mind and body; and continued rapidly to decay. With Spain fell all hope of more widely extended Romish domination in Europe. France soon showed a sufficiently anti-papal spirit. Louis XIV. appears to have loved to mortify the court of Rome, by denying and curtailing its privileges to the utmost; while he vindicated his orthodoxy by his cruel banishment of the Protestants.

The papal power meanwhile had internally decayed just as had that of Spain. Our author furnishes us with much new and valuable information on the finances of the popes and their internal administration, at which we can but glance.

When Julius II. first enlarged so greatly the territory of the popes, the estates of the church were more lightly taxed than any in Italy; and the municipal privileges of cities were reserved to them. It is in *this* form, and not in provincial parliaments, that liberty has ever shown itself in Italy. But in the sixteenth century, the popes contracted a vast national debt, and loaded their people with oppressive taxation. They gradually usurped the rights of the cities; and by trying to confiscate the estates of nobles under legal pretexts, brought on a dangerous intestine war of banditti, which perhaps has never since been perfectly suppressed. Each new pope founded a new noble family, which had to be provided for; and in spite of after acquisitions of territory, yet through their inordinate expenses,—in wars, in subsidies to the Germans, in educational and collegiate establishments, in architectural embellishments, in secret service money, and in gifts

of hard cash to their own relations,—through such causes they became more and more impoverished.

The state of Italy for nearly two centuries past, has convinced every politician in Europe, of whatever ecclesiastical sentiments, how baneful to that country is the government of the sovereign pontiff. In no other civilized land is the interest of rulers and subjects so little identified. The first object considered is not the benefit of the people, nor of any class; national interests can hardly exist; but to the aggrandisement of 'the church' all besides is sacrificed by the best intentioned of the popes. In more recent days, the papal revenue from without has been perpetually suffering curtailment. The Gallican finances are gone for ever; from South America and from Mexico little can now find its way to Rome; Spain and Portugal have ceased to furnish treasures; Austria was always parsimonious. From Italy alone must now be drained whatever the court of Rome can get for carrying on its wide schemes of conquest. Such indeed is the singular state of things, that the pope's person and kingdom might be endangered by the expulsion of English travellers from Rome; whose vast expenditure helps the public revenue, and enriches the shopkeepers.

The end of this important drama has not yet been seen. Without presumptuous speculation, we may believe that Romanism must not be destroyed till a better order of things is fully prepared. Had the Reformation thoroughly demolished the papal authority, national churches would probably have followed, and we might have been farther than ever from attaining liberty of conscience. The pope without, and the state within, have struggled to wrest from us the things which belong to God; and it is for our interest that neither of the usurpers should triumph. At this moment we behold popery in these kingdoms as a useful set off and antagonist to its facsimile in the Anglican church. Truly they are akin, yet their strife is implacable; they must ever wage war to the death. We take courage therefore in the midst of all such alarms, and believe that the hand of Providence will at length show that all these things have worked together for good to the true church universal of the living God.

Art. IV. *Justification as revealed in Scripture, in opposition to the Council of Trent and Mr. Newman's Lectures.* By James Bennett, D.D. 8vo. pp. 418. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1840.

OF the three greatest controversies by which the visible Christian Church has been agitated since apostolic times, it is somewhat remarkable that the one having Justification by Faith for its subject stands the latest in historic order. First arose the question concerning the person of the Son, branching into the many forms given to it by the Gnostic, Arian, Nestorian, Eutychian, Apollinarian, and other errors, filling with discord and distractions the eastern and western empires. It was forced, thus early, upon the church by the wild vagaries of oriental philosophy; while at the same time it had pleased the wisdom of the divine Author of inspiration to unfold the true doctrine in a form less exempt from cavil, because less defined and dogmatic, than some other truths of holy writ. A little later, when the decaying vigor of experimental piety in the church, and a less wakeful spiritual discernment, had prepared a field in which Pelagius might disseminate his heresies, came the important controversy respecting the grace of God in the renovation of man, with other related doctrines. But, if we except the agitation, in the days of the apostles, of the question concerning the observance of the Jewish law, which was settled by divine authority, the great subject of justification by grace, through faith, never assumed the aspect of a distinct and prominent discussion until the period of the Reformation, when it took its place as a leading and carefully defined article in the creed of all the reformed churches. Are we to ascribe this late development to the greater palatableness of the doctrine which Scripture teaches on this point to the pride and prejudice of men, than of those other truths whose early discussion had rent the Christian world in pieces? Certainly not: but perhaps to these two causes,—that on the subject of gratuitous justification the inspired Word has spoken with peculiar doctrinal decision,—while yet man's self-righteous mind, ingenious in error, has a strange facility in divorcing the doctrine from its practical bearings, so as that, while the form remains, the essential spirit may have fled. But when a truth is dead, it is within a step of being buried. The Scripture doctrine of justification, therefore, was not so likely to receive a direct denial in the early church as to vanish by a gradual obliteration. Accordingly, fallen as the western church was long before Luther's day, the course by which this article—*articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*—lost its place in the theology of Rome, was by the substitution of other inconsistent dogmas and superstitions in its stead. In the pope's

dealings with the great Reformer, his legate appeared willing to come to a compromise on the matter of justification, had Luther only promised to withdraw his opposition to indulgences: and it is improbable that even the anathemas of Trent would have been launched against it had it not become identified with the progress of that great reforming movement which Rome bent herself, with all her energies, to suppress.

The gradual obliteration of which we speak is marked with melancholy evidence in the history of successive centuries. From the first we fail to discover in the faith of the early church, —in so far as we can gather it from the writings of the fathers and the symbols, —that distinct doctrinal prominence of this grand truth which would have been some security against neglect and error, and would have formed the most effectual barrier against that irruption of montanism, and monachism, and penitential superstitions, which so soon deluged the church. In the hearts of all true believers, the doctrine dwelt, doubtless, in its vital energy, uniting them to Christ for acceptance; and there is enough in the writings of the fathers, from Clemens Romanus downwards, to furnish us with a valuable testimony against the corrupt doctrines of later times. But we look to them in vain for the clear elucidation of the forensic character of justification as exhibited in the Jewish and apostolic Scriptures: that was reserved for Luther and the Reformation. Amongst the fathers of the fourth century, the terms justification and sanctification had come to be used convertibly; and even Augustine, if substantially right as to the doctrine of grace in acceptance, is involved in the same error of phraseology. The early obtrusion upon the church of the notion of an ascetic purity as the consummation of Christianity, tended, like all kinds of will-worship, to exclude Christ from his place as the Alpha and Omega in salvation, and nourished both the spirit and the forms of that self-righteous devotion which men are always prone to substitute for a dependence by which pride is mortified. 'In the *perspective* 'of ancient Christianity,' says the ingenious author of the work of which the last two words quoted are the title, 'personal sanctity 'stood in front of the doctrine of justification.' What was the consequence? 'The sun is not indeed driven from the heaven 'in such a system, but it is eclipsed; and the Christian, for such we 'must still call him, droops, becomes pallid, gloomy, superstitious, 'timid, punctilious; a trembling attendant upon rites, a perfunctory 'practitioner of ceremonies; fretting, fasting, upbraiding himself, 'impatient of earth, afraid to hope for heaven.' But those false views which were thus misery to the sincere, were, in their next stage, prolific in fatal delusions; and the seeds of practical errors, thickly sown, soon ripened into maturity amidst the dense religious ignorance of Christendom during the middle ages. Pen-

ances, pilgrimages, macerations, confessions, invocations of saints, priestly absolutions, masses, fastings, gifts to the church, were the methods resorted to in order to purchase peace with heaven; and the doctrine of a gratuitous acceptance to the guilty, through the merits of the only Mediator, was a thing forgotten.

We do not mean to say that the sole cause why the doctrine of justification was formally condemned by Rome lay in its being the doctrine of the reformers. It was plain enough that the tenet itself, when made prominent and powerful as a practical truth, was death to the papal system. It struck at the roots both of its superstition and its spiritual despotism. 'While the all-important 'article of justification,' observes Milner, 'is firmly believed and 'reverenced, it is impossible for men to think of commuting for 'their offences with heaven, and it is itself the surest defence 'against clerical encroachments, superstition, idolatry, and hypo-'crisy.' An immediate reliance of the sinner upon the grace of the Saviour, is destruction to all other false dependences, and priestly ascendency falls when ecclesiastical persons are no longer regarded as the immediate dispensers of grace and guardians of the gates of heaven. It is true we sometimes find evangelical piety strangely allied with lofty notions of sacerdotal power and the spirit of high-church tyranny. But the alliance is an unnatural one, formed by the lust of domination which inheres so strongly in the human breast, especially when that is fostered by the corrupt system of ecclesiastical establishments. The whole tendency of this great principle of the reformed religions was to a scriptural liberty of conscience and a rational worship; and, of course, it contained enough to rouse the spirit of Rome to inveterate antipathy.

It is equally hostile to popery among Protestants as where we more expect to see it; so that it needs excite no surprise when we find those divines who have headed the Oxford movement, discovering, in its progress, their opposition to a cardinal article of that 'popular Protestantism' against which the battle has been directed from the first. The connexion between their denial of justification by faith, and the two great features of their theology, transmitted apostolical power and mystical sacramental virtue,—is far from being an accidental one. We see in it but a renewed development of that spirit of human dependence which, in earlier times, first substituted man's righteousness for Christ's in the matter of acceptance, and then took refuge, under the fears of guilt, in the virtue of ceremonies, and the mysterious endowments of human functionaries invested with heaven-derived authority. These minor errors are symptomatic, we apprehend, of the more radical one, and react to increase its virulence. Unfeignedly, therefore, as we deplore the existence of serious mistakes on the all-important concern of religion in the minds of any class of men, we confess we feel no regret that the secret spirit of this

pernicious school of religionists should display itself by its alliance with doctrinal principles, the avowal of which must rouse to a decided protest all the sound evangelical piety of the Church of England, as well as provoke the wholesome animadversion of other Protestant communities, zealous for the faith once delivered to the saints. We ought not to be expected to profess any full or distinct apprehension of what these principles are positively; to attain which, our readers must be aware, from the extracts from Mr. Newman in our June number, would be no easy matter. But this much is too evident,—is indeed unequivocally avowed,—that on the vital question of man's acceptance with God, they are not the principles of the Reformation. In the extracts referred to, which were as copious as our limits would allow, the theology of Mr. Newman, which is that of the Oxford Tracts, spoke for itself, with but little comment from us. We have now the pleasure to introduce our readers to a treatise in reply, which comes seasonably from the pen of a writer who has long been honorably known to the Christian public, and especially the dissenting portion of it. Those of them who are conversant with the subject of justification as treated by systematic theologians, will not expect novelty in such a work, excepting that measure of it which almost every topic derives from passing through the mind of one who thinks for himself, and who thinks vigorously. As to this Dr. Bennett will not disappoint them. He discusses the subject on ground in which dissenting divines are generally at home, and on which all Protestants ought to be,—that of inspired testimony. What say the Articles?—is not the hinge of the controversy, as to doctrine, with any party—although it ought certainly to be that of another question which the conscience of a Churchman has to settle in almost every religious discussion. That the consciences of the Oxford Tractators have been exercised with this question there is no reason to doubt; and Mr. Newman now endeavors to furnish 'evidence to the world' that, notwithstanding all suspicious appearances, the writers of the Tracts 'honestly believed 'that the doctrines of the articles and homilies were not at vari-'ance' with the peculiar sentiments of the party. The evidence is such as would still leave impartial persons wondering, not at the ingenuity of the reconciling process, so much as at the satisfaction of the inventors in its results—if it had not long ceased to be subject for wonder how doctrines the most diverse from each other can all be peacefully held under the terms of the thirty-nine articles. This is a topic, however, on which Dr. Bennett touches but slightly, as having little to do with the great point; while at the same time he does not overlook the testimony borne by the Anglican formularies to the Protestant doctrine, in one of the later chapters of his volume. The question as to the opinions of

the fathers on justification, Dr. Bennett also waives, as having been treated in Mr. Faber's recent work on the 'Primitive Doc-'trine of Justification;' as well as for an additional reason, with which it gives us pleasure to become acquainted, that it is his intention to prepare a volume for the press on the Theology of the First Three Centuries, for which many striking passages from the fathers that had been collected for the present work are now in reserve. Mr. Newman himself appeals to Scripture in preference to the fathers. The field therefore is common; and 'one who bows to 'inspired authority alone,' says our author, 'may be allowed to 'interpose, and say, with an ancient sage, 'I also will show my '' opinion.'' That opinion, founded on an enlightened interpretation of the holy oracles, he vindicates with the acuteness in argument, force of expression, theological learning, and mastery of the subject, which were to be expected from a theologian of his acknowledged eminence.

Dr. Bennett's title-page tells us that his volume is against 'The Council of Trent and Mr. Newman's Lectures.' The doctrine of the Council on the point under review is, that 'Justi-'fication is not only the remission of sins, but also sanctification, 'and the renovation of the inner man by a voluntary reception 'of graces and gifts, whence a man from unjust becomes just, 'and from an enemy a friend, that he may be an heir according 'to the hope of eternal life.' With this doctrine Mr. Newman's appears to Dr. Bennett substantially to agree, differing merely, if there be a difference, 'in the mode of statement, which amounts 'not to as much as we find among those who composed the 'Council of Trent.' The lecturer, on the contrary, endeavors to make a distinction appear, which he represents to be this, that whereas Protestants and Romanists have separated two propositions from each other—that justification is by faith—and that justification is by obedience—the Protestants maintaining the former alone, and the Romanists the latter—he would unite the two, which are 'not at all inconsistent with one another,' but may be 'held both at once, or indifferently either the one or the 'other, as circumstances may determine.' Now, however this sentiment may distinguish him from such 'ultra-Romanists as 'Vasquez, Cajetan, and others,' we cannot discover the justice of representing the doctrine of justification by obedience alone as 'the symbol of Romanism,' when it was in fact maintained by the Roman scholastic divines, and argued against by those of the Reformation, that while faith, considered by itself, separate from charity—*fides informis*—did not justify, it had this power when including or perfected by charity, which concurred with faith to vivify and justify the sinner before God. Leaving this doctrine to Dr. Bennett's reprehensions (p. 102), we compare with it Mr. Newman's language respecting faith, when, after representing

justification and sanctification as substantially the same thing, he adds, that 'faith, which is the symbol of the one, *contains in it* 'LOVE, which is the symbol of the other.' Here we discover so close a resemblance between the two doctrines that the difference becomes impalpable, except that, of the two, Mr. Newman's is more mystically expressed.

The work before us is divided into two books, the first of which is entitled 'The Exposition of the Doctrine,' the second, 'The 'Defence of the Doctrine.' The exposition treats of—the scriptural distinction between justification and sanctification—the two parts of justification, pardon, and a title to heaven—the mode and time of justification—the faith and the righteousness which justifies—the relations of sanctification and justification—justification by works—the sacraments as connected with justification. The second book defends the doctrine—from the sacred Scriptures—from experience—from Christian consent;—and a concluding chapter contains some additional illustrations, and enforces the importance of the subject. Though these heads conduct the writer to the principal topics of this article of faith, he very properly maintains the character of his work as a polemic treatise by confining himself to those views of justification which form the vitals of the controversy. It would be foreign to our business to enter at large into the theology of the volume, which necessarily involves matters on which many, not unimportant, though minor differences of sentiment exist amongst those who hold in common the great truth of acceptance by faith alone. When a friendly knight steps forth courageously to give battle to the common foe, it is not the time to discuss his school of chivalry or his methods of assault. As to the minor points concerned in the exposition of the doctrine, we will say, once for all, that we should have more entirely harmonized with the respected author had there been less of the systematic character in his illustrations, less of fœderal theology, and a more qualified concurrence in those illustrative analogies that have been traced by divines between human and divine transactions in the affair of condemnation and acquittal. We confess our wish, that a theology which has carried forensic ideas farther than either Luther or Calvin did, should be submitted to a free examination and comparison with Scripture. We are not for renouncing the forensic idea on the subject of imputation, which those modern divines appear virtually to do who consider it to consist merely in *treating the party as sinful or righteous* to whom sin or righteousness is imputed. This mode of stating the thing appears to us liable to the charge, on the one hand, of including under the phraseology employed the idea of *law*, which it does not express, or on the other, of overlooking that *nexus* by which the Scriptures plainly connect the *treatment* with the persons treated. The former is no improvement even

upon a too technical terminology; the latter, as Dr. Bennett observes, would be an aggravation of the difficulties of the subject. All we wish is, that the analogies which have been employed in this part of theology should be judiciously limited and properly understood. Carefully to separate things from figures, and simple reality from modes of illustration, even though these are employed in Scripture for the purpose of aiding common apprehension, would do much to reduce the subject to a happy simplicity, and to bring parties to agreement of opinion who really differ more as to words than things. We do love the good old theology: but for this reason we like Calvin on some points better than his successors, and the evangelists and apostles best of all. It would be unjust to our author to charge him with being wedded to any system; nor do we require our readers to take our word for it that we are right. The volume before us bears all the characteristics of his independent and vigorous mind; and our readers will peruse his exposition of doctrine with the respect which it amply merits at their hands. Dr. Bennett's manner is that of one who prefers thought to set forms of speech, and business to ceremony. His style is rapid and spirited, and more extemporaneous, perhaps, than that of most men of heavy metal. He handles his subject with the compass of an experienced theologian, but without the tediousness of superfluous elaboration; and where another might stand looking at a difficulty from a distance, he marches straight up to the point, and carries it *coup de main.* Force and animation are the qualities that predominate; but we need not assure our readers that Dr. Bennett treats his theme with the seriousness of one who feels its deep importance, and that he triumphantly establishes the great reformed doctrine in opposition to the learned Oxford lecturer. We cordially thank him for raising a protest on the part of the communion to which he belongs, against these errors; but more for the service his work is calculated to render to the cause of truth.

A connected view of the scheme of Mr. Newman at the outset would have considerably enhanced the interest with which we follow Dr. Bennett. But he may say, that to furnish such a chart would have been no easy matter, when shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon so many points of the outline of the lecturer's theology. Under his guidance, however, the inquirer will find the polar star constantly in view,—the cardinal truth which gives consistency to Scripture, and is the element of harmony in a system professedly adjusted to it. The errors of Mr. Newman's book may be referred mainly to two heads, the doctrine of justification itself, and sacramental efficacy as connected with it. As to the former of these we saw that he labors to identify justification and sanctification. His argument to that end the readers of our extracts

in June probably perused with more of astonishment than conviction. We will refresh their memories by observing that it attempted to show, that the meaning of the term justification is one thing, and the thing really denoted by it is another: 'In 'exact propriety of language,' says Mr. Newman, 'justification is '*counting* righteous, not *making*. I would explain myself thus: 'to justify *means* counting righteous, but includes *under* its mean-'ing making righteous; in other words, the sense of the *term* is 'counting, and the sense of the thing denoted by it, is making 'righteous.' As we gave the argument at full length, let our readers now take Dr. Bennett's acute and unanswerable exposure of its fallacy.

'But let us hear how Mr. Newman would justify his introduction of another thing than that which the word justify means. He says, 'in the abstract, it is a counting righteous; in the concrete, it is a making righteous.' How melancholy to see such arts resorted to by a respectable writer on a solemn subject which affects man's eternal salvation! That the abstract and the concrete of the same thing should differ in nature, or in any thing else than the former being in idea, and the latter in existence, or *in esse*, as the schoolmen would say, was surely never before asserted by a scholar.

'Creation, in the abstract, is calling something out of nothing; in the concrete it is *this* something which now exists under that name, or the world which has actually been called out of nothing. Virtue in the abstract, is right moral character; virtue, in the concrete, is this character in some virtuous being, who actually exists. Justification, 'in the abstract,' then, is confessed to be *counting* righteous; in the concrete, therefore, it is counting some person righteous. The abstract is merely the essence, to which, in the concrete, is added existence. To admit, then, that the abstract is the declaration of righteousness, which is the act of a judge, and afterwards to affirm that the concrete is a making righteous, with which a judge has nothing to do, because it is the operation of a moral physician; is either to blunder strangely ourselves, or sinfully to mislead the unlearned and unwary. But which of these cases occurred, when Mr. Newman's Lectures were delivered, we pretend not to say.

'Again, under color of an illustration, this false logic is defended. 'A Psalmist is one who sings psalms,' says Mr. Newman, 'but *the* Psalmist may be David, a given individual. The meaning of the name is one thing; of the object another.' Here, without stopping to dispute the propriety of the definition of the name, 'Psalmist,' as one who sings psalms, which, to say the least, is rather disputable; who does not perceive that the lecturer changes his terms, so as to produce a sophism? Is no difference created by the alteration from the indefinite to the definite article? Are *a* king and *the* king exactly the same thing?'—pp. 12—14.

That Mr. Newman should admit the forensic sense at all, and

at the same time employ the old argument, that as to sanctify is to make holy, so to justify is to make righteous, is shown by our author to involve a palpable inconsistency, seeing that the argument, if it be good for any thing, goes to the total exclusion of the forensic sense. Mr. Newman, observes Dr. Bennett, 'avoids 'any explicit declaration of his exact meaning.' If, on the one hand, his whole meaning comes to this, that our sanctification is that thing for which we are justified, then they are still two things perfectly distinct, in every sense, popular as well as philosophical,—which may be *connected* but are not confounded,—and *justify* has no meaning but the forensic one after all. But then how could his scheme be made to tally with the language of Scripture and the Articles? On the other hand, if a *bona fide* identification is attempted, or we are called to believe, in a sense at all different from the preceding one, that our justification and our sanctification are the same thing, we encounter all the difficulty of admitting an essential absurdity; besides that Mr. Newman's own acknowledgments respecting the forensic sense, and forgiveness being a part of justification, are inconsistent with it. We have here the irreconcilable contradiction of error, which is exposed at length in Dr. Bennett's first two chapters.

It will not appear wonderful to any that the Oxford lecturer should indicate some jealousy of too much light in theology. Obscurity is the only region in which contradictions can safely dwell: the *non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum*, must shelter in systems from which the sun-light of truth is excluded. He dislikes the clearness of the teaching of the reformers, which is 'greater than that of Scripture and the creed of the apostles,' and is a proof that they were wrong. It is possible, alas, that with all men's attempts to see clearly, they may be in the wrong still; but if our light be only a twilight obscurity, how can we assure ourselves that we are in the right? To those in such case it seems especially a difficult and hazardous charge to undertake to teach others; for who can tell but they may deplorably verify the proverb, 'If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall 'into the ditch.'

In the chapter in which the nature of faith is considered, much occurs which it might prove interesting to our readers to notice; but our limits forbid; and we only refer them in passing, to what we regard the true exposition of the passage in 1 John v., respecting the inward witness, which has been often misunderstood. The chapter on justification by works is an able and instructive discussion of the subject; and in the second book, which defends the doctrine of the treatise, we have read with peculiar pleasure chapters first and second, in which the testimony of Scripture and Christian experience is adduced with great force and luminousness of statement. Under the latter head Dr. Bennett refers

to the following singular passage in the Oxford lectures, which we must quote, as showing afresh the cheerless and uncertain aspect which the scheme of justification by works, in any of its modifications, must ever wear to sinners.

'It is often said of us, by way of reproach, that we leave Dissenters to the 'uncovenanted mercies of God;' nay, in a sense we leave ourselves; there is not one of us but has exceeded by transgressions its revealed provisions, and finds himself in consequence thrown upon those infinite resources of divine love which are stored in Christ, but have not been drawn out into form in the appointments of the gospel. How can they be said to place the church instead of Christ, who say that there is no other ordained method on earth for the absolute pardon of sin but baptism, and that baptism cannot be repeated?'

Such is the gloomy conclusion of the compound doctrine of justification by sanctification, as the ground, and baptism, as the instrument, maintained in the lectures. God's *covenanted mercy* is confined to the sacrament of baptism, which avails only for the past; so that for future sins there are no revealed provisions, and no security of pardon but the 'infinite resources of divine love,' which, as they confessedly do not avail for all sinners, are limited in their actual exercise, so that each sinner is left in uncertainty whether they reach to him! From many eloquent and striking comments by Dr. Bennett on this passage and its doctrine, we transcribe the following.

'They can have no joy from the gospel who confess that they 'have by transgression exceeded its revealed provisions.' The gospel is, therefore, no good news to them. How *can* this be the glad tidings of great joy? We may be told that we must take God's favors as he may please to grant them, and if he has chosen to give us, in the redemption of Christ, no more than a way to become righteous in ourselves, with a chance of final acceptance, this is better than nothing, which is all we have without Christ, and for this we should be thankful. But the very question in dispute is, whether God has done no more for us; and we contend that the name given to Christianity proves the contrary. For that we never can be made glad by such a gospel they who adopt it show. Pride and conceit could scarcely make it good news to us, while the Scriptures prove that the chief of sinners, who has no confidence in himself, is made joyful by the testimony concerning Christ, the moment it is believed.

'But our opponents ask us, Is not the scripture full of commands and exhortations to duty, and to 'work out our salvation with fear and trembling?' We grant it, but deny that any thing said in the gospel can be intended to contradict its very name. Paul says, Men bring you 'another gospel, which is not another,' because it is not good news, but they would pervert the gospel of Christ, the only joyous tidings. 'If they could proclaim another gospel, or another Jesus, you might

bear with them. But if I, or an angel from heaven, preach anything but what you have believed, let him be accursed.'

'What a contrast is the system of Rome to that of Christians, who, having received the testimony concerning eternal life, were full of heaven, 'eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, having favour with God, and all the people, while the Lord added to them daily such as were saved.' But the monkish saints of Rome look as if they had issued from the tombs, and no one would suspect that the order of La Trappe had ever heard of glad tidings. Yet this is the genius of the religion which pretended Protestants would persuade us to substitute for salvation by grace. They have caught the atmosphere of the catacombs, and would fain lead us there. Having, by their own confession, no authorised hope, they would rob us of ours. Ere we consent, they must 'show us a more excellent way.'

'The genius of their religion is awful. At the shade of a cathedral, the mere echo of the word church, these writers draw their cowls over their brows; and put off their sandals, afraid to tread on holy ground. A hint, a surmise, a possibility that Timothy was, as a priest, intrusted with some secret deposit, fills their imagination with visions of purgatory, and all the terrors of the shades. Awe-stricken they renounce all hope from the covenant of grace, and fly to 'unfathomable depths' of secreted possible mercy in unknown worlds. Their church is a crypt, their music is a funeral dirge, their psalm the *miserere mei*, their cross is made of cross bones, their surplice is a shroud, their altar a tomb, their hope despair, and their faith that of devils, who believe and tremble. But, glory to sovereign grace, we joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the reconciliation.'

—pp. 248—240.

In our reference to the subject of the sacraments, we shall be brief. Mr. Newman differs as to these from the Church of Rome chiefly in reference to their number; and even on that point the difference is only this, that while Rome says there are seven, Mr. Newman does not determine how many, but that two have been specially appointed by Jesus Christ. If baptism be the only means on earth by which men may obtain the 'absolute pardon of sins,' we do not see that the Church of England has any advantage over that of Rome in wanting extreme unction, but the contrary. Baptism and the Eucharist are described by Mr. Newman as 'justifying rites,' 'generally necessary to salvation,' 'instruments 'of communicating the atonement.' The relation which they bear to faith, in justification, is that they are the primary and immediate instruments, faith the secondary and subordinate; and 'faith being the appointed representative of baptism, derives its authority and virtue from that which it represents; 'it is justifying because of baptism.'

In his chapter on the sacraments, Dr. Bennett goes to the root of that erroneous method of interpreting Scripture, by which the dogma of sacramental virtue is supported. He shows, that, as

there is in scripture a style of language appropriate to parables, so there is a style peculiar to symbolical ordinances, or *sacraments,* as they have been termed from the Latin; and that to apply to it the rules of unfigurative speech would involve the grossest misinterpretations. The fact that so plain a principle should have been overlooked in its application to the sacraments rather than the parables of Scripture, is partly explained by the consideration, that parables had only to be *understood,*—ordinances had to be *administered* by an order of functionaries in the church, with whose spiritual power the ideas entertained concerning the said ordinances were found to have a very close connexion. But we must connect with this other circumstances, in explanation of the origin of these errors—the false and puerile principles of biblical interpretation which directed even the early fathers of the church; and still more the strange commixture of notions, judaical, oriental, and pagan, philosophical and mythological, which incorporated itself with primitive Christianity, and grievously changed its spirit and its institutions. So undeniable is the fact as to render it, *prima facie,* far more easy to account for the origin of any error in the early centuries of the Christian era than at any period subsequent to the dark ages, even though the particular facts should not be capable of being ascertained with historic authenticity. The rise of the sacramental superstitions is thus sketched by Dr. Bennett; and with the passage we must conclude our extracts.

'The Eleusinian mysteries had filled the minds of pagans with awful notions of the power of mystic rites. Ablutions, and feasts of the gods, had been supposed to give men a new existence, and to introduce them into communion with the immortals. The philosophers, who had run the round of sects, and been initiated into all mysteries, and still remained unsatisfied, saw that Christianity had evidence while paganism had none, and owned their conviction, as idolaters now do by means of our missionaries, who sometimes see plainly that these are the semi-converts of reason, destitute of the grace of God. But a philosopher was too often caught at, as a valuable proselyte, who could defend the faith against a Porphyry or a Celsus. While yet no Christians at heart, or if Christians, but half-learned in the school of Christ, and not half unlearned in the mysteries of pagan philosophy, men were made teachers who 'yet needed to be taught what were the first principles of the oracles of God.' To such orators the mysteries, the mysteries, were the grand attraction. Rites, more mystical and more divine than those of Ceres, flattered their pride, and inflamed their imagination; and thus the 'tremendous mystery' was the phrase for the Lord's supper, which was therefore to be hidden from the uninitiated. 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo,' was quite philosophical, and therefore must be made evangelical language. The Christian mysteries must save and sanctify, because the heathen mysteries claimed that power, and it would be profane to suppose the new rites were of inferior efficacy to the old.

'When Julian, who had received the tonsure, renounced Christian baptism, he is said to have had recourse to another, which was to regenerate him; that, born again into a new heathen world, he might be a son of the gods. Had not his uncle's family been extinct, he would have occupied a pulpit with the same superstitious spirit with which he filled the throne; only he might then have come down to us as St. Julian instead of Julian the apostate. Apostate! he had as much real Christianity when a persecuting emperor as when a hypocritical monk.

'Thus, by pretended converts to Christianity, she was really converted to paganism, and the signs of Christian blessings were put for the things signified, or these were supposed to be so identified with the sacraments that no ordinary mind could make the necessary distinction. Nor were there many who suspected the error into which they rushed.'

—pp. 226, 227.

It needs not be disguised that the movement emanating from Oxford has awakened no small measure of anxiety for the interests of truth in the friends of evangelical religion, both within the Establishment and out of it, and in that anxiety we acknowledge we have participated. How long the impulse given to the Anglican body ecclesiastical may last, to what extent it may be propagated, whether its maximum has been already reached, and in what results it shall issue—are questions which it would be premature confidently to answer. We see nothing at present to increase our alarms—we incline to the opinion that the receding movement cannot be far distant, if it have not already begun. There are both general and special grounds for a favorable augury, on which we are disposed strongly to rest. The chief is, the unadaptedness of the system of opinions propounded from Oxford to command any deep or general sympathy in the minds of the people of this nation. That they should have made progress in a body so scholastic as the English clergy, is not much to be wondered at; and even this fact, we apprehend, has been mainly owing to the concurrence of the system with that resistance to the spirit of the times, which, as a measure of ecclesiastical policy, was forced upon the clergy by their fears. But for a nation so practical, not to say so secular, in their tastes as the English, the system carries an air too antiquated and monastic; and in vain is a return attempted to mystical theology or morbid pietism, to a repose in obsolete opinions, or a confiding veneration for priests. It can gain the full sympathy only of religionists of a certain class, and that a limited one. It is too solemn for the gay, too ascetic for the indifferent, too bereft of hope to be rested in by those truly anxious about salvation, too refined for the illiterate, and too destitute of solid claims to commend itself to those in whom the principle of implicit faith has been destroyed by education. We imagine, too, that the course of political parties will work strongly against the extension of the principles of Puseyism. We do not say that these had their origin in any recent evolutiono f party polities.

The leaders have endeavored to place the merits of the system on grounds distinct from existing alliances between the Church and civil governments. But it is evident, that, in this most political nation, every movement, even religious, in the parties which compose it, becomes political. It is evident also, that there is a marked alliance between the spirit of Puseyism, and the principles of a certain party in the State, and that the one has worked into the machinery of the other, adding impetus to its revolutions. But has the influence of that party increased of late? Is it now increasing? The reverse is notorious. In the discomfiture of the high church political party, the allied principles of a high church religion must ultimately participate; for nothing brings a system of speculative opinions sooner into neglect in this nation than their exclusion from influence upon the actual business of society.

Nor can we suppose that the avowal of doctrines opposed to the great evangelical principles of the Reformation, can accelerate the advance of any party by which it is made. Mr. Newman appeals to the opinion of religious men, 'if not divines,' as in favor of his doctrine of justification. But, whatever may be the private notions of men as to the grounds on which they shall be dealt with by the Almighty, sadly vague and unscripturally self-righteous as these too often are, they are constrained by a sense of truth and honesty to apply a different rule of judgment to sentiments assuming the form of a theological creed, and in that form brought into comparison with the plain words of Scripture, and the formularies of a church. Mr. Newman's attempts to harmonize his doctrines with Scripture, are too forced, and even puerile, to be regarded with respect by the unsophisticated common sense of the community. Nor is it to us doubtful that the present development of doctrines directly at variance with that reformed theology embodied so clearly in the articles, will bring the public mind to a pause as to the honesty of the adherents of this new school, and prove the beginning of its downfal.

Especially will such expectations be realized if that portion of the clergy in the Church of England which adheres to evangelical sentiments, exert themselves as the occasion demands, and as they have not yet done. The worst augury for religion, in the progress of the Oxford party was the leaning to its opinions—indicated by not a few of those who had preached the doctrines of 'popular 'protestantism.' The cause was doubtless to be found in their readiness to concur in that contest for exclusive apostolicity by which the Church of England sought to stem the course of liberal opinions, bearing so rapidly towards religious liberty and equality among all parties; and perhaps they knew not how far the alliance might safely proceed. Those of them whose spirituality was not so pure as that of others, or whose religious sentiments were not so fixed, might perhaps be ready for a transference of

their attachments, under cover of that resemblance which the two parties now bear to each other, in the external habits of serious piety. But surely it may be expected even of such that they will say, 'thus far have we come, but no further,' when called to abandon truth which probably commends itself to their own consciences, while it never will cease to commend its preachers to the people. But the truly pious and devoted cannot proceed to Mr. Newman's conclusions. The Milners, the Newtons, the Cecils, the Scotts of the present day, cannot abandon the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith. And will they temporise, or countenance by silence, this attack upon the purity of gospel truth, and the dearest interests of their church? We trust they will not. We will hope to see them, more generally than has yet been the case, bearing public testimony to the fundamental doctrines of the reformation, the great foundation of human hopes. They will make the real division that exists between themselves and the Oxford party more conspicuous to the public view. They will labour from the press as well as from the pulpit. They will inform the Protestant laity of the established communion, among which their strength lies, in the extent of their principles and the grounds on which they are based. They will not refrain themselves from declaring their opinion where their voice can best be heard; and will not leave a deliverance to arise from another quarter which ought certainly to come from themselves.

Art. V. *First and Second Reports of the Select Committee on Railways.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, August, 1839.

FIFTY years have not yet elapsed since that gigantic minister of man, steam, has been yoked to his car, and compelled to carry him by sea and land with a rapidity and certainty which almost realize the supernatural powers of the wonderful carpet in the Arabian tale. Only five and thirty years have passed since the first locomotive engine ever employed for transport was sent on its eventful course at the railroad in Merthyr Tydvil. 'On 'the occasion of its first trial, in 1804,' says Dr. Lardner,* 'it 'drew after it as many carriages as contained ten tons of iron, a 'distance of nine miles,—which stage it performed without any 'fresh supply of water, and *travelled at the rate of five miles an 'hour!*' Such is the infancy of art, and such the gradual manner

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* The Steam Engine Explained, p. 168.

in which it pleases Providence that the highest triumphs of human intelligence shall be achieved. One generation toils, and another 'enters into their labors,'— one man lays down laws, and his successors apply or modify them: a Laplace and a Herschel start where a Newton stops. 'Effects are now witnessed,' adds the learned historian of the Steam Engine,* 'which had they 'been narrated a few years since, could only have been admitted 'into the pages of fiction or volumes of romance. Who could 'have credited the possibility of a ponderous engine of iron, loaded 'with several hundred passengers, in a train of carriages of cor- 'responding magnitude, and a large quantity of water and coal, 'taking flight from Manchester and arriving at Liverpool, a dis- 'tance of above thirty miles, in little more than an hour?' Who, indeed! And yet now, throughout the length and breadth of the land, are these 'ponderous engines' so loaded, daily performing their marvellous work. Well might the greatest of living orators feel himself excited by the contemplation of such a stupendous effort of skill and labor as the Manchester and Liverpool Railway; and in the graphic picture which he drew of it, give utterance to his admiration, and the reflections forced upon his mind, in a passage of eloquence not surpassed in his greatest moments. 'When I saw the difficulties of space and time as it 'were overcome,—when I beheld a kind of miracle exhibited 'before my astonished eyes,—when I surveyed mosses pierced 'through on which it was before hardly possible for man or beast 'to plant the sole of the foot, and now covered with a road and 'bearing heavy wagons, laden not only with innumerable pas- 'sengers, but with merchandise of the largest bulk and heaviest 'weight,—when I saw valleys made practicable by the bridges 'of ample height and length which spanned them,—saw the 'steam railway traversing the surface of the water at a distance 'of sixty or seventy feet perpendicular height,—saw the rocks 'excavated, and the gigantic power of man penetrating through 'miles of the solid mass, and gaining a great, a lasting, an almost 'perennial conquest over the powers of nature by his skill and 'his industry,—when I contemplated all this, was it possible for 'me to avoid the reflections which crowded into my mind,—not in 'praise of man's great deeds,—not in admiration of the genius 'and perseverance which he had displayed, or even of the cour- 'age which he had shown in setting himself against the obstacles 'that matter had opposed to his course,—no, but the melancholy 'reflection that whilst all these prodigious efforts of the human 'race, so fruitful of praise, but so much more fruitful in lasting 'blessings to mankind, and which never could have forced a tear

* Ibid. p. 169.

'from any eye, but for that unhappy casualty which deprived me 'of a friend and you of a representative, a cause of mourning 'which there began and there ended; when I reflected that this 'peaceful, and guiltless, and useful triumph of the elements and 'over nature herself, had cost a million only of money, whilst '1500 millions had been squandered on cruelty and crime,—in 'naturalizing barbarism over the world,—shrouding the nations 'in darkness,—making bloodshed tinge the earth of every coun-'try under the sun,—in one horrid and comprehensive word, 'squandered on War,—the greatest curse of the human race, and 'the greatest crime, because it involves every other crime within 'its execrable name!'*

The career of war is happily, at least for years, arrested; and the bloodless, but enduring and beneficial conquests of peace are being achieved throughout Europe with an energy, skill, and application of physical resources and intellectual power unknown in any previous era of the annals of mankind. Our own country holds her high pre-eminence, and exercises her ancient prerogative of teaching the nations how to live, not only in her matchless maritime and manufacturing skill, but in her wonderful improvements in the all-important art of communication. From her ports a traveller may with unerring celerity in a few days reach St. Petersburgh and New York—the capitals of flourishing regions, where, two centuries ago, civilized man had not planted his foot. The celebrated line of the Roman poet—Britannos toto orbe divisos—has not only ceased to be true—but has become exactly the *reverse* of truth—so that there can be no happier description of the nation he thus pictured as on the very confines of civilization, than that they are *united* with all the world. And in their own sea-girt realm, before a few years shall expire, a line of rapid communication will connect all the great towns of Britain. Already the main roads are either opened or are being vigorously prosecuted.

In order, however, to encourage the carrying on of such undertakings, it was necessary for the legislature to invest private companies with great and unusual powers. Practically they have obtained the monopoly of conveyance between the termini of their respective lines. And called upon to legislate for such a new and utterly unprecedented state of things, parliament was as it were surprised, and legislated in haste and ignorance. Experience, the great guide of human affairs, was wanting,—and a lapse of a few years was required to present adequate materials for safe and judicious enactments. The House of Commons, however, during last session, thought that the time

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* Lord Brougham's Speeches, vol. iii. p. 535.

was ripe for investigation into the subject, and accordingly in April, 1839, appointed a Select Committee to 'inquire into the 'state of Communication by Railways, and to report their obser- 'vations thereon.' The committee sat many days, and collected a vast mass of highly important evidence, well worthy the perusal of all practically interested in the subject. It contained men of the most opposite political opinions, and consisted of Mr. Poulett Thompson, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Lord Granville Somerset, Mr. Thornley, Lord Viscount Sandon, Mr. Lock, Mr. Freshfield, Sir John Guest, Lord Stanley, Mr. Greene, Sir Harry Verney, Mr. Bingham Baring, Sir James Graham, and Lord Seymour. In their able report they abstain from making decisive recommendations upon many questions,—but they submit several suggestions of great importance for further consideration, and others for adoption in the ensuing session. As few subjects are of higher practical interest than those which relate to railways, regarded either mechanically, commercially, or socially; and as we feel that publications such as that which we have the honor to conduct are most efficient instruments for diffusing far and wide the stores of information collected in the valuable but cumbrous volumes of Parliament, we propose to submit to the attention of our readers the propositions suggested by the committee.

They begin by stating that

'They cannot better execute the task entrusted to them, than by drawing the attention of parliament, of the public at large, and of the railway proprietors themselves, to a careful review of the difficulties that *must* arise from an extended communication throughout the country, solely maintained by companies acting for their private interests, unchecked by competition, and uncontrolled by authority.

'Among the various important subjects offered to their notice, and deserving investigation, the committee have taken much evidence on the following points:—

'First. The financial situation of railway companies.

'Second. The power which has been given by the legislature to railway companies, and the probable effect which the exercise of this power will have upon the general convenience of the public, and the intercourse of the country.

'Third. The system under which railways are taxed.'

—Second Report, p. 3.

1st. After directing the attention of parliament to two or three topics, which we shall not pause upon, the committee proceed to an important point connected with the finances of railway companies. They state that

'The evidence taken by them has established that in almost every

case into which they have inquired, the parliamentary estimates of the expense of constructing railways have fallen far short of the actual expenditure. Your committee have endeavored to ascertain under what heads, and owing to what causes, such excess of expenditure has arisen, and they believe that it may be attributed to the following circumstances: the parties promoting the various bills, as well as the engineers, were devoid of that experience which would have enabled them to form an accurate calculation as to the extent and nature of the work required, the materials to be used, the quantity of land necessary for the purposes of the railroad, and the buildings indispensable for the accommodation of the public. In addition to these causes may be stated the over-sanguine expectations, and the natural desire on the part of the promoters of the work to keep as low as possible the calculations of the anticipated expenditure, and thus to show their undertaking in a favorable light. The cost of the land required for the railroads has frequently exceeded the value estimated before the passing of the bills. Moreover, in many cases it will be found that there was an advance in the price of labor and the cost of materials after the works had been commenced, thus deranging in two important particulars the total amount of the estimate. The works themselves were also of a magnitude never before attempted; and the scale upon which they were necessarily constructed, made calculations founded upon former experience totally inapplicable.'—p. 6.

On the second head, the committee state that 'it does not 'appear to have been the intention of parliament to give to a 'railway company the complete monopoly of the means of com-'munication on their line of road,' but that practically all competition with the company must be rendered impossible. They then observe, that

'The safety of the public also requires that upon every railway there should be *one system of management, under one superintending authority,* which should have the power of making and of enforcing all regulations necessary for the protection of passengers, and for duly conducting and maintaining this new mode of communication. On this account it is necessary that the company should possess a complete control over their line of road, although they should thereby acquire an entire monopoly of the means of communication. But if these extensive powers are to be granted to private companies, it becomes most important that they should be so controlled as to secure the public as far as possible from any abuse which might arise under this irresponsible authority. . . . Cases have already arisen in which the interests of private companies and of the public have been found to be opposed to each other; and it appears probable that in proportion as this new system shall supersede other modes of travelling, other inconvenient consequences will ensue, unless some authority be established to watch over and protect the interests of the public. The fear of a rival line may in some instances be a check upon the conduct of a company; but there are few districts in which the public will have an

opportunity of selection, and obvious and serious difficulties must arise in carrying this means of control into execution.'—pp. 6, 7.

The committee illustrate this last proposition by a reference to the conveyance of goods, which they state can be managed more economically by a large company than when several rival establishments are kept up. In this branch of their inquiry, they distinguish between the conveyance of general merchandise and of parcels; pointing out the different systems pursued in respect to the former by various railway companies, and concluding the summary by observing that 'they feel incompetent to offer an 'opinion to the House until further experience shall more fully 'develop the comparative indifference and advantage of either 'system; and that, indeed, until the great lines of communica-'tion between distant parts of the country shall be more generally 'completed, and the public wants and demands for the convey-'ance of goods and parcels more extensively known, it will be 'difficult to decide in what way the interests of the public can be 'best protected, under the practical monopoly which will be then 'established.'—p. 9. In regard to the conveyance of parcels, the committee refer to the suggestions of several witnesses, that liberty should be granted for the engine and trains of one company to pass on the line of a connecting railway. This inquiry naturally led the committee to a very important subject, viz., the danger arising from one terminus being common to several railways. They direct the attention of parliament to the case especially of the Greenwich and Croydon Railways, but do not venture any decided recommendation on the subject, although they justly observe, that 'no just complaint can be made against 'any interference with these establishments which may be deemed 'necessary for the security or convenience of the public.'—p. 11.

The committee then arrive at a very gratifying conclusion on a very important point—and we trust that the fears of any of our readers, not yet reconciled to the whirl of the railway, will be dissipated by the following passage, the result of dispassionate investigation by the highly intelligent gentlemen whose names we have already given as the members of this committee.

'Your committee have also directed their attention to the general question, whether or not travelling by railways has been *attended with danger to the passengers?* Considering the great number of persons who have travelled over railroads, it may be confidently stated, that *very few accidents occasioning any serious injury to passengers have occurred.* Under proper regulations, and with due vigilance on the part of the managers of these establishments, it does not appear that the velocity of the conveyance is necessarily attended with that degree of risk which many persons, unacquainted with this new method of travelling, had anticipated. At the same time your committee feel it

to be their duty to point out certain circumstances connected with railways, which have not sufficiently attracted the attention of parliament.'—p. 11.

The committee then point out several improvements which the public safety requires to be made in the construction of railways, —as the good fencing of the roads—that no railway should be permitted to cross another on a level—that the switches, or points by which two lines of rail are connected, should be placed under vigilant superintendence—and that the companies shall have a more perfect control over their own servants.

The committee conclude this second head of their investigation, by a suggestion of very great importance, viz., the propriety of instituting a general board for the control of all the railways. On this subject we shall let them be heard in their own words.

'At present, it appears that the directors of any railway have the power of making bye-laws, which regulate the conduct, not only of their own servants, but of all persons travelling on their road. These companies, therefore, possess very extensive and very arbitrary powers. It would be better for the sake of establishing as much as possible *one uniform system, and for duly protecting* the general liberty of the subject, that *some supervising authority, in the nature of a board, should be established*, to which all bye-laws might be referred, and which might have the power of sanctioning all necessary regulations, and annulling such as were not justified by the peculiar circumstances of the case, or by the general interests of the community. For a purpose so plainly justifiable as the revision of bye-laws, it does not appear that there would be any objection to the establishment of a superintending board.

'There are, however, many other questions in which the public are concerned, and upon which it would be frequently desirable to have some controlling authority. Disputes may often arise between the directors of connecting railways, by which the public may suffer very materially, and where some superior authority might interpose with great advantage both to the proprietors of railways and to the travellers on the several lines. On this subject there is considerable difference of opinion among the witnesses connected with railway companies who have been examined by your committee; some have thought that these questions must be left to arbitration between the parties, while others have stated it as their belief, that in such cases *a tribunal of reference, with a controlling authority*, might be beneficially established. The advantage of this arrangement would, however, depend on the constitution of the superintending tribunal, and whether or not it was such as to merit the confidence of the public and of the railway proprietors.

'It is clear that the general interests of the community must sometimes be at variance with the interests of railway proprietors, and that in such cases the combination of capitalists, held together by common

advantage, and guided by able directors, will probably prevail against the disunited efforts and casual resistance of the public.

'Your committee are unwilling hastily to put forward opinions which might have an injurious effect on these great and useful undertakings: on the contrary, they are desirous of recording their opinion of the benefits which the country has already derived from the introduction of this new and important means of internal communication; nor can they refrain from expressing how highly they estimate the services of those who have devoted, and still continue to devote, their time, their talents, and their exertions, to its extension and improvement.'—pp. 12—14.

The committee conclude their valuable Report by referring to their investigations on the third head of inquiry, viz., the system of taxing railroads, on which subject petitions have been presented praying that instead of the present tax of one eighth of a penny per mile for each passenger, the *gross income* of the railway derived from the conveyance of passengers, should be taxed. The committee decline giving any opinion on this matter, but point it out as well deserving the attention of the legislature and the future investigation of a committee.

Such is the substance of the Report of the Committee on Railways, which has already engaged the attention of parliament. We have directed the attention of our readers concisely but distinctly to its chief points of interest; but it is utterly impossible for us to go into even the most summary examination of the evidence—which occupies several hundred pages of printed folio. We must content ourselves with observing, that some of the most eminent men connected practically and commercially with railways, engineers, and directors, were examined before the committee, and we must refer such of our readers as feel an interest in the subject to the volume itself, which will well repay their perusal. We abstain, like the committee, from delivering any decided opinion on the topics inquired into. Our object, like theirs, is to disseminate the suggestions made by practical men, and to invite examination, with a view to a safe and judicious legislation. We have only to express a confident hope that the most efficient measures will be adopted to ensure the safety of the public and the general prosperity of the empire.

Art. VI. *Poems.* By Mrs. Boddington, Author of 'Slight Reminiscences of the Rhine,' 'The Gossip's Week,' and 'Sketches in the Pyrenees.' London: Longman and Co.

WE had but just closed the last page of one of the most charming volumes of modern poetry, the expression of pleasure had scarcely passed away from our lips, when we were startled by the sudden and sad intelligence that the one who had thus beautifully embodied the best, the purest, the most loveable feelings of which the human heart is susceptible, had been called away to a more congenial existence.

The tribute, therefore, of honest admiration which we had intended to have laid at the feet of the living, must now be offered with sorrow at the tomb of the departed, accompanied by a sincere regret that it should be our last opportunity of expressing a feeling of gratitude for the many delightful moments which the perusal of this and Mrs. Boddington's previous works has afforded us.

It is not our present intention to speak of the prose writings of this delightful author, which from their happy union of truth and poetry, originality of thought and expression, and that flush of beauty both of language and conception, which makes her pages to glow like the embodied imaginings of the great masters of a sister art, must ever be returned to with unfading interest and fresh enjoyment, but of the volume of poems now before us.

In this we have followed the author's muse with love and delight, now raising our purified and grateful thoughts to heaven, as with her we listen entranced to the early lark that 'tells its glad 'secret to its crony sky,' or to the welcome voice of the Spring's own bird that, as she most happily and beautifully expresses it,

> 'With its bright and almost human sound
> Seems to let fall a shower of early leaves.'

Now noticing with just and curious observance how through the wondrous witchcraft of nature

> 'Each pretty bud repeats itself, but still
> Seems from its little shell to venture out
> In hues all newly chosen; every note,
> Soft warble, liquid gush, or joyful shout
> Doth come with a first beauty on the ear,
> Though 'tis the self-same song, oft heard in the old year.'

Or penetrating with her into those curiously concealed folds of the human heart,

'The dwelling place of joy and sorrow,'

the veil of whose sanctuary she has withdrawn both in her prose and poetical works, with so successful a hand, describing with such touching and singular felicity that which her discerning glance had seen within.

Many striking examples of this faculty, which Mrs. Boddington possessed in an eminent degree, may be found in the pages now before us. The reader will, we do not doubt, agree with us in this opinion, when he has perused the beautiful lines from which we have but just quoted.

'O human heart! how many idle words,
Though framed with care and cunning, dost thou borrow,
To cover thy deep-drawn intensity,
As if it were a shame that thou shouldst be
The holy dwelling-place of joy and sorrow.

'Thou art dreaming, human breast! to think that thus
The world is cheated. What are fraudful words,
When there are speaking eyes that say them nay?
What are denying speeches, when a ray
To the heart's depths a ready path affords?

'Yet there are hearts that all in loneliness
Have lived out life, unknowing and unknown;
Not guessing their own secrets, still unguess'd
By others, though midst thronging numbers prest;
But, startled into thought when youth has flown,
Read the whole past in that one word—alone!'—p. 40.

And, under the title of '*A Fragment*,' let him read the touching picture of a heart, suffered to pass through life in its unaccompanied loneliness, of one who

'Had asked for that great gift—another heart
To wear within his own—but found it not!'

Amongst the many other specimens of this charming collection, we cannot prevent ourselves from mentioning the titles of a few which have particularly captivated our fancy, viz., the beautiful and touching lines on '*A Flower blowing in a Prison Window*,' those on '*The Skylark*,' '*Her Life was made of Love*' (a little gem of quaint and simple beauty), the ballad of '*The Sea Bird*,' '*The Child's Voice*,' '*The Love of Nature*,' '*The School Girl*,' &c.

What freshness of imagination, beauty of feeling, and loftiness of thought are contained in the following lines.

'I never walk amidst a mountain wild,
But that a halo of delight surrounds
And brightens o'er my path. Thought follows thought,
And makes the earth a paradise, that joins
Itself to the high heavens; while the rapt wind,
As if by some celestial magic moved,
Enters another world—a world unknown,
But not undreamt of; seeing in the clouds
Heav'n-lifted palaces, and in the peaks
On which the purple haze of ev'ning floats,
Soft'ning their rugged and material forms,
The frontier citadels where angels dwell,
Sounding their silver trumpets as they keep,
From some high pinnacle, their unseen watch.

'Oh! 'tis joy to be above man's follies
In this untamed and stirless solitude,
Where even the song of bird is never heard,—
No voice,—no sound of life,—nought but the air
That breathes from heav'n, and in its breathing stirs
The scented herbage, or the mountain flow'r
Propp'd on its rocky shelf, where never foot,
Ev'n of the fearless, grapples with the crag.

'Well did the fathers of the desert choose
The scenes that cherish'd their immortal faith,
Their blissful agonies, their dreams of sure
And never-dying glory,—cheaply bought
By patient suff'ring of man's cruelty;
For 'tis midst nature's mysteries the soul
Swells to its pristine size; and op'ning wide
Its long-seal'd eyes, sees what the common sight
Never beholds; and feels as if a heav'n,
Peopled with spirits of the good and wise,
Had spread itself around, effacing quite
The idle joys and pageantries of life.'—p. 30.

Italy has no more faithful and successful painter than Mrs. Boddington. Her genius luxuriates amidst the exquisite scenes of that storied land. Her '*Home Images in Italy*,' and '*Excursion from Naples*,' contain many specimens of that picturesque feeling for which she is remarkable, and descriptions so pictorial and truly Italian, that we regret that the limits of our notice prevent our inserting many passages we had marked.

How beautiful these lines in Pisa!

'My Pisa, thou art lonely! Ne'er in thee
Does the loud turmoil of th' incessant throng,
Assail the ear. Thy streets are emptiness,
Thy glory turn'd into a scholar's theme,
The crowds that peopled thy great city gone,

Leaving thy grass-grown ways to Solitude,
Who sits her down like to a mourning mother
On thy fair earth. The encroaching land hath clos'd
Upon thy port, and chok'd its issues; none
Can tell its site,—busy as 'twas, and gay
With painted galleys, known abroad where'er
Glory made heard its voice, or science flourish'd.
Yet thou art beautiful, my Pisa, still
Though grave thy robe, and worn in loneliness;
High memories are thine, things that no show
Of gaudier neighbourhood can wrench from thee.
And hast thou not thy mountains?—citadels
Built by God's hand, that lift their holy heads
As if heaven seeking? And within thy walls
That spot where, on the consecrated sward
Thy four immortal structures dwell together,
And yet apart,—each one within the spell
Of its own solitude? Where shall we find
A patch of grass so honor'd? Is there one
Where admiration does more readily
Turn into thought, or deepen into worship?—p. 378.

It has been observed that an accidental carelessness of versification is to be met with occasionally in the poetical productions of Mrs. Boddington, and we allow that perhaps there may be in these pages now and then evidences of an absence of study, and a want of that careful finish, which, though tending to greater perfection, is more the result of a laborious revision than of that outpouring of fresh and unborrowed ideas, which constitutes one of the greatest charms of this volume; but for felicity and originality of expression in poetry as well as in prose, few writers have surpassed the author now before us. The harmony of words is as natural to her as a sweet sound of voice to others. Beautifully chosen, oftener created by her rich and vivid imagination to express a sentiment or idea peculiarly her own, their effect is still further enhanced by the picturesque gracefulness with which they are strung and combined with one another; and she has a happy way of introducing a familiar, even a homely word, in situations where it meets us unexpectedly, and comes upon us with a friendliness of sound which speaks most forcibly to the heart.

Mrs. Boddington's muse is of a beautiful and noble simplicity of nature, and treads with a joyous step the vales and forests of the earth, not seeking with restless desire of overstrained and artificial excitement the cypress tree with the cross of murder at its foot, nor the moaning willow which marks the melancholy grave, not sending a mistrustful glance under the glad blue surface of the summer sea, to drag from thence the imagery of death and destruction; but with a heart overflowing with large and fervent admira-

tion for the works of an Almighty hand, and a voice answering in worthy accents to the promptings of the pure and bright spirit within her, she passes on; and, to use her own words,

> ' Sees light, and joy, and love,
> Beauty, and hope, and truth, in all around.'

Art. VII. *Voyages of the Dutch Brig of War Dourga, through the Southern and little known parts of the Moluccan Archipelago, and along the previously unknown Southern coast of New Guinea, performed during the years* 1825 *and* 1826. By D. H. Kolff, Jun. Lieut. Translated from the Dutch by George Windsor Earl, Author of the ' Eastern Seas.' London: Madden and Co.

THE information which this work communicates respecting a very distant and hitherto almost unknown region, constitutes its chief value and interest. It relates to a portion of those numerous islands which lie between the Moluccas and the northern coasts of Australia. Neither the spirit of adventure, nor the spirit of commercial speculation has accomplished much, either to gratify the taste of the curious or to fill the pockets of the mercenary. The whole, or nearly the whole, of these groups, with the exception of the Dutch occupation of the coast, where some improvements have been made, have been allowed to remain for ages a terra incognita; and the barbarous inhabitants of the interior have passed through unnumbered generations uncared for, unthought of, unknown to the rest of the world.

The very idea of such a fact irresistibly arrests us, and we find as we write a thousand reflections springing up at once in the mind, for which we have indeed no space to give expression, but to which we can scarcely help turning aside for a moment. To think of beings there and spreading over multitudes of islands in the eastern seas, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, integral parts of our own family, as men, separated from us by mighty oceans, and still more by an insulating selfishness—to think of *them* as capable of general improvement and moral culture, and of *ourselves* as able to minister alike to their advance in knowledge, virtue, and happiness—and yet to think of them as suffered to live a savage life and die a miserable death; we, the possessors of all blessings,—they the heirs of all curses—is really astounding and appalling. We fear that those who have in distant periods visited some of them, have not visited them for the right object; for what has been the result? The same as in other cases—crews murdered and ships destroyed. In most, if not all

instances, however, it has been the fault of the civilized. They have been the aggressors, and have practised a more than savage revenge upon the slightest provocations. And if they have obtained admission by fair dealing or by guile, what has ensued but demoralization? They have instructed untaught natives indeed, but it has been in crime, and instead of the seeds of improvement they have sown the seeds of disease, discord, and death. We admire discovery; we think that the boundaries of our geographical knowledge should be extended; and that while science by means of the telescope brings new worlds to view, we should traverse the depths of ocean as well as the depths of space. To be ignorant of our own globe, while we possess so many means, so many opportunities, and so many capabilities of exploring its remotest parts is a reproach; but one mighty power has never yet been sufficiently brought into operation, though it is now fast coming into increased and beneficial action—we mean the power of Christianity. The speculative feeling of commerce must necessarily be restricted in its aims and efforts; but Christianity has respect to the condition and interests of man everywhere, and is universally expansive, because essentially benevolent. Already has it made discoveries, and will make more; and we hail its successes because it is no monopolist, and like its divine Author, goes forth, not to destroy, but to save.

The islands in question were first visited in 1636, by a Dutch navigator, who touched at the Arru islands, which had been discovered thirty years before by a small Dutch vessel. Six years afterwards the native chiefs were induced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Dutch East India Company, to whom they gave the monopoly of the pearl banks, for the products of which a ready market was found in Japan. As the Company did not permit even their own countrymen to carry on a trade, the only advantage they acquired was a supply of slaves to cultivate the clove and nutmeg plantations of Banda and Amboyna. Towards the close of the last century, as the translator remarks in his preface, when the Dutch monopoly had induced other natives to produce spices, which were cultivated with success by the French in the Isle of Bourbon, and by the English on the west coast of Sumatra, the Moluccas began to decline in importance, and the Dutch withdrew their military establishments from the islands to the southward. The Bughis from the southern part of the island of Celebes, and the Chinese merchants from Java and Macassar immediately engrossed the trade. During their brief occupation the British greatly neglected them, and the inhabitants of the remoter islands were not aware of a change of masters. When Java and its dependencies were restored to the Dutch by the peace of 1814, their East India Company was extinct, and the government continued to grasp the traffic, but the Chinese mer-

chants dealt largely with the Arru and Serwatty islands. The Amboynese teachers of Christianity, whom the Dutch employed, were encouraged rather than otherwise by the Bughis and Chinese traders, who believed their own interests were promoted by civilization. The founding of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles, in 1819, gave an impulse to commerce and civilization throughout the Eastern Seas, and the most distant tribes have not been excluded from participation in the general improvement. In 1824, a British settlement was formed on Melville Island, near the coast of Australia, by Sir J. J. Bremer, in order to afford a better mart to the natives for their produce in the Arru islands, which had been brought to Celebes and re-shipped for Singapore; but this, as well as a subsequent settlement at Raffles Bay, was unsuccessful. M. Kolff's voyage was undertaken soon after the occupation of Melville Island, which probably had induced the Dutch government to pay renewed attention to the adjacent islands. It has also led to more recent establishments on the northern coast of Australia.

The first chapter of this work is occupied with an account of the author's outward voyage to India previously to his undertaking the expedition to the eastern parts of the Indian archipelago. During this period he entered the colonial navy, and had the command of a gun boat to keep the pirates in check on the east coast of Banka. We refer to this chiefly for the purpose of introducing the following testimony to the character of an important class of men, which ought not to be forgotten.

'During these hazardous expeditions, I had frequent opportunities of witnessing the fidelity of the Javanese seamen in the hour of danger. Their behaviour and disposition prepossessed me very much in favor of the nation to which they belonged, and during my subsequent voyaging in India, where I considerably increased my acquaintance with them, I never had occasion to alter the favorable opinion I had formed. When a Javanese is treated with consideration, and is not subjected to tyrannical treatment, he is as much to be trusted as a European, and submits far more readily to control.'—p. 8.

The chief article of M. Kolff's instructions was to inquire as to what remains exist of the forts erected by the East India Company on the islands, especially on those of Arru, Tenimber, and Kissa, noting down with correctness the particulars obtained respecting them, subjoining observations on their positions and other points; and a second object was to kindle and renew friendly relations with the natives, and to invite them to visit Banda for the purpose of trading; this being an object of importance to the islanders themselves, since they would there obtain the goods they might require in exchange for their produce, on more ad-

vantageous terms than from traders who had hitherto supplied them. These and other intentions of the government were well fulfilled; and first thanking the author for his clear and pleasing narrative of this rarely visited part of the globe, we shall proceed to cull some passages for the use of our readers.

The governor of the Portuguese possessions in the north coast of Timor usually resides at Dilli, and pays himself and the other officials out of the revenue derived from trade; but, alas, to what degrading interchanges do they resort! After bartering for cattle and various articles, the author adds—

'Slaves were frequently offered me on sale, the commandant, among others, wishing me to purchase two children of seven or eight years of age, who were loaded with heavy irons. The usual price of an adult male slave is forty guilders (a guilder is 1s. 6d.), that of a woman or a child being from twenty-five to thirty. These unfortunate people are kidnapped in the interior and brought to Dilli for sale, the governor readily providing the vendor with certificates under his hand and seal, authorising him to dispose of the captives as he may think fit.'

In addition to this it appears from other testimony that the Portuguese sometimes touch at Melville Island, and carry off the natives as slaves. We are much gratified to be informed of the discontent of many of the inhabitants of Dilli with these shameful proceedings; and M. Kolff states both natives and Chinese expressed to him their strong desire to be freed from the hateful yoke of the Portuguese. This is a proper subject of inquiry for the Anti-slavery Society, whose efforts to emancipate the world from bondage we trust will be crowned with success. The author remarks that the land is highly fertile, and would produce abundantly were the indolent Portuguese to turn their attention to agriculture, or to encourage the natives to do so; but they prefer seeing the innocent natives carried off from their peaceful homes in the hills, that they may profit by their sale, to allowing them to better their condition by their labor and agricultural skill.

Our voyagers found a garrison of troops belonging to the Dutch East India Company at the village of Sau, on the north coast of Wetta, an island situated opposite the north coast of Timor. He describes the country as highly picturesque and productive. There were two Christian chiefs in the village, who requested that one or two European soldiers, with a teacher to instruct them in the tenets of Christianity, might be left among them. We know not exactly what estimate to form of the value of that edition of Christianity which the Dutch had previously given them, but are pleased with their solicitude for religious instruction. It is encouraging when the most distant regions are saying, 'Come over and help us,' while we have continually to

deplore the comparative paucity of our agencies and the restriction of our means. The people of the island of Kissa are represented as considerably in advance of those of Amboyna in point of industry. Proofs of this were seen at every step. In the schools all the children under nine or ten years of age assemble to learn reading and writing, and the rudiments of Christianity. M. Kam, a clergyman attached to the expedition, had an opportunity of conducting divine worship in a church, and of delivering a discourse in Malayan and Dutch to a very attentive audience. The next island, Lette, whose Christian inhabitants greatly resembled those of Kissa, presented in the rest of the natives a mass of ignorant and uncivilized people.

'These people are idolatrous in every sense of the word, since they pay reverence to an image of human shape, rudely carved from a thick piece of wood. This image is placed in a sitting posture, upon a square heap of stone, raised under a large tree in the centre of the village. In the event of a death, a marriage, or any remarkable event, a large hog or a buffalo, which has been kept sacred and fattened for the purpose, is slaughtered before this image.'

The day following that of M. Kolff's arrival was fixed on for a general meeting of the chiefs, when he intended to deliver the letters sent by the government, and to transact other public business; but, as what occurred illustrates the native character, we shall transfer the statement to our pages.

'At nine o'clock in the morning of the day fixed for the meeting, I landed, accompanied by several of the gentlemen attached to the expedition, and by a detachment of marines, the brig firing a salute from her great guns. Several of the chiefs, and a large number of the people, had already assembled, to whom the interpreter read the letter sent by our government, with the usual accompaniment of a feu-de-joie from the musketry. The business connected with the subject of the letter was soon transacted, but the arrangement of other affairs was attended with more difficulty than had been experienced at Kissa, the natives there being farther advanced in civilization than at Lette. I was employed during two days in deciding petty differences that had arisen among them. A spirit of contention upon the merest trifles forms a peculiar trait in the character of these islanders, and they appeared to prefer living in variance, indeed in a state of open warfare with one another, to making the best advances towards reconciliation. They would sacrifice all they possessed to keep up the strife; and the result of these disturbances was that many families were forced to wander in poverty over the island, while some actually died of want. The people frankly acknowledged their failing upon this point, to obviate which they were anxious that a Dutch resident or other government officer should reside among them, to whom they might refer their disputes for adjustment. They promised to abide implicitly by his deci-

sion; indeed, during my short stay on the island, I had numerous proofs of their willingness to admit our mediation, of which I will here give an example. Throughout the Molucca Seas it had been the custom of the government to permit those chiefs whose conduct had been highly meritorious, to carry a Dutch pennant in their *orang-baays*, or state barges. This mark of distinction had been conferred upon some former chiefs of the village of Batu Meau; and their successors, considering themselves as being also entitled to it, continued to display the pennant from their prahus. This assumption on their part had drawn upon them the violent enmity of the chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had ever since been in a state of open warfare with those of Batu Meau. It will readily be conceived how difficult it was to reconcile parties so strongly embittered against each other. It required some time to convince the chiefs of Batu Meau that they had acted wrongly; but at length I was fortunate enough to bring the affair to a favorable termination, the chiefs being prohibited from ever again displaying the offensive banner.'—pp. 65—67.

In the island of Damma they found a volcanic peak, from the crater of which smoke issues almost without interruption. At the foot of the mountain were some warm sulphureous springs, the water of which was of so high a temperature that a few yams placed in them were cooked in a short period. In visiting Lakor, which resembles a dry coral bank, raised about twenty feet above the level of the sea, where ground for gardens is scarce, and whose sandy places are planted with cocoa-nut trees, the author speaks in high terms of their hospitality. Strangers are supplied with as many yams and cocoa-nuts as they can consume, without any remuneration being expected in return. A still superior testimony is given on behalf of the inhabitants of Luan, an island of much greater elevation.

'The proofs of friendship, confidence, and regard, which all my fellow-voyagers, as well as myself, experienced from the people of Luan, were greater than any we had met with elsewhere. The continued kindness of these islanders was the more striking, from its bearing undeniable marks of sincerity; indeed, it perfectly accorded with their usual conduct, for I never met with more harmony, contentment, and toleration; more readiness to afford mutual assistance, more domestic peace and happiness, nor more humanity and hospitality, than among the simple inhabitants of Luan.'—p. 127.

We must introduce the following account for the benefit of our nautical friends. They were voyaging among the Arru islands.

'We now had the breeze unusually strong, with a high sea, and a current setting to the north-west. For two nights since the waters of the sea had had a curious white appearance, which at first excited little notice, but, on the night of the 13th, as the breeze freshened from the east-south-east, this peculiar appearance increased until the sea pos-

sessed the color of milk. This phenomenon was accompanied by thick drizzling rain, so that by ten o'clock, P.M. nothing was visible but the dismal brightness of the waters around us. On board the brig the atmosphere was so dark, that we could not distinguish each other at a distance of three paces, and never having seen a like phenomenon, we were not a little surprised. The wind continued to blow strongly until two o'clock, A.M., when the atmosphere began to clear up, so that at length we began to recognise one another's countenances. The strange appearance of the water continued until the break of day, and even afterwards it continued white and troubled. During the night, and also on the subsequent day, I took up some of the water in a clean glass, that I might examine it with a microscope; but I found it to be entirely free from dust or animalculæ, though it still retained a clear, sparkling whiteness. On several subsequent occasions, especially during the night, we remarked a similar appearance, but not to so great an extent as on the one above mentioned; I am therefore led to suppose that the strength of the wind materially contributed to it. The pilots, who had been acquainted with these seas for several years, informed me that they had never previously witnessed this appearance to so great an extent as at present, which may, perhaps, be owing to their never performing their voyages when the monsoon is blowing its full strength. They were indeed as much alarmed as astonished at seeing us beat the brig to windward; but I must here remark that the *Dourga* was a very fast and weatherly sea-boat.'—p. 150, 151.

Our author's next visit was to the Tenimber islands. All their villages are erected on a hill of limestone-rock, near the seashore, and present a very picturesque appearance. The houses are entered by a door in the centre of the floor, to which, as they are erected on piles, the inhabitants ascend by means of a ladder. A singular custom obtains. Against the wainscot, immediately fronting the door, is placed a small scaffold of carved wood, having upon it a large dish containing the skull of one of the forefathers of the owner, whose weapons are also hung round it. Their most valuable property is suspended round the walls, or preserved under the benches that line the walls. M. Kolff found some old bibles among them, but did not meet with one idol in any of their villages. When praying they look up to heaven in acknowledgment of a Supreme Being, but their religious ideas are associated with the wildest superstitions. They have resisted the efforts of the Mahometan priests to convert them, but express no unwillingness to receive Christianity.

The author's visit to the coast of New Guinea, was in almost all respects an exception to the rest of his proceedings. From the character of the coast, and the state of the weather, it was difficult to obtain a landing, and when this was at length accomplished, an unfortunate affray took place with the natives, and the ship speedily departed. A party was sent for water. They were armed, and a soldier stood sentry at the well. In an attack, which

the narrative implies was unprovoked, the sentry was killed, and many wounded. In a note, however, it is said that, subsequently the Raja of Lakahia stated that his people had not attacked the Dutch till the latter had commenced cutting down a cocoa-nut tree. Be this as it may, M. Kolff writes, that as the cocoa-nut trees are not numerous on the coast, while the produce forms an indispensable article of subsistence, he caused those scattered along the coast to be cut down, 'partly to show that we had not 'been driven away by fear, and partly to deter them from com- 'mitting similar misdeeds in future.' Conduct so revengeful as this we must disapprove under any circumstances. He had better have inquired diligently into the proceedings of his people, which were, no doubt, from other circumstances far from cautious or conciliatory. He should also have considered the unenlightened character of the natives; and either have manifested an entire forbearance, or adopted prompt measures for reconciliation. On the course pursued by those who visit distant islands depends the lives frequently of subsequent visitors, the character of nations, and the future interests, both of civilization and religion.

'And now, kind reader,' and we willingly cite the concluding words of the author, 'the task which I promised to undertake for you is fulfilled, and may the artless narrative of a seaman, containing not unimportant contributions to a knowledge of countries seldom visited or described, be acceptable to you. The countries visited by me are, as Dutch possessions, of the highest importance to every Netherlander, while, at the same time, the simple description of the habits and disposition of their inhabitants may afford matter for speculation. If, by the composition of this narrative, I have rendered myself acceptable to the reading world, or contributed to afford entertainment, then shall I be most amply repaid for the time employed in its compilation—Farewell!'

Art. VIII. *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Möwes, late Pastor of Altenhausen and Ivenrode, Prussia; Author of Der Pfarrer von Andouse. Principally translated from the German.* With an Introduction, by the Rev. J. Davies, B.D., Rector of Gateshead, Durham; Author of "An Estimate of the Human Mind," &c. London: Hatchard and Son.

THIS small and unpretending volume is exceedingly interesting, and promises to be one of the most useful of the numerous biographies of modern days. Möwes was a fine, and in some respects an extraordinary character, formed for the discharge of duties apparently opposite to each other, and uniting

virtues and graces which rarely combine in the same person. With much genius and learning he could perform the hardy toils of a Prussian common soldier; full of delicate sentiment, he is ever decided and bold, whether in the field or before his congregation; endowed with energy for great action, he appears through a long period of his life to advantage, under sufferings of the most trying nature. His actions resemble poetry,—free, and harmonious, and sublime; and his poetry is the language of practical life. In him the real is the romantic, and the fiction is the fact.

It is deserving a philosophic inquiry, why the lives of the European continental Christians, such as Oberlin and Neff and Möwes, should be so exquisitely simple and enchanting; and perhaps it would be found, that these men with numerous others, both of the dead and of the living, seem to be more the true sons of nature and of grace, than most good men educated in our own island.

You can hardly listen to a Steinkopff or a Malan without being delighted with their natural simplicity of view and feeling, as far as your greater admiration of their piety will allow; while in our own countrymen, great as many of them are, there is nevertheless so much of the artificial, that, like a third and neutralizing agent in some chemical combinations, it partially destroys the sparkling and delicious effervescence.

Möwes, deprived in boyhood of his natural guardians, received some kind attentions from an uncle, and by him was educated,—first, in the cathedral school at Magdeburg, and afterwards in the university of Gottingen. 'It was during his residence at the 'university, that the intelligence of Napoleon's escape from Elba 'reached Gottingen. Möwes shared in the universal sensation: 'like the celebrated Körner, he grasped at the same time the lyre 'and the sword, animating the enthusiasm of the Prussian youth 'with his spirit-stirring songs, and sharing in person the conflicts 'of the field. Möwes and his friend (the beloved Charles Blume) 'fought in the foremost ranks of a Westphalian jager corps.' The hardships and the dangers which these two youths endured on this campaign were extraordinary, and the valor which Möwes displayed, proved that he would have distinguished himself in the field, had he not been graciously destined to move in a far more enviable sphere—as the good soldier of Jesus Christ. The brief story of his soldiership is quite romantic, and exhibits a fidelity, an ardor, and a heroism of friendship, which can afford to be compared with the instances of this social virtue embellishing the pages of the two ancient epic poets.

After finishing his education at Halle, Möwes entered on the duties of a parish, though alas! without correct religious views, or spirituality of mind; he labored indeed hard to instruct his parishioners, and to render them moral, but not feeling his own

need of the Saviour, he did not, he could not, with any sincerity, preach repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. His activity, however, even while his mind was in this state, would shame many who profess to be swayed by higher principles. 'He improved the schools, bestowing his time and 'attention on them in various ways; he instructed the teachers, 'established meetings among them for instructive intercourse. 'Among the Germans music is ever a part of popular instruction; 'he composed a few happily simple and beautiful songs, to favor- 'ite national melodies, for the use of his teachers and children. He 'employed his influence to suppress all disorders in his parish, and 'successfully combated all the opposition that stood in his way. 'In a word, he performed the part of a conscientious moralist.'

But God, who is rich in mercy, did not allow this state of mind to continue long; the moulded clay became animated; the moralist the spiritually-minded Christian; and, as Möwes admitted nothing of the half-hearted into his character, he was soon distinguished by the eminence of his piety and the fervor of his ministry.

'A visit to the parsonage,' says one who understood him, 'was like a visit to the temple of God. I went to him the most gladly, when I most needed to be invigorated and refreshed; and never did I return disappointed. He threw a charm round the most indifferent objects of daily existence, by the brilliancy of his intellect; but his conversation, when our spirits' life became its object, was beyond description. . . . Christ was the centre round which all revolved, the source whence all flowed, the object to which all tended. Never was self less prominent in pulpit services than in his.'

After a residence of four years at Angern, he was called by the patronage of Count von Schulenburg-Altenhausen, to serve the parishes of Altenhausen and Ivenrode; and here he labored seven years with great domestic and public happiness, and much success.

Thus far Möwes gains our attention by the energy of his action, either in acquiring knowledge, in fighting the battles of his country, or in performing the high functions of the minister of Christ: we have now to view his display of the passive graces through a long series of trials, ending in his translation to a better world.

Perhaps both courage and fortitude are built on the same constitutional basis, and genius will doubtless throw a beauty and a splendor around the exercise of both these virtues: when, therefore, a mind possessing these elements, is brought into severe trials,—when energy must sit still, and invention wait the Lord's disposal, and when all its natural powers become eminently sanctified, we may expect to witness true magnanimity—a character

elevated by faith and patience, softened by sympathy with human infirmity. That is the case with Möwes. Beautiful in action he is sublime in suffering: from him genius as well as grace sends out its brightness, in proportion to the heat of the afflictive fire. Infidelity must be reproved, taste gratified, piety strengthened, and distress assuaged, by a serious perusal of this biography. He had a complication of trials; the activity of benevolence was arrested,—he suffered much in body,—his pastoral staff fell from his enfeebled hand,—his family were filled with distress,—his pecuniary resources were cut off, and his hopes of some appointment which would enable him to meet his necessities were repeatedly, when in appearance on the very eve of being realized, cruelly disappointed; yet, amidst all, the man, the pastor, and the parent, merged into the Christian, and while he felt very keenly, not a word of complaint escaped his lips: he knew that the Lord's judgments were right, and he bowed and said, 'My God, thy will be done.' There are in his correspondence many allusions to his trials exceedingly touching, and which, for their beauty and Christian pathos, we should be happy to transcribe; but two effusions of his weeping muse are exquisitely fine. We refer to his lyric entitled 'A Glance out of the Fiery Trial,' and, especially to the piece he wrote when he had given up all hope of ever resuming the pastoral office. The servant of God only who hears in his own sickness the crash of his pastoral staff, can however fully enter into the sentiments of this pious farewell to the most delightful of employments, and sympathise with the poet in such a verse as the following:—

'No flock to me shalt thou e'er again lead!
And that solemn word made my wrung spirit bleed.
The shepherd's dress from my shoulders is torn,
And never again may that lov'd badge be borne.
The pure priestly vest. In silence I bow.
To him who beholds them hang up, I can say,
I, too, a shepherd have been in my day.
Hot gush'd the tear to my quivering eye,
And my spirit bowed mournfully.
But, oh! from his form on that sorrowful day,
His vest to the rude soldiers fell as a prey.
Seems it right to thee, O my Father God!
Then I weep no more, but I bless the rod.'

'I have not read,' says his French biographer, 'in any language, any thing comparable, for the truth and depth of poetic religious feeling, to some verses poured forth from the depth of his heart after the event I have described (his renunciation of the pastoral office, and removal from Altenhausen). 'Frage an den Herrn,' is the title of the piece. It would be impossible better to describe the feelings of the

heart, or to express the most delicate emotions in more touching poetic language. At a time of deep grief and heart-rending recollections, he is full of Christian resignation and unmingled submission to the will of the Saviour. Every Christian who has suffered will recognize his own experience in these stanzas, and will weep with their author. Göthe, who lamented, at the close of his long and brilliant career, that he could not find in his many poetical works a single piece that might take its place among the hymns of the Lutheran church—Göthe would have found consolation, and a glory more precious than his own, if he could have said, 'I have written the Frage an den Herrn.'

Having remarked on the simplicity which forms so beautiful a characteristic in many continental ministers, we shall briefly and candidly animadvert on the almost entire absence of outlines of theological system observable in this memoir. This, indeed, is partly attributable to the original biographer, but, it is evident, that he has been led to this devout generalization by the indefiniteness and sublimity of Möwes's piety. The following paragraph will, we conceive, throw some light on the subject.

'The manner in which Möwes had been brought to the knowledge and love of the Saviour invested his Christianity with a character of independence of human opinion. Never was he heard to adduce any authority but that of the Scriptures. He was enrolled under no human standard, he wore the colors of no party, he belonged to no sect. There was nothing in him assumed, nothing professional; he had, as it were, lived through the whole of Christianity: he appeared to advance no doctrine before he had tested it by practice, and rendered it part of his inner life.'

A person brought thus to adopt and retain his theological doctrines, would, in the nature of the case, mix up much hallowed feeling with all his speculations, and, indeed, rather attend to their effect in his conduct and enjoyment than to the principles themselves; while drawing directly from the well of truth, his divinity would appear in its combination as the water of life, and not as analyzed into its various elements. There is a grandeur in a character of this order, and a striking resemblance to primitive devotedness, such as breathes in many parts of the Christian fathers and in the Book of Common Prayers, and one feels the warmth without being minutely acquainted with the materials of the fire—the great purpose, indeed, for which it was enkindled. As, however, inductive reasoning is from effect to cause, from parts to principles, so in divine science the respective truths should be viewed separately and in detail before they can be understood in their combination: the affections thus become influenced by means of the intellect, and by the intellect acting in its usually progressive manner. The glass receives the individual

rays on its surface, and by its inflective power unites them into a mass of burning light; and we may conjecture that one reason why the principles of Christianity are distributed in a miscellaneous form in the New Testament, is that its teachers may separate and classify, and thus enable the convert, having received them one by one, to bend them into a focus, and so warm and illuminate his heart. On these grounds we should like to have seen a little more distinctive prominence given to the leading doctrines of the gospel which form the character, so beautiful and sublime, of Möwes; especially considering the opposition with which these have had to contend on the European continent. It would have rendered the work more instructive to ordinary readers, and probably more generally useful. These, however, are opinions which some good and great men will dispute; and while we record them as our own, we do not lay undue stress upon them, nor condemn the painter because he is not an anatomist. Yet let it not be inferred, that the grand truths of revelation may not be gathered, and that without great labor, out of the memoir of Möwes; they are to be seen throughout the figure beneath the flesh; and the concluding appeal to men who deny the necessity of divine grace for holiness and salvation, is one of the most appropriate and impressive we ever read.

The English reader is, we believe, indebted to a lady for this valuable work, and we can assure her that she needs not any privilege of either sex or of ancestry, but may calmly wait the judgment which those who respect religion and good taste will award her performance, on the ground of its own claims. She has entered into the spirit of her subject, and in attempting to furnish a faithful representation, has presented a very lovely picture. It is no small proof of sobriety of judgment, that the poetic selections, necessary to the illustration of the history, are without those charms in which the translator could have invested them, by giving freedom to an imagination affluent in drapery,—the pieces only attempt a literal version of the original.

The introduction, from the pen of the Rev. J. Davies, is a proof that authors and translators can be courteous and disinterested, and gives a valuable account of the religious state of Germany when Möwes first appeared, and of the happy improvement in religion on the European continent—an improvement which the circulation of such memoirs as this cannot fail to accelerate.

Art. IX. 1. *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy.* By Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart. London. 1840.

2. *Travels in the West. Cuba, with Notices of Porto Rico and the Slave Trade.* By David Turnbull, Esq., M.A., Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, and of the Royal Patriotic and Economical Society at Havana. London. 1840.

3. *Westminster Review*, June, 1840. Art. *Remedies for the Slave Trade.*

OUR object in placing these volumes at the head of this article is so exclusively to express our sentiments on the remedies now proposed in several quarters for that enormous evil, the slave-trade, that we shall allow ourselves a very few words in relation to the works themselves. Of Sir Fowell Buxton's work, indeed, we need not say any thing on the present occasion, beyond extending to the latter portion of it, which now first appears, the commendation we have already given to the former.* Mr. Turnbull is a gentleman of considerable erudition and extensive travel, and has presented us with a book which we may safely describe as being extremely well written and of great substantial value. It represents, he tells us, 'the fragment of a tour of considerable extent on the western side of the Atlantic, begun in '1837, and concluded towards the close of 1839.' He landed in British Guiana, visited every island in the neighbouring archipelago, and 'had the good fortune to reach Jamaica in time to wit-'ness the rejoicings occasioned among the negro population by 'the disappearance of the last link of their chain.' He must be in possession, therefore, of much valuable and interesting matter which he has not yet given to the public; and we trust the reception of this volume will be such as by no means to discourage the appearance of a second. The contents of the present, although scarcely to be called entertaining, are, as we have already said, of great substantial value, and will repay with stores of information an attentive perusal. We should with great pleasure have devoted an article to it as illustrative of that unknown land to English readers, the island of Cuba; but we fear we must confine ourselves to a notice of the part which he has taken in the discussions respecting the slave-trade, and more especially of the proposition he has brought forward for its suppression.

It is a most melancholy consideration that, at so late a period as the present, the remedy for the slave-trade should be a thing to be discovered. Not only because that direful scourge of mankind has been so long in unbridled operation; but because, more

* See Eclectic Review, vol. vi. p. 306.

especially, plans for its suppression have been so often formed, and efforts for its suppression, so costly both in life and treasure, have been so incessantly made. Have these, alas! been nothing more than experiments, and experiments of which the trial has demonstrated the inadequacy? Are we thrown back after thirty years labor in what was supposed to be an effectual direction, and thrown back, not upon a necessity of greater vigor, not upon the accomplishment of some definite improvement, but upon a feeling of entire ignorance and incompetency? 'After all that we have 'done we have not put down the slave-trade, and we do not 'know how to do it.' This seems to be the interpretation of that state of mind into which philanthropists in general had fallen, and out of which, with a most gratifying elasticity of the philanthropic principle, there has arisen an unwonted activity to offer new suggestions, and a glad annunciation on the part of some of 'the 'real remedy.' From having before us no cure for the slave-trade, we have now four or five; and several, if not all of them, are so busy in courting popular favor and the public purse, that it has become our duty to contribute what in our humble sphere we may to the guidance of public opinion.

We shall notice first the scheme of Sir Fowell Buxton—whom, by the way, we beg cordially to congratulate on the mark of his sovereign's favor which he has lately received—as having, without perhaps the absolute claim of priority, for the longest period occupied a prominent place in public regard. We were all told that he had a plan, long before we were permitted to know what it was. There were reasons of state for concealing it, which must operate but must not be disclosed; that is to say, as it now appears, the Remedy was not published lest it might instigate the Spaniards to ask too much money for the sovereignty of Fernando Po. However, at length the secret is out, and its publication, of course, has created the greater sensation in proportion to the curiosity which was antecedently awakened. In our notice of the first part of his work we did not find fault with this concealment; we expressed simply our gratification that such a mind as Sir T. F. Buxton's should be employed on such an object: but we must now say that we think it was decidedly injudicious. According to the expressed anticipations of some at the time, the effect of it has been to cause his plan to be resolved and acted on before it has undergone the salutary ordeal of public discussion. It has gone into operation with all the faults about it to which the productions of single minds must always be liable; and the fruit of searching inquiry and friendly suggestion now, is rather to embarrass what is doing than to improve what is about to be done. We are sorry that Sir Fowell Buxton is placed in this position; and, if we might indulge our feelings on such a subject, wherein we cannot commend his plan we would be silent. This, however, our sense of duty will not permit; and

if we should contribute at all to augment the embarrassments which, if we are rightly informed, the conductors of the African Civilization Society already feel, and which we are sure they will feel with growing severity, we must require this distinguished philanthropist to take the blame to himself.

In proceeding to remark on the scheme of Sir T. F. Buxton, we shall not allow ourselves to be detained by what he designates 'preparatory measures,' but affirms *not* to be 'the remedy'—namely, the increase of our squadron, and the formation of treaties with the native chiefs. We shall advance at once to his main position, which we thus take from his own statement of it in the second chapter of the Remedy.

'If, instead of our expensive and fruitless negociations with Portugal, we had been, during the last twenty years, engaged in extending our intercourse with the nations of Africa, unfolding to them the capabilities of her soil and the inexhaustible store of wealth which human labor might derive from its cultivation, and convincing them that the slave-trade alone debars them from enjoying a vastly more affluent supply of our valuable commodities, and if we had leagued ourselves with them to suppress that baneful traffic which is their enemy even more than it is ours, there is reason to believe that Africa would not have been what Africa is, in spite of all our exertions, one universal den of desolation, misery, and crime.

'Why do I despair of winning the hearty co-operation of those European powers who now encourage or connive at the slave-trade? I answer, because we have no sufficient bribe to offer. The secret of their resistance is the 180 per cent. profit which attaches to the slave-trade. This is a temptation which we cannot outbid. It has been, and it will be, the source of their persevering disregard of the claims of humanity, and of their contempt for the engagements, however solemn, which they have contracted with us.

'But why do I entertain a confident persuasion that we may obtain the cordial concurrence of the African powers? Because the slave-trade is not their gain, but their loss. It is their ruin, because it is capable of demonstration, that, but for the slave-trade, the other trade of Africa would be increased fifty or a hundred-fold.

'If it be true that Africa would be enriched, and that her population would enjoy in multiplied abundance those commodities, for the acquisition of which she now incurs such intense misery, the one needful thing in order to induce them to unite with us in repressing the slave-trade, is to convince them that they will gain by selling the productive labor of the people, instead of the people themselves.'

—*Buxton*, pp. 302—305.

For the accomplishment of this object his plan divides itself into three parts, the promotion of trade, agriculture, and education; of which in a subsequent portion of the volume he thus summarily speaks: 'I lay great stress upon African commerce,

'*more* upon the cultivation of the soil, but *most* of all upon the ele-'vation of the native mind.' p. 457. For the last of these purposes he relies mainly upon missionaries of various religious communities, his views concerning whom are exhibited in the following passage.

'The facts I have stated are, I apprehend, sufficient to show that there is amongst the Africans a capability of receiving instruction; that there are agents within our reach, well calculated to assist in conferring it; that there is, in many parts at least, a thirst for education, and a readiness to accept the services of missionaries; and that, although the steps already taken have been very few, there has been some little advance. Other circumstances render the project of sending instructors more feasible at the present than at any former time. They will be carried to their destinations by water. British steamers will be upon the Niger to protect them (at the only time that missionaries want protection) on their first settlement among the natives. Missionaries find less difficulty than any other class of persons, perhaps, in winning the confidence of native tribes. The secret of their success is the spirit of fair dealing, and the manifestation of upright and benevolent intentions, which they carry with them. These speak to all men, but especially to the uncivilized, in a language which they accurately comprehend, and to which they freely respond. It would seem, then, that the difficulties, considered a few years ago insurmountable, in the way of an attempt to diffuse intellectual, moral, and religious knowledge amongst millions of the human race plunged in the very depths of ignorant superstition, have been in a great measure removed. Hence it is evident, that the question is not so much as to our power, but as to our willingness, to provide the means of conferring the inestimable benefits of intellectual advancement and true religion.'—Ib. pp. 514, 515.

The former two of the objects above mentioned our author proposes to attain by establishing both factories and settlements; the former merely touching Africa at principal points for the purposes of trade, the latter occupying spaces of large extent for those of cultivation. His views of these two elements of his plan are thus expressed.

'I propose, then, that an effort shall be made to cultivate districts of Africa selected for that purpose, in order that her inhabitants may be convinced of the capabilities of their soil, and witness what wonders may be accomplished by their own labor when set in motion by our capital, and guided by our skill.

'There is no doubt that mercantile settlements would effect a considerable measure of good; but the good is distant, and will be effected by slow degrees, while the condition of Africa is such, that the delay of a single year carries with it a world of misery, and the certain destruction of a multitude of lives.

'I confess that I think it would be well, on many grounds, if we

could, to confine ourselves to the establishment of factories. I fear, however, that this limitation would retard, if not defeat, our objects.

'We should touch Africa at a few prominent points,—at each of these a mart might be established, and something might be done towards the education of children of those who entered our service. But the evil is gigantic, and it requires gigantic efforts to arrest it. I believe,—and every word that I have read or heard on the subject confirms me in the impression,—that Africa has within herself resources, which, duly developed, would compensate for the gains of the slave-trade, if these were twenty times as great as they are. But it must never be forgotten that these resources are nothing unless they are fairly and fully called into action.

'Factories on the coast may lead the natives to gather the spontaneous productions of nature. They may supply us with wood, with palm-oil, with skins, and with ivory; but beyond the money or the goods paid for these, and beyond occasional and very lax employment to the natives, Africa would gain little. No habits of settled industry will be inspired; no examples will be placed before those the avenue to whose understanding is through the eyes, and who, however slow they may be to reason, are quick to perceive and intelligent to imitate.

'I have already said, that two things must be achieved or we shall fail: the one is, to call forth and elevate the native mind; the other is, to provide a larger source of revenue than that derived from the trade in man.

'By agriculture—both will be accomplished. The ransom for Africa will be found in her fertile soil; and the moral worth of her people will advance as they become better instructed, more secure, more industrious, and more wealthy. And then will be felt the influence of cultivated intellect on rude reason; the children will be taught by our schools; our very machinery doing easily what is impossible to their unaided strength will eloquently speak to others, and beget that allegiance of mind which is uniformly yielded by untutored to beings of superior capacity. The ministers of the gospel, the best of civilizers, will, as gently as irresistibly, work out a change in the current of opinion, and effect the cheerful renunciation of bloody and licentious customs.

'Such essential reforms as these cannot be expected from the mere establishment of factories on the coast. Something, no doubt, will be gained by these, but not enough to execute the task (of all tasks the most difficult) of giving an impulse to the slumbering energies of the people, and making productive the latent capabilities of the soil. In one word, Africa wants more than commerce—she wants cultivation.'

—Ib. pp. 336—339.

The extracts we have now given exhibit we hope with sufficient clearness, and we believe with perfect fidelity, Sir Fowell Buxton's theory of the extinction of the slave-trade in Africa. It must have been already manifest to our readers that we are not prepared to give in our adhesion to it, and we shall shortly state the reasons for our reluctance. Before we do so, however, we

wish distinctly and emphatically to say, that we are far from disapproving any of the elements which the theory embraces. We are no enemies to the increase of legitimate trade in Africa, to the advancement of her agriculture, or to the civilization and evangelization of her children. Our objections lie against the combination and employment of these elements as 'the true remedy' for the African slave-trade.

We object then, *in limine*, to the exclusiveness with which Sir Fowell Buxton has brought forward his theory. 'With all confidence we may affirm,' says he, p. 278, 'that nothing permanent will be effected [for the extinction of the slave-trade] unless we raise the native mind.' And again, p. 279, 'We may assume with almost equal confidence that Africa never can be delivered till we have called forth the rich productiveness of her soil.' Now there is an implied assumption here which we take the liberty of bringing out, namely, that nothing but measures *taken in Africa* can arrest the African slave-trade. This is the entire principle of the remedy, the substratum of this airy fabric. We altogether deny its correctness. We know of other proceedings, which, if they should be successful, would abolish the slave-trade without coming into contact with Africa at all—we mean proceedings directed to the extinction of slavery. What desolates Africa is the resort had to her shores for the supply of the slave-market in other countries; let the slave-market be destroyed and she will hear no more of the slave-trade, although not a single effort have been made to elevate her native mind, or to develop the resources of her soil. Of the practicability of such a scheme we are not now giving an opinion; but we think it important that the public should not overlook its possibility, and be driven to trading factories and experimental farms under the imagination that without them 'Africa never can be delivered.' *Africa can be delivered without them.*

Looking at the plan itself, we cannot help expressing our conviction that it is inadequate. The author of it justly calls the mischief with which he proposes to contend 'a gigantic evil,' and admits that it requires a gigantic remedy. We see about the remedy, however, none of the features of a giant. It cannot cover the space over which the slave-trade prevails; and if it could, it would only drive that horrid traffic to other portions of the continent. In discussing this subject there is a liability that the vast magnitude of the regions referred to may be forgotten. Africa comes to be spoken of as though it were a mere point, a sort of Gibraltar, which we could gird with our ships, and dig up with our spades; whereas it is a vast continent, presenting on its eastern side alone a coast line of more than 6,000 miles, and containing one hundred millions of people. And this is the territory which it is proposed, not merely to touch but to command, not partially to

benefit but wholly to regenerate, by expending a few thousand pounds on factories and farms, with missionaries and steam-boats, on one of its rivers! Granting that the slave-trade shall thus be expelled from the Niger, it will but migrate southward and eastward, just as it has done on being driven by similar measures from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. Let the scheme succeed to the greatest extent which can be anticipated, still the African slave-trade will not be destroyed.

To this we may add that, in our judgment, there exist no solid grounds for anticipating success. It is assumed that opportunities of entering into legitimate traffic and cultivation for export will induce on the part of the Africans a voluntary abandonment of the slave-trade, because they will exhibit a prospect of greater gain. Now we will admit for the moment that the prospect of augmented gain is beyond question; but we consider it highly improbable that even this prospect will induce a universal or even a general abandonment of the slave-trade. The business of a regular trader, and still more that of a tiller of the ground, requires not only patient expectation, but continuous and persevering toil; toil far removed alike from the exciting stimulus, the immediate wealth, and the long intervening leisure of slaving expeditions. Besides, however the amount of profit might be greater in the one case than in the other, it is altogether improbable that the two processes would enrich the same parties. Those who can grow rich by agriculture are only the patient and the plodding; it is the bold and fiery who seize the spoils of the slave-trade: and the relinquishment of the slave-trade for agriculture would be, not merely the acquisition of wealth by other means, but the accumulation of it in other hands. The slave-trader would consign himself to poverty that people of quieter habits may grow rich—a consummation, indeed, 'devoutly to be 'wished,' but scarcely to be expected. Our views on this point may be confirmed by a short quotation from the Remedy itself, in which we find in a note the following passages from 'recent 'letters from Africa.'

'When there is a demand for slaves the natives abandon every other employment; and the consequence is that the British vessels trading on the coast are lying idle for want of trade.

'In consequence of the great demand for slaves, the natives here and in the interior abandon cultivation, the trees go to destruction, and no young trees are planted.

'At one place in Africa, where a very considerable quantity of palm-oil has been annually supplied to the ships of our merchants, the Spanish and Portuguese have latterly so much increased the slave-trade, that the cultivation of the palm-trees, which was giving occupation to thousands, has not only become neglected, but the native chiefs

have been incited to blind revenge against British influence, and have set fire to and destroyed 30,000 palm-trees.'—p. 340.

So much for the prospect of substituting commerce and agriculture instead of the slave-trade, even admitting the change to be gainful. But we do not admit it. The profitableness of the cultivation of the soil depends entirely on having a market for the articles produced, and on producing an article fitted to the market. That Africa can grow ginger, cotton, sugar, coffee, and almost every thing else, is nothing; it is nothing even that incalculable quantities of these articles should be growing in her fields, or choking up her factories—if either the quality were unsuited to the markets of Europe, or the quantity such as prevented a remunerating price. The Remedy furnishes us with examples of both these issues to incipient African industry. The passage we are about to cite relates to Sierra Leone.

'In 1826, Mr. Coulston, a respectable merchant of Freetown, planted a small quantity of ginger by way of experiment, and having reported favorably of it, its culture was immediately taken up by a vast body of liberated Africans. Ignorance was, however, displayed at every step of their progress. They planted indiscriminately in sterile and in rich soils, so that the sample produced was a mixture of plump and meagre roots. By some the sample was dried previously to being offered for sale, by others not; by some it was carefully cleaned, which others neglected; so that the merchants became averse to purchase it, and the growers saw their hopes blighted. In 1829, their attention was turned to the culture of capsicum, by the sale of a lot at Freetown, which fetched 2s. 6d. per pound. It would have been difficult at that time to have collected two tons of pepper in the colony, but in the course of a very few years individual merchants were found exporting 100 and 150 tons per annum. The price however, fell to 4d. per pound; sales could not even then be effected; and the hopes of the cultivators were again disappointed. In 1833, their expectations were similarly raised and blighted by the encouragement held out for the manufacture of cassada starch.'—pp. 374, 375.

Of such disappointments the author says 'instances might be 'multiplied.' In another place (p. 381) he tells us that a commencing trade in coffee, gathered by the Foulahs from the interior forests, had been arrested by the protective duty imposed by Great Britain on foreign coffee. Now, beyond all doubt, if Africa, by any thing like the extensive cultivation Sir T. F. Buxton contemplates, should pour 'the inexhaustible riches of her soil' into the English market,—we will pass over the uncertainty of quality—it would reduce every article below a remunerating price, first to our own growers, and next to hers. Then what would follow? First that we should have the entire body of British merchants and planters crying out for protection against

the productiveness of Africa, and ruined if they were not protected; and next that the mass of African produce would be left on the hands of her growers unsaleable, to provoke an irritated and almost hopeless abandonment of the pursuits in which they had been so eagerly persuaded to engage. That we are not speaking at random will readily be admitted by all who recollect that the industry of India, although a British possession, has actually been repressed by the jealousy of West Indian proprietors. They have cried out so loudly against having India, with her vast resources, 'let loose against' them by an unrestricted trade, that they have kept up till lately a heavy discriminating duty on Bengal sugar, amounting almost to a prohibition of its culture. It is preposterous to suppose that the same feeling would not operate against the cultivation of Africa, whenever it should threaten collision with British interests. To talk of public virtue and sacrifices to humanity in such a case, is not only Utopian, but Utopianism run mad. The mischief in the scheme is, that the trade contemplated is not to be natural, created by a demand, and extended as the demand may warrant; but forced, without or beyond a demand, for the sake of a humane object, the extinction of the traffic in slaves. The proper question to be asked is, Does there exist a market for so much African produce as may employ all the people of that continent in farming and trading? If there does not, it is no real benevolence to set them at work; if there does, they will be soon at work without interference.

We have further an objection to the very conception of the plan itself, and the essential principle on which it is constructed. If we understand it correctly, it is an appeal, not to the natives of Africa at large, but to the African chiefs, specifically and distinctly. Indeed in the nature of the case it must be so, since it is not the people at large but the chiefs who are the slave-traders, the sellers of men. And Sir Fowell Buxton's language is explicit upon this point. In a passage we have already quoted he speaks of obtaining 'the concurrence of the African powers;' and he adds, 'the one thing needful in order to induce them to 'unite with us in repressing the slave-trade, is to convince them 'that they will gain by selling the productive labor of the people, 'instead of the people themselves.' We do not know that we need fear the imputation of misunderstanding the author on this point; but to preclude the possibility of such a charge, we will fortify our position by a few brief quotations.

'Legitimate commerce would put down the slave-trade, by demonstrating the superior value of man as a laborer on the soil to a man as an object of merchandise.'—p. 306.

'Only teach them, and show them that we will give them more

for their produce than for the hand that rears it, and the work is done.'—p. 416.

'Is it not possible for us to undersell [outbid] the slave-dealer, and to drive him out of the market, by offering more for the productions of the soil than he ever gave for the bodies of the inhabitants?'

—p. 437.

'Let the native chiefs be once convinced that the labor of a free native in cultivating the earth may produce him more European goods in one year than he could have purchased if he had sold him for a slave, and he will no longer seek to make slaves to procure European commodities, but will cultivate the earth for that purpose.'—p. 450.

These extracts, in which the principle is distinctly and unequivocally stated, are illustrated by the following narrative of Colonel Nicholls, late governor of Fernando Po, which is quoted by our author with approbation.

'I will give, as nearly as I can recollect, the substance of a conversation which passed between one of the native chiefs and myself on this subject. I began by asking him how he could act so unwisely as to sell his countrymen for £7 or £8, when he might render them so much more profitable to him by making them labor? The chief mused awhile, and then said, 'If you will show me how this is to be done, I will take your advice.' I asked him how much palm-oil a man could collect during the season? 'From one to two tuns,' was his answer. I then inquired, how a man could be employed when it was not palm-oil season? 'In cutting down and squaring wood, gathering elephants' teeth, tending cattle, and cultivating rice, corn, and yams,' was his reply. I then said to him, 'Suppose a man collects a tun and a half of palm-oil in a season; that, according to its present value, will amount to £11 or £12; and suppose he picks up one elephants' tooth, the value of which is about 2s. per lb., the weight frequently fifty pounds; but reckon it at one-half that weight, that will be £2 10s. more. The value of these two articles alone will be nearly double what his price brings you if you sell him; and this he would bring you every year, allowing him all the other kinds of his labor for his own maintenance. Upon this simple calculation, the truth of which cannot be denied, what a loser you are by selling him.'

—pp. 411, 412.

We take it then to be plain beyond controversy, that Sir Fowell Buxton's plan is addressed specifically to the African chiefs, and that, by an appeal to the comparatively greater profit, it aims to persuade them rather to employ the people in agriculture than to sell them. Now to this we have great objections. In the first place, here is an implied acknowledgment of the property of the chiefs in the persons of their people. We are neither to deny it, nor to bring it into question. We are only to say, Instead of selling them work them; you will get more by it. That is to say, we tacitly sanction man's right of property in man. We,

who have brought out this principle after long discussion as the essential element of slavery, who have denounced it as unrighteous beyond excuse and atrocious beyond endurance, who have declared it a sufficient reason for making outlaws in respect of Christian communion of hundreds of thousands of Christian professors, are now called upon to sanction this very principle as held by the barbarous chiefs of Africa, and to degrade ourselves by giving directions for turning it to a more lucrative use! Alas! the short-sightedness of benevolent and upright men! No! What we have to say to the African chiefs is, Your people are rightfully free; do you make an immediate practical acknowledgment of it, not by compelling them to work for you, but by permitting them to work for themselves.

Thus erroneous in principle, the plan cannot but be mischievous in practice. Let us suppose that a chief is persuaded to set his people to work. If his hope of greater gain is realized, what is the consequence? He makes them work hard; and exactly in proportion to the brisk demand and the high prices will be the severity of the labor he imposes; till at last, like slave-masters in another hemisphere, he takes to the manacles and the lash, and renews, on the continent of Africa, the horrors of West Indian slavery. It is vain to say this will never happen. If Sir T. F. Buxton's plan succeeds it will happen; and approximation will be made to it precisely in proportion to his success. 'The people' of an African chief are really his slaves now, since he disposes of their persons, their labor, and their lives at his pleasure; and the only thing that makes their condition tolerable is that their labor is worth nothing. And the dictate of humanity is, that so long as they are slaves, it should continue to be worth nothing. An increase in the value of a man's labor is nothing but a curse to him, until he is free to reap the advantage of it for himself. We are far from being alone in these views. We know them to be held, both by most competent persons in England, who have watched with no unkindly eye the proceedings of Sir T. F. Buxton and his friends, and by men of eminence and celebrity as travellers on the African continent. We have seen a letter from one gentleman of the latter class, whose name, were we permitted to mention it, would carry much weight, who, after fourteen years familiarity with the country, expresses himself in the language of distinct and emphatic warning: 'You will enslave Africa, instead 'of liberating her.' But we at least will be no party to the deed. This error in the plan is capital and fatal.

Nor is this all. This element of the scheme is not only destructive of it as a scheme of benevolence, it is directly adapted to become a root of bitterness. Out of it, if the plan were successful, could scarcely fail to arise a domestic slave-trade. Chiefs who had been accustomed to steal men to sell, would not hesitate to steal

them for their own use if they wanted them, or to buy them if offered for sale by others. There would thus be created a market for slaves *in Africa*, and an internal slave-trade of incalculable extent would be called into existence by this costly and well-intentioned effort to extinguish the external. In all probability, this would lead to the purchase of slaves for purposes of cultivation by British settlers; a mischief of which Sir Thomas Buxton has evidently had a glimpse, as appears from the following somewhat extraordinary passage. In laying down 'free labor' as the second great principle of his African settlements, he says, 'If ever 'there was a case in which this great law should be strictly and 'strenuously enforced, and in which it is at the same time peculiarly 'liable to be neglected or evaded, it is the case of any possessions 'we may obtain in Africa.' And, after noticing the wonderful abhorrence of slavery in the abstract which slaveholders have uniformly professed, he goes on to say,

'I firmly believe that much of all this was uttered in perfect sincerity; and yet I feel the most serious apprehensions lest these wholesome convictions should evaporate before the temptations of a country where land of the richest fertility is to be had for 1*d.* per acre, and laborers are to be purchased for 4*l.* per head. We know, not only that the Portuguese are turning their attention to plantations in the neighbourhood of Loango, but that they have been bold enough to ask us to guarantee to them their property, that is, their slaves, in these parts. This, together with *certain ominous expressions which I have heard,* convinces me that my apprehensions are not altogether chimerical; and I am not sure that we shall not once more hear the antique argument, that negroes, 'from the brutishness of their nature,' are incapable of being induced to work by any stimulus but the lash: at all events, we shall be assured, that, if we attempt to establish Free Labor, we shall assail the prejudices of the African chiefs in the tenderest point. If we do not take care at the outset, to render the holding of slaves by British subjects in Africa highly penal, and perilous in the last degree, we shall see British capital again embarked, and vested interest acquired, in human flesh. We shall, in spite of the warning we have had, commit a second time the monstrous error, to say nothing of the crime, of tolerating slavery. A second time the slave-master will accuse us of being at least accomplices in his guilt; and once more we shall have to buy off opposition by an extravagant grant of money.'—pp. 446, 447.

How any man, and, above all, such a man as Sir Fowell Buxton, should have seen so much and not have seen more, is to us astonishing. '*Ominous expression!*' Why, Mr. Wakefield, one of the leaders of modern colonization, is strenuously maintaining as a first principle, that, wherever land is cheap, slavery is necessary;* since in that position free men will work for themselves, and not for

* See the *Colonial Gazette,* understood to be conducted by Mr. Wakefield.

others. And there can be no doubt at all but this most benevolent but fatuous plan for its cultivation is neither more nor less than a plan for the consolidation of slavery in Africa.

In taking our leave of 'the true remedy,' we have only to express our hope that nothing we have said may be taken as disrespectful to Sir Fowell Buxton. None can honor more highly than ourselves the purity of his motives, or the intensity of his zeal. At the same time we have felt it our duty to deal sincerely with his theory; and we earnestly hope that the remarks made upon it by ourselves and others may not be too late to be effectual. The result of his experiment of secresy should not be lost. Pray let nobody else get even the best-intentioned plan 'adopted by government,' before it has been discussed by the public.

The plan by which Mr. Turnbull proposes to put an end to the African slave-trade is altogether different from Sir Fowell Buxton's. He looks to the regions whither the slaves are carried, rather than to that whence they are drawn; and contemplates an action on the two principal markets for slaves, namely, Cuba and Brazil. Both at Havanna and Rio de Janeiro there have long been courts vested with certain powers of adjudication respecting vessels captured in the slave-traffic; and Mr. Turnbull's proposition is that Great Britain should obtain by treaty such an extension of the powers of these courts, that they should be authorised and required to consider and determine 'the civil right, under the 'existing laws of Spain and Brazil, of an imported African to his 'freedom, *after the fact of his being landed in the island.*

'It remains to inquire what would be the probable effect of this extension of the power and jurisdiction of the Havanna court of mixed commission.

'The first consequence would be to produce a radical and practical change in the legal condition of the imported African. As matters now stand, the mere fact of his touching the soil of the island is sufficient to doom him to perpetual bondage. Once put on shore, the interests of the slave-dealer are secured. From that instant the slave may safely be transferred into another ship, and removed to any other point of her Catholic Majesty's possessions. Thenceforward the property in the slave, having become an acquired, and, practically speaking, an acknowledged right, the pretended owner may laugh a whole squadron of British cruisers to scorn.

'If the ordinary courts of justice would but do their duty, and if some poor Bozal were put into a position to assert his right to his personal liberty by the ordinary forms of judicial process, there cannot be a doubt that he would be entitled by the existing law to a judgment in his favor. The possessor of the slave might be compelled to prove his right of dominion over him; and that right could not be supported without a legal title.

'The only real difficulty in the way is the unwillingness of the public functionaries, the judges not excepted, to carry the law into effect.

Strictly speaking, there can be no legal right of ownership in a Bozal negro under the existing laws of the Spanish monarchy; and if the captain-general had not been prevented by secret counter-orders from carrying these laws into effect, the trade would long ago have been effectually suppressed.'—*Turnbull,* pp. 242—244.

It is obvious that Mr. Turnbull's plan is not one of abstract principles, but of statesmanlike expediency; not one which assumes the essential criminality of slavery, and demands freedom for every slave, but a practical suggestion for the remedy of a mischief, letting for the moment principles alone. We do not sympathise in the objection which has been raised against it on this ground. Inconsistency, or compromise of principle, we see none; and where this is not involved, we admit no necessity for refusing measures of practical benefit because they do not carry out our theory. On the contrary, we think it constitutes a great part of the wisdom of benevolent men to take advantage, whenever they can do so without inconsistency, of all practical facilities for doing good. In the case before us there is actually a recognised Spanish law, the application of which would set free every African newly imported into the Spanish territory; and the question is, shall we take measures to secure the administration of that law? We cannot conceive why such measures should not be taken, and we see many reasons why they should. It is plain that a universal application of it would destroy the Spanish slave-trade entirely; and Mr. Turnbull expresses his conviction, in which we confess we share, that even a very partial application of it would so far diminish the profits of the trade as to induce its voluntary abandonment. It has been loudly objected that it could never be done, and that the Spanish government never could allow such a social revolution as would thus be effected; but we submit that this is quite away from the question at issue. The point properly before us is, whether Mr. Turnbull's plan is *adapted* to extinguish the slave-trade. If it be not, it is not worth pursuing, although it might be perfectly easy; if it be, it is not to be given up without an effort on the assumption of insuperable difficulty. We decidedly think it worth the trial, and are glad to know that official communications have been opened on the subject by Lord Palmerston. We approve it on the principle of its touching the slave-*market*, by the destruction of which alone (as we are more and more convinced) we can destroy the trade; there being little doubt of a supply of slaves from some quarter so long as there continues to be a demand. We approve it on the principle of its touching the gainfulness of the trade, which is the entire secret of its strength. Some other plans are like binding Samson with cords and withs, or pinning his hair to the weaver's beam; this may be compared to cutting off his hair. We approve it as involving no coercion; it will induce traders in men to give up their

infamous traffic, without watching for opportunities to resume it. It will be a trade not suppressed, but abandoned; and not left, therefore, under any artificial pressure on the removal of which it might revive. We think the accomplishment of this plan would be a very great step towards the object which abolitionists have in view, and we hope the noble secretary for foreign affairs will pursue it with a degree of earnestness and vigor, corresponding with the sincerity and good feeling for which we are happy to give him credit on the anti-slavery question. He has good materials to work with, and in our judgment the achievement is far from being impossible. We sincerely thank Mr. Turnbull for the suggestion of it; and congratulate him on having received an official appointment at Havana (as consul and superintendent of liberated Africans), by means of which he may advantageously apply himself to its realization.

We must now bestow a little attention upon a third cure for the slave-trade, which has been put forth by a writer in the midsummer number of the Westminster Review. After rejecting the propositions of both Sir T. F. Buxton and Mr. Turnbull, he tells us that 'the true remedy' is to make free labor cheaper than slave-labor.

'The making free cheaper than slave-labor is our only hope. It will be slow but sure; and it has the great advantage over all systems of force that it strikes at once at the very foundations of not only the slave-trade, but slavery itself. The first sample of free labor sugar shown in the London market, at the same price and quality as that of the Havanna or Brazil, would sound the knell of the slave-trade and slavery . . . There is no doubt the cure is sufficient, if it can be applied; and here we think its chief excellence lies, that it is in our power to begin applying it immediately, without even Lord Clarendon's going to Madrid.'—*Westminster Review*, p. 156.

This is an odd scheme—the *making* free labor cheaper than slave labor. Let us suppose, however, that this great object is accomplished, and that free labor is made cheaper than slave-labor; what is to follow? Are we to believe that slaveholders will give up habits of despotic rule and unbridled sensuality, because free labor is cheaper than that of slaves? Alas, people who have had their eyes and ears open in this world have had many melancholy proofs to the contrary of this. The rights of a tyrant—if we may use such a phrase—are sweets for which many persons are willing to pay largely, and for which some have paid to their ruin. If we want further proof of it, it is to be found in the fact, which is proved beyond all reasonable controversy, that free labor is now, and always has been, cheaper than that of slaves. This '*making* free cheaper than slave labor' does not remain to be accomplished, it is already done; not by the sagacity of men, but

by the unchanging laws of a beneficent providence. It was in the very face of this fact that British colonial slavery was so tenacious of its existence, and it is in defiance of it that slavery everywhere still lives. This writer, however, asserts that 'the first 'sample of free labor sugar shown in the London market at the 'same price and quality as that of Havana or Brazil, would 'sound the knell of the slave-trade and slavery.' Why, there actually is in the London market free-labor sugar, at the same price and quality as that of Havana and Brazil (we quote Manilla sugar for an example), and yet we do not hear 'the knell of 'the slave-trade and slavery.' We may be told, no doubt, that the first sample of British colonial sugar is intended; on which we observe, that, at however small a cost British colonial sugar may be grown, it cannot appear in the London market at as low a price as that of Havana or Brazil. The bounty prevents this. It is the monopoly of the English market, not the cost of its production, which raises the price of British sugars as compared with foreign. Take away the bounty, and let all sugars come in upon equal terms, and they will soon, according to their qualities, be quite upon a par. Yet it is this artificial difference of prices, and a difference of prices, not between free sugar and slave grown, but merely between British sugar and foreign, that this writer uses for the purpose of his argument.

Let us suppose again that the reviewer has before him the project of *making* free labor cheaper than slave-labor; and let us see how he would accomplish it. He proposes immigration on a large scale. Now, immigration may be viewed under two aspects. It may be intended, either to find more hands to do the same work, or to provide new hands for further cultivation. So far as the former may be contemplated, it cannot affect the cost at which free labor will ultimately and shortly fix itself. The immigration of several thousand laborers into a colony might, for a moment, render labor cheaper there than it is now, by a temporary augmentation of the supply; but, if the article of labor should thus be reduced below its general market price, emigration would shortly take place to such an extent as to cause an equalization. Like sugar, cotton, and rice, labor is nothing more than a commodity in the market; and, whether more slowly or more rapidly, it will certainly so shift its position as to suit the supply to the demand. It will, in a word, have its market price, from which no system of emigration, on however large a scale it may be conducted, can permanently or long displace it. If any such effect as this, therefore, is what is wanted in order to render free labor cheaper than slave-labor, it may be safely asserted to be impossible.

So far as the second effect of immigration may be intended, namely, the providing of new hands for new work, it is obvious

to observe that it is altogether beside the mark. To accomplish this is not to render the work now done any cheaper, but to do more work at the same rate; and, if that rate is really a ruinous one to the cultivator, it is an aggravation of the mischief under which he labors. The reviewer states his belief that copious immigration 'would create in our West India colonies in a few 'years such an extent of production that our planters would be 'able to compete with the slaveholders,' p. 158. Now we cannot by any effort comprehend how their facility for competing with the slaveholders is to be increased by increasing the *extent* of their production. What is required to successful competition is *cheapness* of production, not quantity. If a farmer cannot compete with his neighbour in cultivating ten acres of land, could he do it any better by cultivating a hundred at the same cost per acre? If the planters cannot grow a little sugar at competition price, how would it help them to grow ten times as much at the same rate of cost? If they are to be helped at all, it is not by enlarging the quantity, but by reducing the expense. We have already shown that they cannot do this permanently below the general market price which labor will establish for itself; and it follows, therefore, that they can derive no benefit from a system of forced immigration. We will only add, that if the British planters were not at this moment effectually competing with foreign sugar growers, and putting large profits into their pockets, there would not and could not be a cry for more labor and extended cultivation.

Before parting with this writer we must advert to another paragraph, in which he lays down his general principle of anti-slave-trade philanthropy.

'If the people of England would divest themselves of the idea that this subject of the African slave-trade can only be handled and touched by a particular party—that, stripped of the slave-trade treaties, mixed commission courts, and official cant, it resolves itself into the simple principle of doing good to the Africans—they would soon come to the conclusion, that any measures which do not advance this one principle must be wrong; and (Mr. Buxton having clearly proved that those at present in use materially increase the cruelty of the trade, without diminishing its extent) they would feel it incumbent upon them to adopt no new measures suggested by the very parties whose former measures have so signally failed, without the fullest investigation of their principle and tendency.'—p. 138.

The rebuke to the people of England and the abolitionists which this passage contains may be passed over without remark. If the people of England may not trust Sir Fowell Buxton, it is quite plain that they can place at least as little confidence in the Westminster reviewer. But a word for this writer's philosophy.

He tells us that, stripped of all cant, the effort to extinguish the slave-trade 'resolves itself into the simple principle of doing good to the Africans.' We think this altogether fallacious. The spring of the slave-trade is the cupidity of the slave trader. While he can buy a man for four dollars, and sell him for four hundred, he will persist in the traffic, do what you will for the Africans. And our conclusion is, that the only real remedy for the slave-*trade* is the destruction of the slave-*markets*. Let a trader who has bought a cargo of men find that he cannot sell them, and he will buy no more. Whether the slave-markets can be destroyed we know not; but the conviction grows on us, that, with a view to the destruction of the slave-trade, the entire energy of abolitionists should be directed to this object.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For OCTOBER, 1840.

Art. I. *Memoirs of the Life of* Sir Samuel Romilly, *written by himself; with a selection from his Correspondence.* Edited by his Sons: in three volumes. Second edition. London: Murray. 1840.

PROBABLY we ought to apologise to our readers for not having presented them before with a portrait of one of our favorite lawyers and statesmen: an individual too, who acted so distinguished a part in the reform of our Criminal Law. Few persons, indeed, have ever been more beloved than Sir Samuel Romilly. He seemed equally born both for public life and retirement,—the pride of the bar and the senate,—and yet the charm of his domestic circle. Happily, from the mass of papers left behind him, there are quite sufficient materials to render him an autobiographer. He tells his own tale with a simplicity not the less refreshing from its being exceedingly rare. An intellectual son of Anak himself, and mingling on the most intimate terms with the kindred Anakim of his day, his Memoirs delightfully delineate the growth of magnificent talents, called one after the other into strenuous exertion for the welfare of his fellow creatures. The volumes before us contain two narratives of his life, bearing date respectively in 1796 and 1813; a pretty copious parliamentary journal; the diary of a visit to Paris in 1802; with another of the events in 1805; and one hundred and twenty-five letters. We shall rather make use of his own clear colors and language, than very much indulge in extracts; so that the resemblance to the great original may be the better preserved, both for his own sake, and that of others.

He was born on the first of March, 1757, from parents descended themselves from Protestant refugees. His father became a respectable jeweller in London, fond of prints and pictures, of gardening and all other simple tastes, which no doubt told upon the minds of his children, as they grew out of childhood, listening to his constant talking 'about the pleasure of doing good, and the 'rewards which virtue finds in herself; and from his lips that doc-'trine came, not as a dry and illusive precept, but as a heartfelt truth, and as the fruit of the happiest experience.' A female relation of their mother lived with them, and taught them to read, out of the Scriptures, the Spectator, and an English translation of Telemachus. When she fell ill, a maidservant, named Mary Evans, acted as her substitute, ill-qualified enough for the cultivation of understandings, 'but whose tender and affectionate 'nature, whose sensibility at the sufferings of others, and earnest 'desire to relieve them to the extent of her little means, could 'hardly fail to improve the hearts of those who were under her 'care.' It is pleasant to observe the felicitous appreciation which the subject of this article ever entertained for the softer sex. Their gentle influences shed a sunshine upon many fair years of his existence; nor did it occur to him to draw any other distinction than social circumstances might require, between his gratitude towards those of his benefactresses, who moved in an envied sphere, or that towards the lowly domestic, who had attended him in early life. His mother, from the state of her health, could take no part at all in the superintendence of her family. Little Samuel attached himself forthwith, therefore, to Mary Evans. 'I loved her,' he says, 'to adoration. I remember, 'when quite a child, kissing unperceived by her the clothes which 'she wore; and when she once entertained a design of quitting us 'and going to live with her own relatives, I received the news as 'that of the greatest misfortune that could befal me; and going 'up into my room in an agony of affliction, I implored God, upon 'my knees, to avert so terrible a calamity.' Let us honor the memory of his mighty mind for recording such recollections, in a solemn and private memorial, when approaching the fortieth year of its age!

How far such a state of affairs proved fortunate or otherwise in the long run is another matter. The boy must have been as affectionate and winning as a child can be: but the honest and kindhearted maid of all work eschewed philosophy, and subsequently loved Methodism! Her charge had his imagination alarmed from the very commencement with nursery stories of devils, witches, and apparitions. He had one brother, Thomas, and one sister, Catharine. They seemed to have listened, and gasped with wonder all the while. Samuel, however, felt something more. His whole soul was a lyre of exquisite conforma-

tion; and Terror unhappily was allowed to play the first notes upon it. Their melancholy and pensiveness summoned from the abysses within him a dread and awful shadow, which never altogether abandoned his career. In mature life he confesses that 'the gloom to which I had from my childhood been subject, at 'intervals always oppressed me; and my happiness was often 'poisoned by the reflection, that at some time or other, it must 'have an end!' So again after a residence at Bath, he describes himself as having 'entertained strong apprehensions that his dis-'orders would terminate in madness.' Who is there that does not wish that the Methodism he despised and unintentionally much misrepresented, had but been so imbibed as to lead him to seek after the inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and which *fadeth not away!* Here he would have found a counteraction to the phantom of his fears. His powers would have become spiritualized and exalted. He would have built his nest of glory upon those moral altitudes, whence an eye of faith can descry the perpetual hills, and the enduring blessedness of another world. He would have honored his Maker more, and served his generation not less. But as it was, poor Mary Evans proved an injudicious, although a well-meaning religious instructress. The goodness of God, as manifested in the gospel, was lost sight of. As young Romilly grew up and came of age, he studied the writings of Rousseau with astonishment and rapture. He 'imbibed 'all his doctrines, adopted all his opinions, and embraced his sys-'tem of morality, with the fervor of a convert to some new reli-'gion.' He seriously inscribed as a motto, at this time, over the title-page of the Emile, *Malo cum Platone errare, quam cum aliis vera sentire!* Riper and later reflection no doubt moderated the absurdity of such hallucinations; yet to the last he recorded his sentiments touching the arch-monster of profligate infidelity, as never being 'so cold and insensible as to leave him able, under 'any circumstances, to read his writings with an even and languid 'pulse, and unmoistened eyes!' Alas—that it should have been so: but the retributive consequence was, that the evil genius of his nursery returned at fitful intervals; until at length amidst universal, or at least national sorrow, it hurried him over the precipice of life, in a paroxysm of unquestionable insanity.

In aggravation, moreover, of the impressions produced by the magical creations of fiction or imposture, he had formed a practice when exceedingly young of perusing the Newgate Calendar. The prints both in this work, and an enormous martyrology, which happened to fall in his way, filled his dreams with horrible executions, murders, and scenes of blood. Constant apprehensions of death too, as about to overtake his father, all amiable as they were, only helped to inflame sensibilities already diseased and morbid. The semblance of filial virtue, as connected with

this last mentioned anxiety, even induced him to cherish rather than restrain it. He suffered himself, as it were, to get nervous upon principle, and 'reproached himself if ever he felt a moment 'of security.' His attendance at a dull chapel of the French refugees on Sundays, or at a school upon the weekdays, where reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with Latin, were taught, appeared of slight avail. The preacher struck him as monotonous and sleepy: but the pedagogue was lively enough. Of his profession, indeed, he knew nothing, except the most important art of flogging upon aristocratic principles. The name in which he rejoiced was not less euphonous than it was appropriate,—being no other than *Flack!* He scourged without mercy the sons of all the barbers, bakers, and butchers in the neighbourhood; more especially after the torments of an ever returning rheumatism had occasioned him a sleepless night. But the children of a goldsmith and jeweller, thought genteel, and reputed to be rich, found marvellous favor in his eyes. Samuel Romilly and his brother kept their skins scathless, do whatever they might whilst in the bosom of the former, such shameless partiality served to engender and confirm an abhorrence of oppression and injustice, which never afterwards diminished. Their father, however, perhaps seeing that they scarcely acquired anything at school, established it as a rule at home, 'that French 'should be spoken in the family on a Sunday;' and so Samuel learned French: and the same worthy parent being particularly desirous that he should acquire Latin, that he might distinguish himself in the law, he therefore went to work at sixteen, and with the assistance of an instructor named Paterson, engaged as a private tutor, he made respectable proficiency in that language also. For some interval, it had nevertheless been difficult to determine whether the lad should be articled to an attorney, or inducted into the counting-house of Sir Samuel Fludyer and Company. Those gentlemen were family connexions on the paternal side; and golden prospects appeared to open at one time in that direction. Mighty and suitable preparations were accordingly plunged into, that the wheel of fortune might not roll towards him in vain. 'It 'was resolved that I should learn the art or science (I know not 'which it should be called) of keeping merchants' accounts. A 'master was provided for me. I was equipped with a set of 'journals, waste books, bill books, ledgers, and I know not what; 'and I passed some weeks in making careful entries of ideal 'transactions, keeping a register of the times when fictitious bills 'of exchange would become due, and posting up imaginary 'accounts.' More time would have been lost in this ridiculous employment, had not his tutorial accountant suddenly decamped to avoid his creditors; and Sir Samuel Fludyer died of an apoplexy. Nobler destinies awaited him in future; although still

for many years his path ran along the gentler slopes and declivities of the busy world. His father had an immense business, not very well managed. His gross returns were £20,000 per annum; yet his profits seem to have been no more than sufficient to support himself in common comfort. Samuel Romilly, therefore, having averted his eyes and thoughts for the present, as well from the execrable dustiness and dulness of the only solicitor's office whose interior he knew, as also from the tripods and ledgers out of which the Fludyers had won fortunes and baronetcies, quietly assumed an unobtrusive station behind the paternal counter.

Here he enjoyed two inestimable advantages, which a mind gifted as his was knew right well how to improve. His superiors were kind to him; and as great a portion of leisure fell to his lot, as can be good for any young man. Hence his home remained identified with his sphere of duty; whilst his greediness after knowledge developed itself in every possible direction. History, criticism, and poetry, absorbed him by turns. In respect to the last, like many other aspirants after fame, he soon grew persuaded that he had received, as Forster says, a diploma from Apollo. He strung together tolerable rhymes, and mistook them for productions pregnant with Promethean fire. His father, brother, and sister, with one or more cousins, constituted an admiring audience; and the shop of course became increasingly distasteful. These matters, however, gave him an interest in devoting his leisure hours to harmless instead of injurious pursuits. An illimitable horizon of science, information, and genius enlarged around him. His mind fed, and got more hungry the more it did so. The Roman language, already acquired, was now cultivated. Before reaching the verge of manhood, he had 'read 'every prose writer of the ages of pure Latinity, except those 'treating of technical subjects merely, such as Varro, Columella, 'and Celsus.' He had thrice perused the whole of Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus; all Cicero with very inconsiderable exceptions; besides going through Cæsar, Terence, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, again and again. Greek he attempted, but with no success. Travels without end contributed to his general and geographical stores. He attended several courses of lectures on natural philosophy given by Martin, Ferguson, and Walker; as well as those on painting, architecture, and anatomy, at the Royal Academy. A rich relation of Mrs. Romilly just then died, bequeathing her husband a handsome fortune, and her three children from £7000 to £9000 amongst them. This wealth proved well bestowed; since it brought virtuous independence, and contented happiness upon its wings. Samuel had for his own individual share at first £2000, and afterwards £700 or £800 more. The grateful apostrophe into which he breaks out in his

secret memorandum reflects credit upon so young a person, as far we mean as his human benefactor was concerned. 'Blessed be 'his memory,' he writes, 'for this kindness. But for these lega- 'cies, the portion of my life which is already past must have been 'spent in a manner the most irksome and painful, and my present 'condition would probably have been wretched and desperate. I 'should have engaged in business; I should probably have failed 'of success in it; and I should at this moment have been without 'fortune, without credit, and without the means of acquiring 'either; and what would have been most painful to me, my 'nearest relations would have been without resources.' His father soon removed into a house at Marylebone, where he had before lived in lodgings when it was a village *in the country;* but by the increase of buildings it had now ceased to be such, and was merely the outskirts of London.

The successful barrister full often looked back in after life to many happy hours spent in High Street; where, although the paternal mansion was in appearance low and narrow, with its two small windows on a floor, and the 'little square piece of ground 'behind it dignified with the name of a garden,' yet nevertheless peace and satisfaction reigned in no ordinary degree. It would be cruel to withhold the following exquisite domestic picture, since it affectingly unveils the *cunabula rerum* in a united English family.

'Those who had hearts to feel in what real pleasure consists might have here found a lively, youthful, and accomplished society, blest with every enjoyment that an endearing home can afford; a society united by a similarity of tastes, dispositions, and affections, as well as by the strongest ties of blood. They would have admired our lively, varied, and innocent pleasures; our summer rides and walks in the cheerful country which was close to us; our winter-evening occupations of drawing, whilst one of us read aloud some interesting book, or the eldest of my cousins played and sung to us with the most delicate taste and expression; the little banquets with which we celebrated the anniversary of my father's wedding, and of the birth of every member of our happy circle; and the dances, with which, in spite of the smallness of our rooms, we were frequently indulged. I cannot recollect the days, happily I may say the years, which thus passed away, without the most lively emotion. I love to transport myself in idea into our little parlor with its green paper, and the beautiful prints of Vivares, Bartolozzi, and Strange, from the pictures of Claude, Caracci, Raphael, and Corregio, with which its walls were elegantly adorned; and to call again to mind the familiar and affectionate society of young and old intermixed, which was gathered round the fire; and even the Italian greyhound, the cat, and the spaniel, which lay in perfect harmony, basking before it. I delight to see the door open, that I may recognise the friendly countenances of the servants, and above all of

the old nurse, to whom we were all endeared, because it was while she attended my mother that her health had so much improved. But yet, with such means of happiness, and in the midst of enjoyments so well suited to my temper and disposition, *I was not completely happy.* The melancholy to which I had from my childhood been subject, at intervals oppressed me; and my happiness was often poisoned by the reflection, *that at some time or other it must end!*'

—Vol. i. pp. 27, 28.

Meanwhile the old man of antiquity shook his hour-glass, sharpened his scythe, and realized these touching apprehensions, with regard to many persons and many things around Samuel Romilly. His dislike towards any retail business increased daily: yet the mind within him urged him to awake and be working; for his former playfellows and numerous acquaintances were launching their barks one after another, as if to leave him far behind. Once more it was determined that he should enter upon some department of the law; and at length he had been articled to William Michael Lally, Esq., one of the Six Clerks in the Court of Chancery. It was during his engagement, indeed, with this gentleman, that by far the largest portion of his juvenile acquisitions came to be made. Mr. Lally possessed a strong natural understanding, improved by general reading, much knowledge of the world, a high sense of honor, the purest integrity, a very brilliant fancy, and no ordinary talents for conversation. He seems to have performed for his young pupil exactly the part which the Swiss pastor at Lausanne did for Edward Gibbon. All unfounded prejudices against what is really useful and honorable were judiciously weeded out from a very hopeful and promising soil. An instructor could hardly have been selected more suitable than Mr. Lally. Not that he saw at once what the lad consigned to his care could really do; but various delightful encouragements were afforded to look upwards rather than downwards. His able clerk began slowly to feel his own strength; inwardly and not unfrequently dwelling and ruminating over a favorite expression of Virgil,—

> 'Aliquid jamdudum invadere magnum
> Mens agitat mihi, nec placidâ contenta quiete est!'

Changes had occurred, moreover, at the French Chapel where the family attended, to the pastoral charge of which the Rev. John Roget now succeeded; having come over from Geneva, and settled in England for that purpose. In due course this amiable and gifted clergyman formed the warmest friendship with young Samuel Romilly, and finally married his sister. He too discerned the vast mental powers of his companion, and exercised

from first to last considerable influence over him. Lally dissuaded him from dreaming about the bar, erroneously conceiving his diffidence to be an insurmountable obstacle to success. Roget, on the other hand, judged far more accurately in this instance, nor ever let his brother-in-law rest, until with the rather reluctant consent of various relatives, he was at length entered at Grays Inn, after having completed the twenty-first year of his age. The works of Thomas had fallen into his hands. He had read with admiration his eulogium upon Daguesseau; and the career of that illustrious magistrate excited to a very great degree his ardor and ambition. He had connected himself with Mr. Spranger, a chancery draftsman, through the advice of his recent master; nor was there any reason for repentance with regard to his choice. Mr. Spranger smoothed away many difficulties; throwing an interest even into those technical preliminaries indispensable to subsequent progress. Romilly passed all his mornings, and most of his evenings, in a very large library. Commonplace books enabled him to study legal reports with immense advantage. He also attended both houses of parliament on various occasions; neither neglecting any opportunity that offered for improving his elocution, nor failing to cultivate the severest principles of classical taste upon a plan suggested by Quinctilian. The acquisitions of the scholar were blending themselves with those of the lawyer: whilst genius of the highest and most philosophical order presided over the union, and blessed it with its happiest auspices. He used to recite in abstracted thought any speeches or arguments he might have lately heard; answering them according to his own views of affairs as he passed through crowded streets; or polishing away what he deemed the roughnesses of his style whenever riding on horseback for needful exercise into the adjacent country. His health, which had never been strong, began to fail rapidly.

An alarming illness, attacking M. Roget about this period, augmented his cares. Change of air, the waters of Bath, total suspension of all intellectual pursuits, and recommended courses of medicine, appeared for months to produce very little beneficial effect. His nights were sleepless; his days restless and agitated; nor could the slightest exertions, whether physical or mental, be indulged in, without being immediately followed by fearful palpitations of the heart. Just as some of these distressing symptoms began to subside, the riots of Lord George Gordon, in 1780, again revived them. He had a morbid horror of mobs from his childhood: and now the students of the various Inns of Court armed and enrolled themselves for their own defence. He, therefore, felt called upon under such circumstances to act as others did. For one whole night he remained out in the open air, 'ashamed of being or seeming ill at the crisis of danger.' During

several successive hours he stood sentinel at the gateway leading into Holborn. His account of the entire insurrection is most interesting, as narrated in letters to his brother-in-law and sister, obliged to settle at Geneva, through the bad health of the former. The results of extraordinary fatigue in sultry and unfavorable weather proved just what might have been expected. The volunteer was on the sick list forthwith, and got worse than ever. He felt so relaxed that he could hardly stand upright; and had the continual agitation of his fibres permitted him to repose, the pulsations of his aorta would not, which were visible even through his clothes, as a servant dressed him. No prospect could well seem more overcast or clouded; yet no sooner did strength at all return than he forthwith acquired the Italian language; finding boundless entertainment in the novelties which its literature presented to him. Happily, however, the Rogets had left their child in England, whom they could no longer suffer to remain there; and it therefore became necessary that an uncle at least should convoy this pledge of love to its parents in a foreign land. Samuel Romilly started upon such an amiable, and yet suitable piece of service, on the 16th of June, 1781. Travelling brought about its usual effects. He proceeded by deliberate stages of about thirty or forty miles *per diem*, through the Netherlands, and by Lorraine and Franche Comté into Switzerland. Every place afforded him objects for investigation and improvement. Variety, novelty, mountain breezes, and intercourse with the Rogets, rapidly restored him. They had hired a delicious retreat about a mile above Lausanne. Six weeks flew away like a dream with such companions, and in such scenery. His window opened upon the Lake of Geneva, stretched out to its full extent, and bounded by the hoary Alps of Savoy. Hour after hour he gazed upon the waters and glaciers with rapture. The sublime and beautiful of nature braced both his outward frame and inner man at one and the same moment, by the most delightful and salubrious process. In the Pays de Vaud he contemplated an inanimate indeed, yet scarcely terrestrial world, as those will declare who have expatiated in the enjoyment for any length of time of that unparalleled paradise. But at Geneva, to which he now proceeded, he was permitted to study man! That pigmy republic was then overflowing with remarkable characters, and teeming with wonderful events. He lived and unbosomed himself with such individuals as Chauvet, Duroveray, Clavière, Reybaz, and others like them. He declares that the society of Geneva had all the liveliness of French conversation without its frivolity, and the good sense of England united to such a refined literary taste, as he could have before conceived no idea of. We regret however to add, that this opinion had its foundation in an admiration, and almost an idolatrous one, for the works of Voltaire and

Rousseau; with regard to the latter of whom he had just before written: 'Had I the arrogance to judge of originals, some of 'which I know but from translations, I should possibly give to 'some passages the preference over the great masterpieces of 'antiquity. At least after reading Rousseau, I am inclined to 'confess that after all, my favorite Cicero 'n'était q'un avocat:' whilst as to the merits of one of the worst of his productions, he thus expresses himself, 'Mon cœur a béni cent fois pendant cette 'lecture l'homme vertueux et ferme qui ose ainsi instruire les 'humains.' Roget was as unreasonable as himself on this subject, which was only so much more painful, as the garb of a clergyman was upon his shoulders, and the grave yawning under his feet. Romilly brought away an augmented love of liberty from what he witnessed at Geneva during his stay, and from the catastrophe which extinguished its glories, shortly after he had quitted it.

He was very desirous whilst in foreign countries to inform himself of their Criminal Law, and their modes of administering justice. Switzerland afforded him some favorable opportunities, more especially at Geneva; where also he conceived a warm attachment to M. Dumont, who entered into these subjects deeply, and never relaxed in his reciprocal friendship towards one of their ablest expounders. He paid, moreover, a visit to the Grande Chartreuse and Paris on his return home; having several interviews in the French metropolis with D'Alembert and Diderot, as well as with the most celebrated artists, advocates, and authors. In 1783, he repeated his excursion to Lausanne, after having been called to the bar on the last day of Easter Term. Poor Roget had died of his disorder, as most persons must have foreseen he would; and it was necessary that some one should bring home the afflicted widow and her two children; the second an infant at the breast. John Baynes, a native of the West Riding of Yorkshire, accompanied him; whose memory Doctor Parr has immortalized in one of his best Latin epitaphs. Through his introduction Romilly found access to the famous Benjamin Franklin, then living at Passy. The philosopher perhaps derived nearly as much pleasure as he afforded on that occasion. Mr. Romilly remarks in his narrative, 'of all the celebrated persons 'whom in my life I have chanced to see, Franklin, both from his 'appearance and conversation, seemed to me the most remarkable. 'His venerable patriarchal appearance, the simplicity of his man-'ner and language, the novelty of his observations, at least the 'novelty of them at that time to me, impressed me with an 'opinion of him, as one of the most extraordinary men that ever 'existed.' Affection for, and sympathy with his bereaved sister, however, quickly drew him away even from Passy and Paris; nor would it be aught but injustice to fail observing, that in his

case the impulses of the heart always had greater sway over him than even the richest intellectual enjoyments. Hence proceeds such a memorandum as the following: 'There is nothing by 'which I have through life more profited than by the just obser- 'vations, the good opinion, and the sincere and gentle encourage- 'ment of amiable and sensible women.' At Geneva a revolution in favor of the aristocratical party had taken place, through the interference of France. He could never forget the burning indignation with which he looked down upon a French regiment mounting guard under his hotel; the noise of whose military music 'seemed as it were to insult the ancient liberties of the 'republic.' The features of his mental physiognomy were now rapidly forming into a fresh but magnificent manhood. The Abbé Raynal had interested him by the publication of his Philosophical History of the Indies: but when, with kindled sentiments against the horrors of slavery and the slave-trade, he paid his respects to the author, a cold reception sadly disappointed his expectations, which might have served to illustrate the difference between artificial sentimentalism in the closet, and genuine practical philanthropy emanating from evangelical principles.

The earliest circuit he went upon was the midland, in the spring of 1784. His father died in the August of that year, much lamented by his affectionate children, and leaving far less wealth behind than common people had anticipated. Our recent losses in the American war had occasioned commercial pressure from which few escaped. It now became necessary that the young barrister should keep a servant to receive briefs at chambers, and attend his master on his circuit. The choice made of one proved not a little singular. 'Mary Evans,' observes our autobiographer, 'had become strongly *infected with methodism*, and had married 'a pious journeyman shoemaker of the name of Bickers, as fer- 'vent a Methodist as herself.' This poor man beginning to grow infirm could no longer work at his trade; and Mr. Samuel Romilly, to keep his old favorite domestic from starving, most benevolently hired her husband both as clerk and valet. We all know what the force of ridicule will do; particularly when the ground for it is undeniable and palpable. The puritanical appearance of Bickers standing behind his master at dinner, obtained for him from the younger lawyers a nickname of 'the Quaker.' Mr. Romilly endured a martyrdom in bearing such jokes, and many more, for successive years. There is an admixture of misapprehension as to what Wesleyanism really consisted in, as well as of deeply humane integrity in what follows, as recorded in his own words:

'It is not easy to give an idea of the great familiarity which existed among the young men who went the circuit, of the strong disposition

to turn things into ridicule which prevailed, and *how very formidable that ridicule was.* To all his defects Bickers added that of sometimes getting drunk; and he has often made me pass very unpleasant hours, under the apprehension, that half elevated with liquor, and half inspired with the spirit of Methodism which possessed him, he would say or do something, which would afford an inexhaustible fund of mirth to the whole circuit. All this however I submitted to from the motives already mentioned; and in spite of his increasing defects and infirmities, and notwithstanding the disagreeable hours which he made me pass, he continued my servant to the day of his death (a period I think of about seven years), though I was obliged at last to take a temporary servant to attend me on the circuits. With all his defects he had some excellent qualities. He knew that it could not be for the services he rendered me that I continued him in my service, and he was all gratitude for my kindness. In every way that was possible for him he showed his zeal and his attachment to me; nor shall I soon forget the earnestness with which he once ventured to offer me his advice upon what appeared to him to be a matter of no small moment. I had sometimes employed him to copy papers, which I had amused myself with writing *upon abuses existing in the administration of justice,* and upon the necessity of certain reforms. He had seen with great regret the little progress I had made in my profession, and particularly upon the circuit, and had observed those whom he thought much my inferiors in talents far before me in business; and putting these matters together in his head, he entertained no doubt that he had at last discovered the cause of what had long puzzled him. The business of a barrister depends on the good opinion of attorneys; and attorneys never could think well of any man, who was troubling himself about reforming abuses, when he ought to be profiting by them. All this he one day took the liberty of representing to me with very great humility. I endeavoured to calm his apprehensions, and told him that what I wrote was seen only by himself and me; but this no doubt did not satisfy him.'—vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

We have extracted with pleasure this passage entire, as conveying to our minds the most exact idea in embryo of what Romilly afterwards demonstrated himself to be, before the judges and senates of the land. We have here the same benevolent wishes to serve his fellow-creatures, however humble,—the same intense gratitude for benefits or services formerly conferred,—the same sensibility to ridicule held in check by the sternest love of justice,—the same uprightness of mere moral principle considered as apart from genuine religious experience,—the same abhorrence of abuses, and more especially those connected with the criminal law,—and the same magnanimity, modesty, and consideration for others, which afterwards distinguished him when at the head of his profession, and realizing from it an income of from £8000 to £10,000 per annum. He had secretly resolved within himself, from the commencement of his career, to employ all his talents

and influence, whatever they might be, for the public good. Of divine truth, it must be admitted he knew nothing; and to this circumstance should be attributed his friendship for such an individual as the Count de Mirabeau, described by Sir Walter Scott to have been in person and mind *like a tiger which had had the small-pox!* This notorious leader of the French revolution possessed more than sufficient penetration to perceive that Romilly might be materially useful to him, as the sequel proved. He translated for him a short tract which the Count brought over to England, and published here against the order of the Cincinnati recently established in America; from which time to his death correspondence and intercourse grew frequent between them. Mirabeau helped with another friend to introduce Romilly to Lord Lansdowne, who requested an interview with him, and never lost sight of him afterwards: having first had his attention drawn in that direction by an excellent 'Fragment on the Legitimate Power and Duties of Juries,' which Mr. R. had written and sent anonymously to the Constitutional Society. Some years afterwards his lordship offered him a seat in parliament, with an assurance that he was to feel at perfect liberty to vote and act as he thought proper. The patriot however imagined, that at least the impress of a collar might thus be put upon his neck, and therefore honorably declined it. Yet it was at the request of this nobleman that he now published his 'Observations on Madan's 'Thoughts on Executive Justice;' nor when upon the circuit, did the failure of his pamphlet in its circulation at all deter him from occupying his leisure hours in pursuing his favorite study of criminal law. He attended the crown courts as often as possible; noting down carefully the most remarkable points that might happen to be raised there; as well as the effects which the different provisions of the law, the rules of evidence, and formularies of process appeared to produce on the manners of the people or on judicial administration. He found it also advantageous to attend the quarter sessions at Warwick; whilst the increase of his business in town grew to be regular and considerable. His third visit to France occurred in 1788, with Dumont for his companion. They travelled through Normandy, and reached Paris, amidst those months of intense agitation which preceded the meeting of the states general in the ensuing year. Rochefoucauld, Malesherbes, Lafayette, Chamfort, Jefferson, Etienne de St. Pierre, and above all Mirabeau, invited him successively to their various circles. He left such scenes with regret, gathered from them all the instruction possible, and returned to his less exciting duties at the bar very early in October.

The Count de Sarsfield had requested him to transmit for the use of French senators some book embodying the rules and orders of the British House of Commons. There being no such

sensible work in existence, Samuel Romilly immediately drew one up; which Mirabeau translated and published, although in vain. The national assembly imagined itself far too wise to need any such directory; preferring clamor, confusion, gesticulation, and grimace, to whatever might approach the dulness of decorum. Dupont assured him that it was once pleasantly proposed, by one of the members, that never more than four orators should be permitted to speak at once! No one nevertheless indulged in more sanguine expectations, that the crisis of European regeneration had arrived, than Romilly. He gave the world a brief treatise on the subject under the title of 'Thoughts on the probable In-'fluence of the French Revolution on Great Britain.' He set out for Versailles as soon as he could be released from the circuit, reaching the vortex of that political volcano just after the decrees of the 4th of August had been passed, abolishing tithes and feudalities in the course of a single evening. His bright hopes when at a distance experienced some shadows now that he was on the spot. What struck him as most remarkable in the dispositions of the people was the inordinate desire every body had to act a grand part, and the jealousy which in consequence of this was entertained toward those who were really eminent. Paris had become a metropolis of fools; for every one waxed wiser than all other persons beside, at least in his own eyes! From such causes the results could be easily predicted by those whose heads were not seized with vertigo amidst a nation of monkeys and infidels; each and all stroking their self-importance, and chattering unutterable absurdities under the names of liberty and philosophy. Some allowances, however, should be made for their having been enslaved for ages to a despotic monarchy, a polluted aristocracy, and a superstitious, bigoted, unprincipled church establishment, which were swept away in burst after burst of emancipated popular power. The earlier stages of political existence, under the circumstances which France was then in, could be by possibility nothing less than alternations of despondency and phrenzy. There stood forth no middle class with its religious habits of thought and practice, or its sober notions of order and obedience to law, to sustain the centre of the social edifice by its immensity, and moderate the madness of its extremities on either side. Mr. Romilly must have seen this in ten thousand different degrees; whilst no doubt he deeply sighed as he saw it. He looked about for common sense,—but common selfishness came in its stead, making use of as many counterfeit pretences and high sounding hypocritical appellations, as if Satan himself had been distributing stars, ribands, titles, and virtues (under the aspect of an angel of light), from his infernal fountain of honors! Not that the far-famed Reflections of Edmund Burke could mislead him to suppose that the opposite to what is wrong must of necessity be

what is right. His estimate of that excellent and eminent individual was most critically correct; nor less so was his appreciation of that literary performance which for a time intoxicated these kingdoms. 'It is astonishing,' he observes to a correspondent, 'how Burke's book is fallen; though the tenth edition is now 'publishing, its warmest admirers at its first appearance begin to 'be ashamed of their admiration.' He thought Burke more a poet than an orator; who, when he had once got hold of a beautiful image, forgot that its only genuine use is to illustrate: the ornament usurped in his compositions the place of the subject; whilst rhetoric and decorated figures absorbed argumentation. The French nation seemed acting upon a somewhat similar system; for when Romilly was again at Paris after the peace of Amiens, he discovered that words and phrases passed current for realities. Buonaparte, a consul, trampled upon millions at every turn; but for their consolation, the names of Liberty and Equality were inscribed on streets, churches, triumphal arches, and palaces, in characters professing to be indelible.

Meanwhile, when at home, enormous practice poured into his chambers. He was now in the forty-first year of his age, when he married Anne, eldest daughter of Francis Garbett, Esq., of Knill Court, Herefordshire, on the 3rd of January, 1798. It proved as happy a union as ever falls to the lot of mortals. He had first seen this lady at Bowood; with regard to which we have these pensive remarks in a letter written more than five years and a half afterwards: 'I now always visit at Lord Lansdowne's with 'fresh pleasure, as it was there I first saw my dear Anne, and 'every spot of that delightful abode brings to my recollection 'scenes which were only an earnest of that unmixed felicity, 'which I have ever since enjoyed. But I say too much, when I 'call it quite unmixed; for though I cannot consider the irksome 'and laborious duties of my profession as a real interruption of 'my happiness, yet *it is in truth interrupted by the reflection that 'in this life everything is subject to change; and that our condition can hardly change but for the worse!*' Oh, that the gospel of Christ had but been permitted to supersede the vile confessions of Rousseau; on which he seems to have fed, even after his own eyes had witnessed their natural results in the tragical scenes of the reign of terror. It was reported, he says, of Fouché, that 'he 'used at one time to wear in his hat the *ear of an aristocrat*, 'after the manner of a national cockade!' What had the spirit of Romilly to do with these wretches, but to execrate their crimes? No contrast, as to mere natural character, can be more striking than the tone of his mind, full to overflowing with all domestic and philanthropic affections; whenever it is compared with the false artificialities and sentimental conventionalisms of his foreign acquaintances. Fifteen years after his nuptials we

stumble upon this private memorandum: 'It is in my domestic 'life that the most important changes have taken place. My 'happiness has been the constant study of the most excellent of 'wives; a woman in whom a strong understanding, the noblest 'and most elevated sentiments, and the most courageous virtue 'are united to the warmest affection, and to the utmost delicacy 'of mind, and tenderness of heart: and all these intellectual per-'fections are graced and adorned by the most splendid beauty 'that human eyes ever beheld.' They had seven children, to whose education he cheerfully afforded whatever personal superintendence his circumstances would admit of: for with every term his reputation was rising; so that it was only by severe efforts he could even secure the long vacations as his own. Jeremy Bentham and Dugald Stewart began henceforward to rank high amongst his friends. In 1805 the Bishop of Durham appointed him Chancellor to the County Palatine. His lordship had never met him in company, nor spoken to him above once in his life: but a plan proposed by Mr. Romilly for slaughtering cattle, which would be attended with much less pain to animals than the mode commonly practised, so impressed this prelate with an idea of the meritorious humanity which could prompt an equity lawyer overwhelmed with business to turn his mind towards such subjects, that he silenced several applications from the highest quarters, by voluntarily offering him the office. His modest descriptions of what he suffered from the pomp and parade attendant upon his dignity at the Castle and Bishop's Auckland would give us pleasure to transcribe, had we room for them. In a certain limited sense he showed himself indeed a man *Integer vitæ scelerisque purus.*

The Prince of Wales now tendered him a seat in parliament, with all the dazzling prospects of holding the seals at some future day; could his upright and independent spirit have lowered itself to royal levels and courtierlike obsequiousness. Consulted with respect to the unfortunate Princess of Wales, he felt compelled to investigate many delicate questions, which must have been odious to his tastes and predilections. As a virtuous lady, or rather as one that *ought to have been* virtuous, it is clear from his diary, that she had perpetrated many minor offences,—meriting, when taken together, the high reprehension expressed on the part of her father-in-law. Of her profligate and pusillanimous partner, a compound of the parricidal sack at Rome covered over with the varnished skin of a gentleman, there could be but one opinion. Mr. Romilly has sufficiently hinted at the real intrigue, which rendered the politics of the heir apparent not less abominable than his morals. A new mistress, in fact, produced that hostility against the Catholics, when he became regent, as well as the determination to support in power those very men, whom

he had always considered his personal enemies; so puzzling as both these problems appeared at the time. There are indeed pictures of misgovernment, and the general mischiefs of aristocracy, unveiled in the volumes before us; such as would furnish the genius of Chartism with materials for months to feed upon. William Pitt having gone to his long home, the Grenville administration succeeded. It brought Romilly into parliament for Queenborough, made him solicitor-general, and knighted him; the last sorely against his will. He was immediately appointed one of the committee for impeaching Lord Melville. The cruel punishments in the army and navy would have vanished before his honest denunciations, had not Lord Grey, agreeing with him in opinion, considered it dangerous, or at least inexpedient to interfere with them. With regard to the noble exertions of Wilberforce he proved more successful. His speeches against the infamous slave-trade raised his fame in the house, and through the nation. The iniquities of lotteries as sources of revenue were pointed out by him to Lord Henry Petty; nor quite altogether in vain. The liberty of the press, and an improvement of the law of evidence, received his enlightened and unflinching support. With regard to the royal power being sufficient to legislate for conquered colonies he differed from his learned colleague Sir Arthur Pigott. Amendments as to bankruptcies, bills to make freehold estates assets to pay simple contract debts, the education of the poor, the abolition of injurious parliamentary privileges, modifications of imprisonments for debt, and measures to prevent the crown from granting offices in reversion, were all amongst his favorite subjects. But above all, and more especially when the Whigs had given way to the Duke of Portland, and he was returned to the new parliament for Horsham, and afterwards for Wareham, his best abilities were devoted to the amelioration of our criminal code. His first attempts were two; namely, to invest criminal courts with a power of making compensation out of the county rates, to persons accused of felonies, &c., acquitted, for their expenses, loss of time, and previous imprisonment; and, secondly, to moderate the severity of the legislature respecting what should in future constitute capital offences. It is not our intention even to sketch in the briefest manner any outline of his unwearied labours. But in glancing at one or two points, the stupid dread of innovation, and the combined malice of mitres and coronets, can scarcely fail to produce some impression. In February, 1810, he moved for, and obtained leave to bring into the House of Commons three bills for repealing certain acts punishing with death private stealing in a shop to the extent of five shillings, also thefts in dwelling-houses to the amount of forty shillings, or larcenies to the same amount on board vessels in navigable rivers. As Sir Samuel

Romilly well observed, the increased price of articles really cheapened the value of human life. His harangue was a noble one, producing immense effect in parliament, where it was delivered, as well as out of it, when published under the title of 'Observations on the Criminal Law, as it relates to capital 'punishments, and on the mode in which it is administered.'

Never before nor since could there have been a greater shock communicated to the nerves and sensibilities of princes, peers, and prelates. The report of a fowling-piece or blunderbuss in a rookery was all calmness and serenity compared with it. Ministers poured forth vapid declamations on the wisdom of our ancestors, and the danger of touching what is old. It will be recollected that the principle of upholding antiquated abuses seems always impersonated under official costume. And so when the measure for repealing the shoplifting act at length wormed its way into the House of Lords, it was rejected by a majority of thirty-one to eleven; no less than seven bishops recording their suffrages, and that within the last thirty years, that 'transporta-'tion for life is not a sufficiently severe punishment for pilfering 'what is worth only five shillings; and that nothing but the blood 'of the offender can afford an adequate atonement for such a 'transgression.' Even Lord Ellenborough charged the author of this benevolent effort as holding intentions to overturn the whole system of law and society! It will never be known until the great consummation of all things, how many inward wounds have been inflicted upon upright minds by sneers and insinuations; nor how hard and heartless the uphill labor is of effecting the smallest degree of legislative improvement, when prejudices are assailed amidst the frowns of a conservative sovereign, the vigilance of a jealous and self-interested nobility, and the anathemas of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. Romilly and Mackintosh, with a handful of fellow-workers in the same task, might have cheered themselves and each other, with glancing forward occasionally towards a posterity certain of rendering them due justice: but meanwhile their posthumous rewards were generally to be sown in present disappointment; and the task of pressing through some single measure, or set of measures, had to be re-commenced again and again, just when success seemed on the very point of being attained. Five bills, analagous to those already mentioned, were carried in the Commons, in April, 1811: and on that occasion, Whitbread spoke earnestly in favor of their calumniated and indefatigable proposer. He concluded indeed with what may appear an exception to our last statement: 'The public opinion 'respecting them might be seen from the rise of his honorable 'and learned friend even from the high eminence on which he had 'formerly stood in public estimation. His finding time from his 'severe avocations to pursue this excellent and beneficial plan,

'after all the political feuds of this day were forgotten, would 'transmit his name with honor to future generations, as the 'benefactor of his country. Some men by their virtuous exer- 'tions, acquired fame after their death; but of his honorable and 'learned friend, his country might in his lifetime say *Presenti* '*tibi largimur honores!*' His country perhaps might say this; but its rulers deemed them fools, and openly called them such, that said so.

Sir Samuel Romilly, however, guaged with curious accuracy the governments under which he flourished. That of Lord Sidmouth, for instance, experienced from him the cool yet silent contempt, which it so justly deserved; and which indeed all parties seem to have combined in expressing towards it. We were really almost relieved to perceive that 1840 had been anticipated, although under somewhat different circumstances, in 1802. The smallness too of ministerial majorities occurred on many more important occasions, than persons generally suppose, whose reading has not led them much into the political debates from 1800 to 1815. Both Church and State were also not a little given to cleave to corruption, until public indignation fairly wrenched it out of their hands; after which, they would meekly assume to themselves the entire credit of sundry popular alterations. Many notable examples demonstrate how largely they draw upon popular ignorance, and individual habits of self-forgetfulness. The honest Chancellor of Durham happened to be fulfilling his judicial duties in the County Palatine, when the Jubilee in 1809 engendered about as many lying sermons as there are parish churches and cathedrals in England. He felt obliged to listen to one of these in his own Minster; and has recorded his indignation accordingly. With ready and penetrating analysis his diaries lay open the sources of general discontent, and the necessity there existed for parliamentary reform. The sale of seats was most shameless; yet he preferred purchasing himself both Horsham and Wareham, to the being nominated as a gratuitous favor by any private individual whatsoever; that is, until Mr. Curwen's bill had rendered the practice of pecuniary compensation illegal. As however he had become more known, the Whigs of Bristol, or at least a section of them, invited him down thither to the celebrated election of 1812. There seemed at one time a fair prospect of his being returned; until after a series of backstair manœuvres, two of the other candidates coalesced, and thus drove their magnanimous opponent from the field. The effects of his valedictory address are remembered to the present moment. He had beyond a doubt much to complain of: but in refusing for that very reason to utter a word of complaint, he bowed that great city as the heart of one man. The Bristolians, it must be admitted, have not shone in politics, as they have in charitable

institutions. They boast, it is true, of having selected, on a single occasion, Edmund Burke for their representative; and the world, we believe, will never hear the end of this solitary instance of good conduct. Yet they would do well, we think, to remember that after all it was but acting right *once;* about as often as asses have rebuked prophets, or ravens brought bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening! Sir Samuel Romilly, in fact, withdrew as nominally defeated, but really covered with laurels! He had now reluctantly overruled his objections to private nomination; and so took his seat for the borough of Arundel. His patron, the Duke of Norfolk, required no stipulations, except that he should favor him with his company to dinner, not less often than twice or so in a twelvemonth.

He had hired a charming house called Tanhurst, most delightfully situated upon Leith Hill in Surrey, as a retreat to which he might escape in an evening from chambers and the Court of Chancery. Here he renewed his committal of various reminiscences to paper; of which retrospections, the four letters written to C. are by far the most remarkable. These constitute just so many addresses to himself, evidently drawn up with no view to publication, but merely thinkings aloud thrown together in the shape of epistolary memoranda, lest the agitations of future years should scatter them, like the Sibylline leaves, from his loaded memory. The first was composed in 1801; in which he reminds himself of a conversation held with his departed friend Roget, when they were at Lausanne some years before. The following passage may perhaps remind us of one in the autobiography of Gibbon; but it is excessively beautiful.

'We were walking together on that fine elevated terrace, which commands one of the noblest views that the earth affords, where the Lake of Geneva is spread out in the whole of its extent, with the Alps rising behind it in wild and stupendous masses. It was a clear serene night of autumn; there was no moon, but there was not a single cloud; and on every side the sky was resplendent with stars. The faint twilight was just sufficient to show the outline of the sublime scene before us, and to leave it to imagination, or to memory, to finish the picture. We had been discoursing on literary subjects: the eloquence of the ancient orators was one of our topics; insensibly the conversation passed to your profession, and from your profession to yourself. You seemed unconscious of the powers which Roget thought you possessed. I remember his telling you that he was quite confident of your success. The time, the scenery about us, the awful stillness of the night, the ideas which the former part of the conversation had set afloat in his mind, gave him an unusual degree of animation. With a warmth of eloquence which surprised me, even in him, he spoke of the great part you were to act, as that which was certain, and in the spirit of prophecy he unfolded to you your future life. God grant

that in what is to come he may prove as true a prophet as in that which is past! If he does, the sublimest enjoyment that human life affords is reserved for you,—that of exercising in an exalted station the noblest faculties of the soul, of improving the condition of mankind, and adding to the happiness of millions, who are unborn.'

—Vol. iii. pp. 378, 379.

His ardent brother-in-law, in other words, had predicted with almost a positivity of assurance, that Samuel Romilly would one day hold the Great Seal of England. Nor was the vaticination an unreasonable one. The profession had marked him out for a future chancellor, should his party ever again attain, during his life time, the reins of power. Acting with no impropriety upon this supposition, he prepared himself for those arduous toils which his anticipated elevation would involve. Nothing could be more morally noble than the sketch he drew of what would then become his duty. It embraced a reform of the Civil Code and the Penal Law. Upwards of forty essays, more or less complete, were found amongst his papers, to serve as charts for his benevolent course under each head; such as articles on the Promulgation of Laws, on Projects for a new Code, on Judicial Processes, Rules of Evidence, Libels, Apprenticeships, Bankruptcies, Poor-laws, Divorces, Punishments, Conspiracies, Crimes, the Clergy, False Accusations, Appeals of Death, Allowing Counsel to Prisoners, Offering Rewards for Convictions, on Frequent Public Executions, with observations on Bentham and Beccaria. A long series of propositions remained appended, relative to the ministerial duties of the chancellorship; such as to keep lists of persons properly qualified for different offices; to find out and bring forward talents, wherever they can be found; to disregard rank, family, or local predilections, as well as all personal considerations; invariably to make *conscientious* appointments, in every profession and department of the State; to consider as to Church preferment, those best deserving it, who with liberal opinions would advance the interests of true religion, and not look upon their order as an exclusive corporation, between which and the laity, there should be kept up continual struggles; to promote and improve public education throughout all orders of society; to reform the public Grammar Schools; and above all the Universities,—founding in them several new professorships, and recasting the old ones! What a catalogue of improvements in their primary germs, so to speak; all postponed forsooth to party triumphs and royal prejudices. The one grand object he placed before his own mind was the amelioration of social humanity: this was the *beau ideal* to which his fragments of leisure were devoted; and to which he more than once calls Almighty God to witness, that his whole soul was consecrated. As, however, the prospects of accession

to office grew fainter, he forthwith adjusted himself to the position of matters; and turned with undissembled gratulation from the dangers of judicial eminence, which might ensue to himself and family; such as the perils of flattery, the vain yet corrupting influences attendant on an hereditary title; and the augmented responsibilities of an overgilded fortune. These philosophical meditations with himself were carried on during 1807, 1813, and indeed down to 1818; when on being so triumphantly elected for Westminster, he deeply pondered as to how he should serve a popular constituency, without being its slave; as well as how he should be vigilant not to spoil in Palace Yard, or on the hustings, the most formidable weapons with which it was his highest duty to fight the battles of the people in their own parliament. In 1813, he published an answer to Lord Redesdale, on his objections to the appointment of a vice-chancellor: and the same session beheld his renewed efforts towards ameliorating our Draconian and cruel penalties for crimes. As to high treason, he moved for the omission of embowelling and quartering! Yet after immense exertion the ministers contrived to defeat him, by a majority of fifteen, thereby as he quietly records, 'having the 'glory of preserving the British law by which it is ordained, that 'the heart and bowels of a man convicted of rebellion, shall be 'torn out of his body, whilst he is yet alive!' His subsequent endeavors were all of a similar or at least analogous character,—evolving unwearied philanthropy, unflinching integrity, and the most serene equanimity amidst bitter and repeated disappointments. Thus the House of Lords, with regard to the Shoplifting Act, imposing death for a theft of five shillings, crushed his bill for repeal again and again. The Regent meanwhile meanly tried every now and then to tamper with him, and attract some spark of such virtue to that train of vileness which followed his own course as an oppressive profligate sovereign into the depths of misery and unpopularity. Every temptation, however, from Carlton House had been long in vain; yet he was no approver of those violent personal attacks which Henry Brougham indulged in, on more than one occasion in 1816. He felt perhaps as strongly as our British Demosthenes on the subject; but wisely considered that there were times and places for all things. We must forbear, from our want of space, to touch upon his senatorial exertions against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, as well as those on behalf of the French Protestants, whose persecutions at Nismes, and other places, disgraced the return to power in France of the detested Bourbons.

Towards the close of 1814, a severe illness at Tanhurst put his life for several days in no little danger; nor was he, as it appears to us, quite the same man ever afterwards. It is affecting to peruse such lines as these in relation to his sickness, after an

apparent recovery from it: 'If it had ended in death, perhaps as 'far as concerns myself, it had been fortunate. My life had then 'been one of unchequered prosperity, cheered and animated 'through the whole of it, by the exertion of such faculties as I 'have possessed in the pursuit and hope of no unworthy objects. 'I had then at a mature age, but *before my mind had suffered* '*from decay*, left behind me a numerous family of children, whom 'I could hardly, as to any of them, have wished at their ages, to 'have seen other than they are.—I should have closed my mortal 'career, just as peace was established throughout the civilized 'world; and as a new career of happiness to mankind seemed to 'be commencing. God grant that my life may not have been 'prolonged to see these enlivening prospects clouded and de-'stroyed!' We find him after this time committing also to paper several desponding convictions, that whilst others were still looking forward to his judicial elevation, at some future change of ministry, he felt no longer equal to the fulfilment of its duties, should he have them to perform. In fact the wear and tear of age, recent indisposition, frequent disappointment, and increasing forensic labors, were beginning to tell upon his constitution. We well remember him for the concluding three years of his sojourn amongst us. His footstep along the dead wall in Lincolns Inn Fields became less agile and elastic. The lofty intellectual features, so well represented in the portrait at the commencement of these volumes, were gradually intersected and interspersed with some wrinkles of care; whilst in court, his eyebrows occasionally arching with mental effort, or his leaning posture as he spoke with his hands upon the table before him, or his somewhat tart reply to the suggestions of a junior counsel, all told the same tale. He had not that to support him, which Sir Matthew Hale, or Lord Coke, or Sir Eardly Wilmot had enjoyed. His communings with a future world were those of poetry, mere human philosophy falsely so called, and vain illusive ratiocination. We confidently appeal to his letters addressed to his sister after the decease of her husband, as proofs of this; or to his published prayer composed in 1812, where indeed much gratitude is expressed towards the divine Being for many recited benefits, but upon principles implying a total unacquaintedness with any way of future salvation, or present peace, more than may be discovered in some passages of Rousseau, or the vapid raptures of what is termed amongst men Natural Religion.

He contributed an article to the Edinburgh Review, which came out in the November number for 1817, on 'Bentham's 'Papers relative to Codification and Public Instruction, including 'correspondencies with the Russian Emperor, and divers consti-'tuted authorities in the American United States.' His spirits, however, visibly diminished during the former part of 1818; nor

were they altogether revived even by the Westminster election; or the warm congratulations of high and low, rich and poor, from the Duke of Sussex down to his servants, on his successful and honorable return. The health too of Lady Romilly had manifested alarming symptoms. His earthly felicity had wound itself up in the existence and welfare of this estimable partner: not remembering that it must thus dwell in a tabernacle of clay, and be crushed before the moth. They went to the Isle of Wight together in September; where her ladyship died on the 29th of October, 1818. 'Her husband survived but for three days the 'wife whom he had loved with a devotion to which her virtues, 'and her happy influence on the usefulness of his life, gave her 'so just a claim. His anxiety during her illness preyed upon his 'mind, and affected his health; and the shock occasioned by her 'death led to that event which brought his life to a close on the '2nd of November, in the sixty-second year of his age.' He had inflicted a fatal wound upon his throat with a razor, either the morning, or the morning but one, after his arrival in London.

We shall never forget the sensation produced throughout the metropolis by this tragical event. Lord Eldon received the news whilst sitting in the Court of Chancery; on which he rose and adjourned its session, with tears in his eyes. Not a barrister, not an attorney, scarcely an individual, we had almost said, in the legal profession, remained unmoved. It was felt that a great man had fallen! No one could have ever attended before the Lord Chancellor for an hour without having his interest attracted by Sir Samuel Romilly,—by his easy dignity of manner,—the snow-like flow of his continuous elocution,—the lucid perspicuity of his statements,—and the respect so palpably awarded him both from the bench, and by the bar. As to the latter, he had no compeer amongst equity advocates. He was like an eagle amongst all other birds, in the comparison. They seemed sometimes almost to crouch before him, as though fearful of the lightning in his eyes, and the thunder on his wings, with which whenever he chose to soar, he could bear down an unfortunate opponent. The case of Purcell versus Mc Namara will never be forgotten, so long as an English audience, or English lawyers, shall appreciate forensic oratory, or an overwhelming denunciation of wickedness. The large arena of the Hall was crowded on that occasion. The speeches of Sir Samuel Romilly, then delivered, were some of the very best he ever made. Their characteristics were argumentation and power impregnated with passion; although it is to be remarked, that as to the question for the commitment, he seemed to have altered his opinion a little, when a few years afterwards, he spoke in the House of Commons, on Sir Francis Burdett being sent to the Tower. On both these occasions, he nevertheless performed the part of a

conscientious friend to innocence, and as conscientious a foe to faction, oppression, or hypocrisy. The chancery courts will never see his like again,—the same combination, we mean, of calmness, wisdom, simplicity, grandeur, eloquence, and disinterestedness. His political views were philosophical, constitutional, and patriotic. Over his untimely funeral it may be said, that nations lamented; for although he lived to see little result from his legislative and benevolent efforts, he had the honor of turning the current of the public mind, and setting it in the right direction with regard to our Penal Code; so that humanly speaking, what has been accomplished by others since, would never have been done, or at least not for years to come, had not he labored first, that other men, his juniors and successors, might enter into his labors. Nor was he dissatisfied with thus having to watch and wait; for there was no envy in his disposition. He loved all men, and was beloved in return. He sought the welfare of all; and here lay the intrinsic magnanimity of his character; with regard, it is of course only to be understood, to the present world! We admit, indeed, and have done so throughout with the sincerest sorrow, that the light of Eternity must be excluded from the consideration: and for this very reason we look upon the subject of these pages, more especially as to his final catastrophe, with the melancholy reflection of the Roman Historian, *Paucioribus lacrimis compositus es, et novissimâ in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui!*

Art. II *The Truth of Revelation Demonstrated, by an Appeal to Existing Monuments, Sculptures, Gems, Coins, and Medals.* By John Murray, F.S.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. 8vo. pp. xxvii., 380. London: 1840.

MR. MURRAY has favored the public with a new edition, much enlarged and improved, of a work which he published some time ago, and which, on account of its detail of numerous facts, illustrative of the meaning and corroborative of the evidence of holy Scripture, excited considerable interest.

The author is a gentleman of extensive attainments in various departments of knowledge, and a collector of such materials as bear upon important subjects from every department of science and history which falls under his notice. We are always disposed emphatically to welcome the produce of labors, devoted to the sacred cause of religion, from those whose lives are spent in the pursuits of science and general literature. The taste of our

author is clearly for the accumulation of facts, whether events recorded, or phenomena of science, and whatever occurs to his observation, that may, even remotely serve to illustrate the Bible, is peculiarly interesting to his piety. The fruits he has gathered from various fields of research, are valuable generally, and specially fitted to meet the requirements of a large class of minds.

There are multitudes, like the author himself, who are impressed more powerfully by unexpected coincidences than by general reasoning, while, to minds however constituted, such coincidences, if numerous, must appear entitled to reflective attention. They are not to be dismissed as without significancy because they do not embody what may be a more favorite medium of proof. To be insensible, for instance, to the argumentative power of the inimitable Horæ Paulinæ, would be impossible except to a most feeble and ill-constructed mind.

As Mr. Murray's work has been long out of print, and often inquired for, the public are indebted to him for this supply, and especially for the very improved form in which it is presented.

It may not be undesirable to assist the judgment of our readers by a slight sketch of the chapters, which will enable them to form some idea of the extent and variety of the subjects treated, and of the materials collected.

After general remarks on atheism, ably directed and enforced, we have the evidence for the truth of Scripture, supplied by what the author designates *living* monuments; by monuments still existing in topographical features; and by judicial customs. These include the first three chapters. In the fourth, we have the necessity of a divine revelation discussed; the condition of man without it, as exemplified in the pagan world; and the grounds on which we must infer a derivation from it, of all that is valuable in other systems. We are next conducted through a series of the principal consecutive events recorded in the sacred writings, which the author illustrates separately in the eleven following chapters, by evidence derived from sources very diversified, and by inquiries into the nature and claims of those theories which seem to impugn their credibility.

In this part of the work we have considerations on the sacred history of creation, so far as it may be elucidated by the present state of science, including, also, remarks on the geological hypothesis of the age of the globe, and on the Egyptian and the Indian chronologies. Then follow, in succession, The Fall of Man, illustrated by the mythology of Paganism—The Deluge, compared with Pagan tradition; geological evidence and natural chronometers—The Dispersion—The Tower of Babel—The Call of Abraham—The Birth of Moses—The Exode and Pilgrimage—The Tables of Stone—The Elevation of the Brazen Serpent—The Samaritans—The Pronunciation of the word Shiboleth—

Samson—The Brook Elah—The Captivity of the Ten Tribes —The Invasion by Shishak, king of Egypt; and the events recorded in the book of Daniel. These various subjects bring us to the close of the twelfth chapter. The thirteenth commences the transition to the New Testament, by remarks on miracles, and on the sacred code of the Jews; by a general retrospect, and a view of the circumstances which characterized the eve of Christianity. The fourteenth contains observations on the advent of the Messiah, on the divinity of his person, and on the history of the crucifixion. In the concluding one we have illustrations of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus and Vespasian, compared with New Testament prophecy; after which the discussion is brought to a termination by such subsidiary remarks as are naturally suggested by the whole case.

From this very bare outline of Mr. Murray's book, it will not be difficult to form a judgment of the interest likely to be excited in its perusal. Though amongst such miscellaneous and multifarious matters it cannot be supposed that the author has entirely avoided coincidences with other writers, yet his work must not by any means be considered as a compilation. The thoughts are clearly his own, and the selection of facts and illustrations the fruit of his original labor, stimulated and directed by the suggestions of his peculiar taste, and collected not without much industry and perseverance, from a great number of sources. Though also announced as a new edition, the book before us is far from being simply a reprint, for not only has it undergone careful revision, leading to the rejection of less relevant matter, but many parts have been re-written, and besides, it has been enriched by not a few valuable additions.

The nature of the proof exhibited in such works as this, were it but calmly reflected upon, would be found to be very convincing. The Old Testament abounds in history; in references to the habits of domestic life; in specific details; in allusions to scenery, to peculiar customs and modes of thinking; in descriptions of particular localities; in statements which connect themselves with the geographical boundaries of countries, and with the fluctuating events which compose the history of some of the most powerful empires, as well as of many smaller but distinguished peoples and tribes. In short, its diversified compositions are so interwoven, in every way, from merely transient reference, to direct description, from the airy touches of poetical imagery, to grave historical narrative; with the varied features of countries and the solid forms of nature; with the transactions of man, the distinctive abodes of plants and animals, and the diverse productions of soil and rock; that no book besides, considered as a whole, was ever presented to our attention which so stands exposed to

every test, that can be imagined requisite to establish or confute its pretensions.

Indeed, had we no means of acquiring the knowledge necessary to elucidate the obscurities in the Bible, arising from foreign and antiquated associations, or to try its statements by comparison with subsequently discovered facts, still, such is the simplicity, and such the unsparing honesty which characterize its histories, that, certainly by no just pretence, should we be at liberty to dispute its claims to authenticity; but with the advantages which we now possess, especially that of collating its pages with the materials collecting incessantly around us, scarcely is it possible to suppose that a sane man could doubt its veracity; and, accordingly, both on the continent and at home, its general truth has, as attention has been turned to the subject, become more and more acknowledged and felt by professors of secular literature; while the objections which had been accumulated in a more frivolous age, with so much industry, recoil with derision upon their inventors and propagators.

Had the scene of those events which occupy the narratives of the Bible been laid in other parts of the world, or under a different grade of civilization, these advantages must have been much restricted, but now, under the peculiar circumstances described, they have their maximum of value. The unvarying sameness from age to age of character, of habits, and employments, which distinguish the Orientals, affords the most striking facilities for the supply and the application of tests.

Looking generally at the matter of the Scriptures, we may distribute it into *facts*, susceptible of the corroboration above named; *miracles*, which, exceeding the range of the ordinary laws of nature, may seem not to be susceptible of it, and doctrines, of which the authority is grounded on the miracles. In these several departments of inquiry we find that Mr. Murray has presented us with available and important contributions, either in addition to or diversified from, the extensive stores which we previously possessed.

Multifarious as are the kinds of facts which might appear to admit of verification, the object, to a vast extent, has been already attained, while the means of accomplishing it still more completely, are perpetually increasing, and that from the most unexpected quarters. It was little to be anticipated that the hieroglyphics of Egypt, so long sealed up in security from the scrutiny of man, would at length become important witnesses, or that any discovery of the deep recesses where for ages had been entombed the most renowned cities, would unite in the testimony. Yet the long silence has been broken, and the attestations are clear and conclusive. It is, indeed, also true, that voices not so cheering

have been heard from other quarters. One branch of modern science has been adduced as uttering opposing evidence, but as in former times, from other sciences, the inferences deduced from it have been somewhat hasty. Allowing the utmost significancy to the current theories of geology, they are of no avail against the *facts* themselves which are stated in the Bible, though certainly, if established, they demand a reconsideration of the modes of explaining them, or rather of explaining certain collateral circumstances, which are not material in the general argument.

What, then, when reflecting upon so complicated a corroboration, can a sober judgment conclude, but that, at least, the writers of the several documents in the Bible were really acquainted with the matters of which they speak, and entirely worthy of credit as men of veracity; that they did not designedly lead astray, and that their statements, as historians, are unquestionably authentic?

This, without doubt, would have been the only inference, had it not been for the miraculous and didactic portions of the book. Here then we have a character of truth strongly impressed, which even in the mind of a sceptic, not wholly devoid of reason, must remove the sacred Scriptures to a boundless distance from all other pretendedly sacred books. They are plainly conversant, not with fables and imaginations, but with tangible realities, so far at least as the facts of civil history are concerned.

But, moreover, in proceeding to the miraculous portions, we find in them too a peculiar character. To a large extent, the *material* of these miracles was composed of like tangible facts, and capable of being in like manner tested with those of the general history. The facts of the Deluge, the destruction of Sodom and other cities, the deliverance out of Egypt, the plagues experienced there, the subsequent journies of the people, their ultimate expulsion of well known and powerful tribes, and their settlement in Canaan, are, considered as facts, just as susceptible of corroboration as any other events. They must all have left impressions which, for different periods in after ages, might be recognized, either in physical results, or in various methods of describing and recording them. Now this kind of proof many of them have certainly received, a proof which is extant at this very time; existing in monuments sufficiently intelligible to those who are ready candidly to interpret them. The facts also of the Jewish worship, their majestic temple, their professing the belief of one God only, their occasional lapses into idolatry, and their consequent captivities, are of a nature which will not allow us to suppose that they could have obtained currency amongst the people themselves, and been recorded in their public history, had they not been real; nor, if otherwise, could their falsehood have failed to be exposed from other quarters. The facts then having an undoubted claim upon belief, the question is reduced to that

of the assumed supernatural agency by which they are stated to have been effected. Those who dispute this supernatural agency ought not certainly to rest satisfied without some plausible hypothesis to account for them. Many of them, however, are of a kind which cannot admit of any solution other than the one assigned, being in several respects entirely unparalleled. But have we no direct proof of the actual interposition of supernatural agency in connexion with the Bible, even from its own internal evidence? Does it not actually contain what could not possibly be the work of man without direct instruction from God? Is there any other principle conceivable on which we may account for the *knowledge* displayed in the sacred volume? This knowledge embraces two departments. The knowledge of what then existed, but could not possibly at that time come within the limits of human cognizance, and the knowledge of what would thereafter certainly exist, but which had no being at the time but in the foreknowledge and purpose of the Most High.

The Scriptures were clearly not intended to teach science, for had that been their design, considered as a revelation, their instructions must have been more direct and obvious. But this is not a reason why there might not, incidentally, and in subserviency to their proper end, be introduced into them not a few things even in relation to science, which imply a knowledge only afterwards to become intelligible, for the purpose of supplying to the real inquirers a growing proof of their origin. Now of this sort of knowledge there are in truth many and striking indications, of which several interesting specimens are contained in the work before us.

But even if this were not admitted by an inquirer to be otherwise than doubtful, it seems beyond the range of possibility that, if ingenuous, he could doubt, after examination, the existence of a clear knowledge of the future contained in the sacred volume. It is to this knowledge that the divine Being himself is represented as appealing for the proof that he indeed had spoken, and in fact it is decisive of the question. If we look at the number of predictions, and their minute exactitude of detail, which have already been undoubtedly fulfilled, we really have but one inference. The events themselves have left their impress clear and unquestionable down to the present age. There are the predictions, and there are the events accomplished which they described, and surely some theory must be adopted to account for the unparalleled circumstance. On a subject so full of interest and importance, no prudent man can be content merely to remain in ignorance. It is true that in various subjects, there may be difficulties innumerable on an attempted solution of which we may deem it superfluous to spend time and thought. But then they are such as do not materially implicate our welfare. No such

reason can be here assigned. He that can with unconcern reject immortal hopes, and incur immeasurable risk, must act irrationally. The question, whether the glorious Creator has really condescended to instruct his creature man, a fact which has been affirmed and believed by millions, and of which they profess to offer proof, must demand consideration. Here is a case, then, to which the mind of every one who would not be guilty of extreme folly, must bend his attention. The following things he finds to be unquestionable, that the sacred volume professes to foretell minutely and unambiguously events which should befal various empires, kingdoms, systems; and that such events have certainly taken place. It is for him, then, on any other supposition than that the Bible contains a revelation from God, to account for the prodigy. He must show that the events are such as might possibly have been foreseen by human sagacity; or that the pretended predictions were forgeries—that, at least, there are probable grounds to believe them to be so—introduced in an age late enough to allow of mere history being substituted under the form and pretence of prophecy. Now which of these positions, considering the various facts before him, will any one seriously attempt to establish? Doubtless either of them may generally and vaguely be assumed or even asserted, but it is certain that no one ever has had the temerity, and not less so, that no sane man ever will, to set about a formal establishment of either of them. It would utterly baffle the most ingenious intellect to devise how to conduct the effort, however fully disposed to accomplish the object.

We may, in the abstract, have the strongest repugnance to admit a miracle; we may be convinced that thousands have been fraudulently pretended, or vainly imagined, and yet extensively believed; but after all, if we look at the facts in this case, and think upon them, it is beyond our power to maintain our scepticism. Whatever our reluctance, we feel the conviction. Miracle of some form, either on the mind of man, or in bringing about the events, or in both, must inevitably be seen to have intervened.

But why should we so struggle to maintain our doubt? Why should it be thought incredible that the divine Being should give positive proof of his existence and control over the world which he has made? We unequivocally know that the Almighty has interposed within a few thousand years, that is, according to our modern chronology, but as yesterday. We know that an order of nature was established before man himself existed, and we know that man could not come into being merely as a new result springing out of the working of that pre-existent order. We know also that man is a kind of creature, who for his well being

requires that species of knowledge which it is the professed object of the Scriptures to impart, and which in truth we find them actually to communicate, while we are not less sure, looking at his history in all past ages, that he could never have discovered it, and least of all, that the people with whom it originated were in a condition to do it.

Here, then, we have another prodigy, a prodigy of which the evidence is not rested upon testimony merely, but of which we are ourselves the direct witnesses. Can we possibly doubt it? Shall we attempt to account for it? Shall we hesitate to acknowledge what secret conviction must suggest, viz., that the Most High has indeed spoken to man? It is scarcely possible to read such works as the one before us without reflections such as these forcing themselves upon our attention.

On the whole, the work is excellent; but we are constrained to add, that there are parts of it which we should strongly have wished to be omitted, not because the author has not a perfect right to maintain and propagate his own sentiments on such questions, but because, in this particular argument, we think them likely to injure the main object, by preventing a candid attention to the evidence by some of the very persons for whose benefit such works are chiefly designed. Mr. Murray avows that he does not accede to the theories of geologists on the immense age ascribed to our globe. This is a theory which no one can be blamed for disputing, but then prudence, as it appears to us, suggests that it should be contested when and where time and space will admit of ample discussion; and that it is especially unfortunate to moot the controversy in the course of such a series of accumulative reasoning as the precise question discussed in this volume required. It is true, his inferences, so far as they relate to this argument, are independent of the theory even should it be considered established, but we cannot calculate upon simple justice from those who have indulged in doubt upon the truth of revelation. If they think they find a failing point, or one not well defended, they give themselves no further trouble. Of course we shall engage in no discussion here, nor would we have adverted to the subject, but to enter our protest against any opinion on this part of the work being drawn into an inference affecting the general argument. No part of the reasoning depends upon this particular theory, but upon those facts of the science which are generally admitted. The whole of the discussion on the age of the globe, anterior to the creation of man, refers, in our opinion, to those questions before described, namely such as bear, not upon the truth of scriptural statements, but upon the hasty judgments formed concerning them by fallible men. They, in their commentaries, have imagined much more than they

saw, and made the Mosaic narrative accountable for their own indiscreet confidence in determining what is left entirely undecided.

Besides the letter press, there are, in this interesting volume, three plates, and a great number of wood-cuts, extremely well executed, illustrative of the subjects introduced. We strongly recommend Mr. Murray's praiseworthy labors to public attention, and we thank him for presenting to us in so convenient and accessible a form so great a variety of curious and valuable facts, collected from so many sources, and brought to bear unitedly with so much force upon the most important of inquiries.

Art. III. *Manual of Political Ethics.* By Francis Lieber. Part I. London: W. Smith. 1839. (Republished from the American edition.)

THE eyes of many seem to be opening to the belief, that the important subject of Ethics cannot be neglected without great social injury. That it *has* been greatly neglected and undervalued amongst us appears to be a broad fact; and a fact not difficult to account for. Indeed the elder divines from the time of the Reformation, and the learned Puritans of the seventeenth century, were well trained in the whole theory of social morals, and even too prone to ostentation of skill in the branch called Casuistry. If they are now less valuable to us, it is perhaps chiefly because the science of politics was then less advanced, and the connexion of civil government with religious opinion was wholly misunderstood. But in the long and melancholy reaction which followed the restoration of monarchy, so miserably did mere ethical discussions displace spiritual instruction in the pulpits of the Establishment, that religious minds appear to have sickened altogether of moral philosophy. The new spiritual impulse received from Wesley and Whitfield on one side, from Romaine, John Newton, and the evangelical clergy their contemporaries, on another, was singularly dissociated from all ethical inquiry. This race of preachers had to address men who professed unhesitatingly to believe the Scriptures, yet lived as though they believed them not. Dispensing therefore with all needless argument and investigation, they appealed outright 'to the word 'and to the testimony;' and believing the *written* word to be exclusively the sword of the Spirit, by this they won all their battles. Yet it did not escape notice even at an early period, that it was a leading mistake of these new evangelicals to omit all practical detail of Christian duty, as though the renewed soul

would of course see its way in such matters of itself; and would love to perform all righteousness without special exhortation and instruction; and this gave a plausible pretence to the vulgar and prejudiced outcry against faith without works. However, unless we mistake, that which is vaguely called 'the religious world' in England, both within and without the Establishment, partakes to this day in the defects incident to Whitfield and Romaine. Especially, they have become so accustomed to appeal to the Scriptures alone for deciding every question of morals, and (in a reverential zeal for its authority) so to extinguish as unworthy of discussion every moral argument seemingly at variance with its decisions; as to have persuaded themselves unawares that it is the *only* source of knowledge on these subjects. The effect of the doctrine is painfully seen upon the rude and neglected masses of our population, who have unlearned reverence for the Bible. These unhappy men have taken many of our divines at their word; and suppose it a clear case, admitted by all Christians, that *our* morality has no rule ascertainable to the human intellect, but is a positive *creation* of Christianity. When they deny that man is an ethical being, they appear merely to say of him universally, that which in substance they have heard from the pulpit concerning unregenerate man. If it indeed be true, that without the Bible we are utterly in the dark as to the primary distinctions of right and wrong, it seems quite hopeless to assign a satisfactory reason why we should bow before *that* book in preference to other books of like pretensions.

The best instructed Christians of every class or sect will assuredly think it superfluous to apologize for ethical investigations; but we have had some experience, that all, *except* the best instructed, are resolved so to limit such investigations as to make them nugatory in the present aspect; namely, by demanding that they shall be based upon the Scripture, and shall take its authority for granted. Against this unreasonable claim Mr. Lieber puts in his protest. Under a well-meant desire to honor our holy faith, it exposes it to just suspicion, and forbids any from vindicating it. When Jesus was accused of impiety, would zealous believers have done well to deprecate his trial, on the ground that he himself was the sole measure and standard of piety? If Paul or John are assailed as bad moralists, can we defend them by quoting texts from their own writings? And, not to take a mere defensive ground, we maintain that every sound minded Christian 'loves them in truth, *for the truth's sake* '*which dwelleth in them.*' We have chosen Christianity *because* it is true and good; and it must lower our faith into an irrational impulse, to allege that we have no criterion whatever of truth and goodness except that which the religion itself furnishes.

The events of the present day have put into a yet more striking

light the absolute need of instruction in *political* ethics. If it be certain that Christ and his apostles do not discuss questions of moral philosophy in a scientific manner, it is far more obvious and clear that they hardly handle political ethics at all. Their general precepts were enough for the wants of that day; and the sublime foundations which they have laid for a deeper knowledge of man's nature, have really revolutionized human thought upon questions which they did not touch. If we in this century understand both morals and politics better than Aristotle or Cicero, it is not because we can quote definite texts of the New Testament as the axioms of our science, but it is (in very great measure) because we have drunk of that spirit which teaches that one God over all is rich toward all nations; that all men are brethren and are equal in his eyes; that each unit of mankind, who has to look to immortal life beyond the grave, is intrinsically of more value than any political organization, which has its bounds in this world. Still it remains for us to work out the legitimate conclusions from these mighty facts. There *is* a science, cognizable by the human intellect, which shall mark out human duties and responsibilities, in the state as well as in the family; and while it is neglected so to cultivate this as that it may carry conviction to thoughtful minds, we must not wonder at the boldness of tone assumed by Chartism and Socialism, or at the effrontery with which political profligacy is defended when it serves a party.

Mr. Lieber is of German birth and education, but naturalized in the United States; and the combination of mental peculiarities hence resulting is certainly interesting, perhaps very favorable to the attainment of truth. His book shows an accomplished man, acquainted alike with classical antiquity, German philosophy, and modern English politics; and highly capable of bringing into a single focus for the illustration of his subject, the resources of very multifarious reading. His tendency to use etymological investigation as an instrument in the search after absolute truth, might excite jealousy in an Englishman, were it not confined to foot notes, which show its subordinate place. The necessity which he feels of inventing a new term to express one* of his ideas will be easily forgiven, when we have tried to substitute a better one. Writing a language which is not his own, we cannot be surprised that his sentences are occasionally obscure and lengthy, betraying a German author; yet his idiom is excellent, and on the whole he may justly have the credit of remarkable success, considering the difficulty of a semi-metaphysical subject. Even in complicated passages, the clearness with which he knows his own meaning effectually saves the reader from doubting what he meant to say.

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* The word *jural* occurs rather frequently.

And as a very sufficient set-off against the disadvantage of foreign authorship, we have a full and rich treatise, embracing topics rarely discussed in our language, yet of high theoretical interest and practical value.

Whether Mr. Lieber has succeeded in giving his work the scientific *form* at which he aims, we cannot decide. He probably has some clue in his own mind, leading him to adopt the present arrangement of his matter; but to us it appears to be thrown together in encyclopædia fashion; so that we never know what next to expect. It is, however, quite possible that this may be more pleasing to many readers than a rigidly systematic order.

If there be any one principle pervading the whole book, which has eminently shaped the rest of Mr. Lieber's sentiments, it is this: that we learn the true *nature* of each thing by studying it *in its most highly developed form.* This principle is at least as old as Aristotle; yet was singularly overlooked by most of the philosophers of the last century. Two seeds or two eggs may appear to be of one species, but the full grown plants or animals manifest diversities and peculiarities that could never have been suspected. The head of an infant and of a young ourang outang might be mistaken for one another; but is impossible to confound the skull of a man with that of the adult ape. Considerations so obvious might have saved men of genius, like Rousseau, from imagining that the nature of man is best exhibited in the savage state; and might have superseded the necessity of a counter-paradox, invented by more modern authors, that '*Art* is *natural* 'to man.'

In the application of this principle it becomes strikingly evident that ethics and politics are in their very essence *progressive sciences;* and this simple remark answers a thousand objections which have been started against the uniformity of the human conscience. As society advances and becomes more complex, new relations are developed, and new duties arise; while a new view is often taken of the old duty. The family exists before the state; as we may see in Greenland, where no state exists at all; but with denser population the state inevitably arises, and is not at all the same thing as a family on a large scale, but is a new creation. It is absurd to say that the family is from nature, the state from art and by compact. As just would it be to maintain that finger-nails are from nature, but hair, teeth, and beard are not natural. The latter come as surely, and as regularly, as the former, if due time and materials be afforded. As then the progress of society forms families into tribes, and tribes into nations, so do national rights and duties arise. In a yet later period, men are made conscious of *inter*national relations and rights; and at length, when the whole human race has been em-

braced in one fellowship, they acknowledge the claims of man on man. When a new element was infused into social existence by the preaching of faith in Christ, and a new idea was developed,—that of 'the church' of Christ,—a new commandment went along with it, 'that ye love one another.' Thus, that at successive stages, under different circumstances, the human intellect should see duty in different lights and proportions, was only to be expected. The propositions of Euclid are not acknowledged among savages, nor were the eyes of the Greeks open to the Newtonian philosophy; yet we hold these to be established truth, because we are satisfied that sound and unbiassed intellects, duly cultivated and informed, will assuredly be brought to a conviction of them. As regards moral truth also, there is a certain 'limiting state' (to use the phraseology of mathematicians), to which the minds of men in all nations have ever more and more approximated, in proportion as they have had experience of the complicated relations of society, and have enjoyed free intellectual culture: and whatever striking exceptions are urged, may be accounted for by some disturbing bias, the existence of which can in each case be proved. This 'limiting state' of moral opinion when it can be ascertained, may most justly be appealed to as containing the general verdict of the human race concerning duty.

Not only are the conceptions of various relationships formed gradually in man, but these conceptions are slow in assuming distinctness, and generally proceed from a gross and rudimental condition. The primitive idea of parental authority is this, that a father is owner of his child, just as he may be of the blade which he has forged, or the bread which he has reaped and baked. Much time is requisite (unless instruction from without interposes) before this notion is duly softened and limited, and the independent rights of the child are recognised. Long after his title to life and physical well being are established, he is kept a slave to the parental religion; and to abandon the 'God of his 'fathers' is stigmatised as high impiety.

The same thing holds concerning the State. Do we ask its origin? ask then how each of us behaves on seeing two children fighting in the streets, or a bigger boy maltreating a smaller. We interfere by force, and part the combatants, or save the oppressed and helpless. So deeply is it written on our hearts; 'To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is 'sin.' To quote from Mr. Lieber:

'Absolute necessity gives in all cases sovereign power; namely, that primitive power which supersedes all other, as it is its source. The crew of a vessel are in a state of mutiny: the captain has been killed. An energetic man among the passengers unites the latter and part of the crew with himself: he seizes the mutinous sailors; there is no

possibility of subduing or preventing them in any other way from piratical acts. He tries them with the assistance of his fellow passengers, and hangs them. He is right: and provided he can prove everything as stated above, he will be justified by any court, which decides according to strict justice and this alone.'—p. 232.

State power is, at its source, nothing but the rule of the stronger; as is abundantly evident in every case of conquest. But no *moral* relationship exists between the ruler and the subjects, until the force, which makes the first element of rule, is employed for the purpose of protection; for crushing evildoers, and upholding the rights of the weak. So is man constituted, that self interest impels even bad rulers to the part of police magistrates. Some one *ought* to protect; none *can* protect but he who is physically strongest: thus the rule of the sword changes into that of the sceptre; and at once a new relation has arisen, a new duty of honor and submission is acknowledged. When only a leader of freebooters, David the son of Jesse felt his full claim to tribute from Nabal, whose flocks he guarded from harm; nor does any caravan grudge to pay a moderate tax to an Arab chief, if he effectually guarantees them from other molestation while passing a dangerous district. However, simple and uniform as is the origin of the state, a thousand questions concerning it remain undefined or unmooted for ages. Not to speak of the particular form which the polity may assume, its religious aspect is one which develops itself very remarkably. As far as the light of history avails, we seem justified in saying that a *home sprung* state authority rests originally upon the received national religion, to which it dares not offer violence; so that the earliest military rule has been to a great extent controlled by a national priesthood. When by foreign conquest, or by the natural growth of the constitution from within, a monarchical or aristocratical power has been consolidated, it generally absorbs the priestly power into itself. At this stage, it is treated as a sort of high treason to dissent from the religion of the ruling power, who by a strained analogy is put forth as father of the people, and in this character is supposed to have a right and duty to dictate to them their religious belief and worship. At a later stage, seldom reached, though much aimed at, it is perceived that the duties of government *cannot* be such as to trespass on individual freedom of conscience.

Now it must not be said, that there is no certainty in political ethics, because the religious functions of government are looked on so differently at different times. It is not more strange, that in a crude and half developed system, men's notions of the sphere of the state should make it encroach on the conscience of the individual; than, that in an incipient state of science, metaphysics

should encroach on astronomy, and geometry on morals. Let us here add, that as, in the 'dark ages,' society in Europe was reconstituted from its first elements, we can discern in the European nations a progress not dissimilar to that which marks the most celebrated nations of the ancient world. The general result testifies the tendency of the human mind, *first*, to establish the conception of a state or government, as an organization existing for the good of the community, and essentially independent of the immediate holders of power; and, *secondly*, to disentangle its functions from all extraneous objects, and emancipate religion from its control. Yet no profession of faith except Christianity could ever effect the latter, because all others, depending for their existence on legislative support, would die in the process.

That, therefore, which the school of Coleridge uphold, we believe finds no support in fact. They are apt to appeal to history, as teaching that it is the duty of government to instruct the people in religion. We think it can be far more powerfully argued that it is the duty of government to persecute. But, we allege, history shows a tendency of the human mind, in proportion as society is developed and morals are cultivated and understood, to confine the cares of the state to purely secular objects. While *superior force* is the essential, and the only essential, attribute of the ruler, and while we have not the slightest guarantee that it will be accompanied with superior religious knowledge; while, moreover, different creeds are upheld in the courts and cabinets of different sovereigns, it appears to us an infatuation hard to reason against, when any allege that it is a 'primary' and 'essential' duty of a government to inculcate religious dogmas. The utmost which we can admit is, that there are cases in which it is not unlawful.

But we must keep more close to Mr. Lieber. The rather miscellaneous juxtaposition of his subjects makes it difficult to give to our remarks any form and completeness. On the whole, we may do best by selecting some of the most important topics handled by him, and after stating his views, append such observations as suggest themselves.

Before proceeding to political subjects, he lays a foundation by setting forth at much length *the ethical nature of man*, which constitutes him *a responsible being:* in illustrating which he explains wherein the freedom of the will consists, and contrasts the human with the brute mind. By this highly interesting discussion, Mr. Lieber fills a gap in English literature; at least we know no book which so well expounds, what is conscience; which points out the fallacies which Locke and Paley admitted while opposing equal errors; and which shows the insufficiency of the vulgar objections. The critical distinction between man and brute, he holds to consist in this: 'Man reflects upon his reflection; thinks

'upon his thoughts; makes the mind itself the subject of its 'inquiry. The animal can do no such thing. *If it could, it 'would speak.*' In corroboration, he refers to William Humboldt's judgment, that the *intention* to represent by a sound something that we are *conscious* is in our mind, is that which constitutes speech. That animals think, can undeniably be proved; but because they have no reflecting powers, they cannot exercise self government, and are the creatures either of habit or of sense.

In refuting Locke, who argued that conscience does not exist by nature, because moral rules are not *innate;* he remarks that it is the common confusion of the undeveloped with the unnatural. 'Thousands of the acutest instincts are yet not active in the 'young animal.' 'Is the sense for harmony not inborn, because 'savages know nothing of the concord of sounds? Are eighths, 'fifths, and thirds, inventions? Is sight not inborn, because the 'puppy is born blind?' Further, there is a confusion of conscience with moral rules. Rules are the effect of reasoning, and are no more innate than is a treatise on geometry; but conscience, like hearing or sight, is a faculty, and may justly be called innate, because it is naturally developed in all men with time and opportunity.

On responsibility he remarks:

'He alone that *wills*, acts; and he that acts is responsible. If a man lets loose a tiger upon a multitude, knowing the nature of the tiger, he is the murderer of all whom the tiger may kill. For the tiger is bound, following simply its sensualism, but the man is free. Trite as these remarks may appear, if thus clearly and separately stated, they have been by no means always acknowledged, either in religion or law.'—p. 49.

'All ethic attributes of man are inalienable. He cannot, even were he desirous of doing so, deprive himself of his moral character. Do what he may, or let others attempt what they choose, man does not and cannot become a non-moral or un-ethical being. He cannot barter away his reasoning power; for every moment that he adhered to such a compact he would have to exercise his reason.'—p. 53.

The following passages are, we think, true and valuable.

'Knowledge of morals alone, without practical skill' [that is, real exercise in moral life, of which he is speaking], 'will lead to moral pedantry, an adherence to single truths at the expense of others: an error the more to be shunned, as those who commit it, and suffer in consequence of it, are apt to consider themselves as martyrs of morality or truth. This is especially the case in politics.'—p. 57.

'No one can have studied history without coming to the conclusion, that morality is of urgent expediency in the intercourse of nations,

even were we not bound on higher grounds to acknowledge our ethic obligations, which never leave us, even in these international relations. The few truly magnanimous international acts which history records, have, I believe, failed in no instance to produce the most beneficial results, while the age of diplomatic cheat and trickery brought misery over all Europe. What had Louis XIV. gained towards the end of his days, by an unusually long and active life of political fraud, faithlessness, and immorality, which totally disregarded justice and the sacredness of engagements?'—p. 68.

While expressing our high satisfaction with the general basis assumed by Mr. Lieber, we are unable to say that he has put the difficult topic of human responsibility in so forcible a light as to command conviction from the unwilling. We would fain see that portion which is still matter of doubtful disputation, kept separate, and that which is clear powerfully urged: otherwise we are walking on ground where nets and traps are set.

Three main controversies have been sustained, connected with the foundation of morals. *First*, is there any uniform code of morality attainable? 'is virtue by nature, or by compact?' for so the Greeks expressed themselves. This controversy has quite died away among all well informed philosophers: and it is universally agreed, that virtue and vice have a natural existence, deep rooted in man's ethical disposition, and in the social state for which it fits him. In consequence, right and wrong is the same for man, in all times and places. *Secondly*, do we ascertain right and wrong by an original and peculiar faculty? or is that which we call conscience only a modification or application of the common intellect and senses? Mr. Lieber, as most of the Germans and all the school of Coleridge, maintains the former: but Mill, and some other very acute and able men, adhere to the latter, which is known as Paley's opinion. The controversy is of great psychological interest, but, we apprehend, it is far too subtle to enter into practical doctrines;* and it cannot be introduced as a foundation of popular ethics without mischief. The practical questions are not, whether conscience be acquired or innate, composite or primitive; but whether, and within what limits, its indications are trustworthy, and how they may be verified and checked; how also the faculty itself may be improved. *Thirdly*, it is asked, is a vicious man to be blamed or only pitied? is he merely unfortunate, or does he deserve punishment? ought he to feel only sorrow, as having incurred a harm, or to feel remorse,

* Closely connected with this question, and equally immaterial to popular discussion, is the inquiry, 'What is the *essence* of virtue?' what is that, in every virtuous deed or thought, on account of which it is called virtuous? For practice, we want a criterion of virtue, not a definition.

as knowing that he is guilty? These questions touch on the *responsibility* of man; a subject not essentially connected with the two former controversies. A man might believe that there is a real law of right inherent in human nature; nay, and that conscience is an original faculty of that nature; yet he might contend that a vicious person is to be pitied, but not blamed. This was the opinion of Socrates,* if we can trust the reports of his disciples. It has so amiable an appearance, that we are most loath to impute general iniquity to all who profess it. Nay, there is undeniably a measure of truth in it. As there are intellects easy to be pronounced insane, so likewise there are morbid states of the affections and conscience, in which it is impossible to censure the vicious man as a moral agent. The records of insanity fully justify this statement. Now, short of insanity, there are other states, in which vice bears so unnatural an aspect, while the moral principle is evidently so feeble, that we find far more scope for pity and sadness than for rebuke. And to speak generally, it is so hard for any one to rise above his own age and nation, that we hardly blame Cranmer for persecution, or King David for polygamy. Up to a certain point, then, it seems, we must needs concede that 'Man is the creature of circumstances.' But it is a question of great practical urgency, how are we to meet those who, resting on the foundation here afforded, proceed to deny that *blame* is ever in place, and consequently, assert that *remorse* is always absurd? and such, we believe, is the turning point of the argument with the Owenites.

We cannot think that this is to be dealt with as a matter of refined metaphysics. But let it be asked, Do they hold the propriety of *punishment?* If they allow it, though only on the same ground which justifies the punishment of brute animals, viz. *experience of its efficacy*, then, we apprehend, they concede nearly all that the popular mind embraces in the notion of responsibility. It is said by some: 'I beat my dog, or my horse, 'because I know they will hereby be made more obedient; but 'I think it cruel to beat a cat, because it is useless. And just so, 'I would have a boy whipt for stealing, or a man put to hard 'labor for an assault; because such punishments tend to lessen 'crime, not because the criminal is really blameable.' One who reasons thus evidently admits the *right* of the Supreme Being to punish crime in the world to come, if He, in his inscrutable wisdom, see that it will produce beneficial effects; and surely *we* are

* Aristotle, Nic. Eth. vii. 3, says: 'Socrates contended that there is no such thing at all as incontinence; for that no one deviated from right knowingly, but by mistake.' Hence he maintained that '*virtue* was only another name for *knowledge*;' Nic. Eth. vi. 13, and elsewhere.

not anxious to maintain that he will inflict misery with no farther end than the infliction itself. While we are sure, that a power of feeling remorse is essential to virtue, we do not see that any thing is to be gained *in argument* with unrefined minds, by insisting on the distinction between sorrow and remorse. We would rather try to make them *feel* remorse for their sins, than seek to extort a confession that it ought to be remorse and not mere sorrow: while we have no fear that they will leave off entirely to 'blame' their neighbors. If, however, any one go to the length of condemning all punishment, we know not how to deal with him,* unless his social position gives us a practical refutation. It is a weakness of the understanding itself; a fanaticism unassailable to argument.

Mr. Lieber discusses, with his usual fulness of illustration, the important doctrine of the origin of property, interestingly exhibiting how truly primitive to the human mind is the desire of possessing *something* external to ourselves, even when it has no ulterior use. Hence, observes he, avarice is so dangerous a vice, because of its being so intensely natural; nevertheless, the desire of appropriation is in itself not only not sinful, but subservient to the highest purposes. 'Private property is the most powerful 'agent in the promotion of civilization; an agent which has this 'striking peculiarity, that *while it originates with man's indi-* '*viduality, it is at the same time the surest and firmest bond of* '*society.*'

He justly points out an error which has misled distinguished writers,—that of confusing things 'unappropriated' with 'com-'mon' property; whence they were led to theorize about a time when property 'was first divided.' This is mere fiction; for private property and human nature are coeval. Whatever man finds in this world unappropriated, he makes his own by use or by labor. There is no natural limit to the amount of accumulation. It is as lawful to catch fish enough for a whole winter, as fish enough for a day; lawful to provide for our children's education and permanent comfort, as much as for their momentary physical wants.

Excellent and interesting as is this whole argument, we regret that he does not adequately develop the *limitation* which nature and right point out, to the appropriating of that which presents itself to us. The limitation is, that *we shall not deprive others.* Thus, whatever material is found in unlimited quantity, may be appropriated lavishly. All may draw water freely from a full river, which we know cannot be exhausted: but a caravan at a

* This is Aristotle's refutation of that class in his day: 'They themselves chastise their slaves and their children,' says he

well in the desert, would speedily resent the injury committed, if an individual drew extravagantly when the spring was low. Where game is in greater abundance than is wanted, all are naturally at liberty to kill and eat: but not so where the whole stock would soon be destroyed. Neither is an individual allowed to monopolise what is rare, to the injury of a community. In a vast continent men may enclose and till at pleasure great tracts of land: but on a small island, no one would be allowed to take so much as to exclude others. If an ancient city, driven, like Phocæa, from its old abode, had occupied an island too small for each to have his spot of land; unless they decided by lot who should become a possessor, the land would need to be retained and administered by the State. In particular emergencies private rights, before respected, are justly disregarded. If sulphur for making gunpowder were to be had but from one mine, in time of war the State would be justified in claiming that mine for the public (indemnifying the individual as it best could), although previously they had as it were winked at the appropriation, while no harm was felt from it.

The importance of these topics in political ethics, will be more seen, the more the subject is generally studied. Mr. Lieber states *universally* (what, we think, is true *generally*), that the State does not make rights, it only acknowledges them. Many are gradually discerned in the progress of society; as, that of copyright. When a dim conception is first gained, laws are passed to define and enforce it, which laws are generally experimental enactments, it not being yet clear how far the right of the individual may go without being checked by a right of the public; and this is ascertained only in course of time. Many supposed rights of individuals are at length proved to be inconsistent with rights of the public; and in this case they ought to be, and often are, annihilated. Yet equity enforces, that if the State have encouraged the individuals in esteeming such things to be their absolute right, and to incur expenses on account of it, a reasonable indemnity should be paid to them. This doctrine has been long since applied to *land*, whenever a new road is needed; but not so freely or philosophically as it will be. Lawyers would perhaps teach us, that the soil is 'property,' as truly as wool and timber; but we cannot believe this. When a few savages roamed over England, and when there was more good land to be had than people to covet it, this might be true, temporarily. But the surface of the earth being very limited in quantity, the State must secure that the occupiers do not use their (supposed) rights to the injury of the community. If a landlord were to dedicate an estate to Plato and Proserpine, forbidding men to dwell on it, or crops to be raised from it, no one would question he propriety of the legislature interfering. We have all a right

to dwell on the soil; which right cannot be lost by the negligence of our ancestors to foresee that England would ever be so populous, or by the passing of laws in a baronial parliament to confer on such barons an absolute power over the land. Hence the true 'property' of the soil is indefeasibly in the community at large, and landlords are (as has been well expressed) *trustees* to the community. The labor which has been spent on the soil has conferred on it an enormously increased value, and *this* is a private property which must be defended by the State as jealously as though it were moveable. Nevertheless, if it were better understood what limits restrict absolute appropriation, Irish landlords might not have felt their consciences so easy some years back, in ejecting families from their estates who could find no refuge but the high road.

Once more, we desire to limit Mr. Lieber's assertion, that the State *never* makes rights: we think that *some* rights are strictly the creation of the State, especially those of corporations, and the authority of wills. That a man may give away property at his death, as much as during his life, is assuredly of nature, not of enactment. A natural will is of the simplest kind, being a transfer of absolute possession from one man to another. But no occupier of the soil has a natural right to dictate what shall be done with his estate for centuries after his death; such a right is essentially the creation of law, and may be modified or destroyed by law. It might be very unwise, but it would not be unjust, to annihilate all clauses in all wills, past and future, by which property was tied up, and to enact that the persons to whom it was given should possess it as absolutely as the giver. This is the real and unanswerable defence of the transfer of endowments received by bequest, to a purpose not intended by the bequeather. Those who hesitate to approve this, may ask themselves whether endowments, if such existed, for maintaining the worship of Thor and Odin, ought to be now upheld by us. In fact, the case is clear as to the right of the legislature to violate in all such matters the wills of the *dead:* whether it be expedient or equitable to the *living*, must depend on the extremity of the case, and on the circumstances of society. But of all fictitious scrupulosity, the most ludicrous is, to justify the withholding from Roman Catholics their old ecclesiastical and collegiate endowments, and to condemn, as a violation of private rights, the opening the same to Dissenters.

We do not think Mr. Lieber would hesitate to assent to our principle, or to its application; for he constantly is on the verge of the same sentiment. Thus he strongly insists on each man's inherent 'right to live,' which occasionally modifies, and seems to overturn, private property. There are thefts which we must justify in extreme necessity; as, when life is to be saved for one

man, at the expense of a boat to another: but this is generally on the presumption, that the owner would give his consent, if he were present; otherwise, such acts are easier to excuse than to defend. But where they are justifiable by a rigid moralist, we believe it is because an absolute appropriation was, in the particular case, a usurpation made unawares.

On the destiny of woman, and the essential nature of marriage, his remarks are alike just and called for in reference to rising opinions. Many eminent moralists have unawares degraded marriage, by representing as its first and essential aim, the raising up of progeny. In this sense, marriage might be ascribed to brute animals; but the essence of it really consists in the union of man and woman for mutual consolation, love, and interest. The rights and duties of the parties are of course ill apprehended in a society which is dimsighted concerning all rights; but with increased moral cultivation a wife's claims are better understood, and both polygamy and divorce become less reputable. Witness the case of the Jews, who unlearnt polygamy without constraint of law or religion. The prohibition of divorce (which we have happily received from Christ's *authority*) is a sentiment to which the unaided intellect of man but slowly arrives, though it surely* points that way. That which makes the relations of parent and child, of brothers and sisters, so endearing and so valuable, consists in this, that they are *indissoluble;* or if the tie may be broken at all, it is only by the gravest causes, without which the general voice would pronounce the proceeding unnatural and shocking. So also marriage can become a blessed bond, better and nearer than that of father or mother, only when it is at least as binding, and as permanent. Those who state the case, as chiefly turning on the necessities of children, occupy only one branch of the argument, and not, we think, the critical one; for the reasons against divorce are adequate and decisive, whether children have been born or not.

We regard it as an excellent feature in Mr. Lieber (characteristic, we would fain hope, of the present age), that he so decisively resists every attempt to found reality on fiction. The fictions of law in which English lawyers indulge, find no mercy at his hands. 'The law *supposes;*' is, he observes, their perpetual method of cutting a knot; and that, when the 'supposition' is manifestly false, and when no proof, except the imagination of expounders, can be adduced that the law-makers ever entertained such a supposition. Equally does he resist as unphilosophical

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* The reader may have pleasure in consulting the reflections of Gibbon on this subject: chap. xliv. 'Liberty and abuse of divorce' among the Romans.

and unmeaning the figures of speech by which the law is supposed to feel wrath or mercy, &c. As he justly remarks, it took ages to disentangle the notion of *justice* from that of *vengeance;* insomuch that in the most ancient languages known, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, the two ideas are habitually confounded under one word. The more humane and tender morality which Christian principles have superinduced, leads modern civilization distinctly to perceive that resentment has nothing at all to do with justice and with punishment: yet the keeping up of these metaphorical expressions by which the law is turned into a person under the influence of passion, strongly tends to overcloud the truth.

Another injurious metaphor is that by which a king or a government is compared to a father. Such phraseology may be used, if we remember that it is only an arbitrary similitude; but there is continual danger of forgetting this. This had been clearly pointed out by Aristotle.* Mr. Lieber well declares:

'That which renders the family so admirable, so holy, is *love;* and a continued forgetfulness of a separate individual interest. The fundamental idea of the state, on the other hand, is *justice;* the right which exists between man and man. . . . It demands of no member an obligation on his side alone, but knows of mutual obligations only. . . . The monarch is frequently represented as the father of his subjects: and this misrepresentation alone has caused mankind to pass through infinite suffering In few instances has the danger of analogy shown itself more banefully than in this.'—p. 152.

Yet what can seem plainer, than that a monarch *cannot* have towards all his subjects the tender love which a parent has to every child, nor the same superiority in wisdom and knowledge which the father has over the child? Love, wisdom, and past benefits, are the grounds on which a father claims obedience; on none of which things the sovereign can ground his authority.

Mr. Lieber's views of *hamarchy* (or joint-rule), are such as, we presume, all enlightened politicians now admit, although the title 'mixed government' is more familiar to us than the Greek word which he has adopted. In recent days, it has often been remarked that De Lolme and others adopted an inconvenient metaphor when they represented the English constitution as merely a balance of powers, which would seem to imply entire inaction; while it really acts by joint forces, and has therefore *compromise* for its main phenomenon. The matter may be shortly set forth. Each power in a state must have strength enough to defend its own exist-

* Polit. i. 1. 'Those are mistaken who think that a family and a state differ only in size, so that a great family is a little state,' &c.

ence against the attacks of other powers; else one will swallow up the rest, and make itself despotic. But if each is strong enough to defend itself, it is strong enough to modify the acts of the others, and such a government must needs go on by compromise. It is unreasonable to expect from a mixed constitution the decisive vigorous measures which characterize a despotic authority: they are only to be had at crises of suffering or danger. A single power is tyrannical, though it be the 'people,' so called, that exercises it; for there is always a minority to be oppressed by a majority; and, as Mr. Lieber well puts it, the essence of liberty consists in a man finding protection 'when he does not agree with those 'that have the power. One of the truest signs and safest expo-'nents of substantial liberty, therefore, is the unwavering pro-'tection which the individual [or the minority] opposed to power 'enjoys.' A foreigner may learn the reality of British liberty, by listening to the unpunished speeches of ultra Tory partisans as well as of many a Chartist agitator. An Englishman feels how little freedom there may be in a republic, when he ventures to oppose popular opinion on the matter of negro slavery.

The ancient Romans understood the value of joint-rule, or mixed constitutions, perhaps as well as we; but the Greeks were both practically and theoretically defective on this vital point. Mr. Lieber does the Romans justice, where, it appears to us, M. Guizot* has undervalued them. Rome, as a municipality, was eminently *hamacratic;* as a conquering nation she became tyrannical. We must add, that Mr. L. devotes his eighth, ninth, and thirteenth chapters almost entirely to the history of opinion on political ethics; and the mass of information which he lays before the reader is very considerable. Not knowing how else to exhibit ow barely our quotations testify to the fulness with which he treats each subject, we conclude by extracting, as a specimen, the contents of his fifth chapter.

'CHAPTER V.

'Legitimate objects of the State. Danger of intermeddling legislation: instances. Primordial rights and claims. Physical life and health. Law of necessity. Personal liberty. Right of individuality: no absolute obedience possible. Right of share in the protection of the State. Jural reciprocity. Right to be judged by laws, and laws only. Right of communion or utterance. Liberty of the press. Right of morality. Immoral laws, no laws. Right of honor; reputation. Family. Religion, creed, worship. Right of property, acquisition, exchange. Right of emigration. Inalienable rights. State cannot take *revenge:* the crown cannot feel *wrath.* Political absurdity of speaking of king's anger or nation's revenge as political body.'

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* History of European Civilization, Lecture II.

Art. IV. 1. *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans: with Remarks on the Commentaries of Dr. Macknight, Professor Tholuck, and Professor Moses Stuart.* By Robert Haldane, Esq. 3 vols. London. 1836, 1838, 1839.

2. *Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. Vols. I. and II. [containing chap. i.—viii.] Glasgow. 1837, 1838.

THE Epistle to the Romans is not, as many of our readers are probably aware, an object of recent interest to either of the authors above named. Mr. Haldane's labors on the epistle may be said to have commenced at least as early as the year 1816, when a little band of students belonging to the Theological Academy at Geneva, were accustomed to meet in his apartments there, three times a week, to be instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion. From that time to the present, it has evidently been his constant study. How long it may be since Dr. Chalmers first made the epistle the subject of his pulpit ministrations we are not aware, but the advertisement to his first volume speaks of the publication of these lectures as the 'record of the 'Sabbath preparations of many years back.'

The works now under review are very different in their design, as may be partly gathered from their titles. That of Mr. Haldane is a doctrinal and polemical exposition, purposely prepared for the press; that of Dr. Chalmers is a pastoral course of lectures Owing to this circumstance, the latter work appears, in some respects, under considerable disadvantage, as the growing multiplicity of Dr. Chalmers's engagements has prevented his bestowing on his lectures—what for many reasons we wish it had not—'the usual elaboration which such compositions undergo, in their 'passage from the pulpit to the press;' but with due allowance for this disadvantage, there is enough of excellence to justify 'the 'frequently expressed desire of his old hearers to have these 'lectures set before them in a more permanent form.'

We commence our separate review with Mr. Haldane's work, as being first in the order of publication.

This exposition is, on the whole, a work of considerable merit. The author has evidently taken great pains to realize his object, which was to produce a commentary suited to the circumstances of the age; and his long familiarity with the epistle which he expounds has prevented him from offering his thoughts, as far too many writers do, in a crude and undigested form. We might without any very glaring impropriety, class his work with

the commentaries of the old Puritan or nonconformist school. The theology of the Westminster divines is fairly represented in it, except perhaps as respects the nature of justifying faith, on which point Mr. Haldane holds the view, which, since the sandemanian controversy, has become so prevalent in Scotland. Possessing many of the excellencies of the class of writings to which we have referred, these volumes are also chargeable with some of their faults: for the exposition is occasionally prolix, and the spirit which it breathes is not always to be approved. We are of course aware that it may be and sometimes is, a Christian writer's duty to contend earnestly for the faith delivered to the saints, and we are by no means disinclined to honor the zealous attachment to vital truth in which this exposition originated, or allow for the natural influence of that zeal, in a merely human breast, on the expression of conviction or sentiment in reference to important doctrines. We are ready also to acknowledge that many of the views which Mr. Haldane censures are deeply injurious to divine revelation, some of them nearly, if not quite as much so as those doctrines of M. Chenevière, and those other adversaries of the faith against whom he so honorably and, we bless God, so successfully contended at Geneva and in France. But this is not the whole consideration. We have divine direction *how* a Christian should contend. '*The servant of the Lord* '*must be gentle towards all men; apt to teach, patient, in meek-*'*ness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradven-*'*ture will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the* '*truth; and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of* '*the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.*' The conviction and recovery of those who oppose the truth is thus to be a special aim of the servants of Christ, while contending in its defence; and the gentleness, patience, and meekness of the Christian advocate are important aids to the accomplishment of such an object. But Mr. Haldane occasionally forgets this apostolic canon, and his spirit and manner, we regret to say, are thus sometimes better suited to repel than to reform the adversary, even when his arguments have the greatest cogency. It is no pleasure to us that we must notice this character of the work, and therefore we shall neither multiply instances, nor look out for strong ones, but when, as in vol. i. p. 369, we find the author saying 'Why 'cannot Mr. Stuart see believers perfectly just in Jesus Christ, 'their head and substitute? But this is what might be expected 'from one who cannot see believers righteous in Christ;' and as in p. 145 of the same volume, observing 'Professor Tholuck, 'with more propriety, extends the term to filial and parental love, 'but why confine to any one thing what applies to many? It 'gratifies ingenuity and vanity to find some peculiar reference that 'is not expressly stated;' the style of censure Mr. Haldane adopts

is, to say the least, very contrary to the love which thinketh no evil. Personal reflections are very seldom proper, but insinuations such as that in the last citation are always indefensible. We are happy to remark, however, that in the particular now under observation the present work is much less blameworthy than some former publications of the author.

Mr. Haldane's view of inspiration as extending to every individual word of the original Scriptures, has caused him in several instances, we consider, to do violence to particular passages. Our principal differences with him probably proceed from this source. There are, however, few, if any, instances of interpretation in which he would not have the support of some distinguished, orthodox critics, if he attached any great importance to such support, which we are happy to say he does not seem to do. Indeed there is usually an unnecessary and sometimes even an offensive *brusquerie* in the way in which he declares his dissent from the views of some even of the very ablest of the writers of the Christian church.

As Mr. Haldane, quoting from his letter to M. Chenevière published in 1824, has observed that 'there was nothing brought 'under the consideration of the students of divinity who attended' him 'at Geneva which appeared to contribute so effectually to 'overthrow their false system of religion, founded on philosophy 'and vain deceit, as the sublime view of the majesty of God pre-'sented in the four concluding verses of' the eleventh chapter of the epistle, we at first intended to extract the observations on that passage, but they are too long for our pages without abridgment. We therefore select the summary remarks which follow the exposition of the first five chapters. These will at once illustrate some principal points of the author's doctrinal system, and represent the style in which the work is written.

'The apostle in the end of this chapter brings his reasoning to a close. Every individual of the human race is shown to be guilty before God, and on the ground of his own righteousness no man can be saved. The state of the Gentile world is exhibited in the most degrading view, while history and experience most fully concur in the condemnation. Man is represented as vile, below the condition of the brutes, and the facts on which the charge is grounded were so notorious, that they could not be denied. Nor have the most uncultivated pagans any apology for their conduct. Their sins were against nature, and their ignorance of God was in opposition to the revelation of him in the works of his hands. They are condemned by the standard which they themselves recognize; and their own mutual recriminations and defences prove that they are fully aware of sin and responsibility.

'But are not the Jews excepted from this black catalogue of crimes? Are they not righteous through that holy, just, and good law which

they received from the God of Israel? By no means. By the testimony of that revelation which they received all men are guilty, and the testimony directly implies those to whom the revelation was given. Experience also coincides with this. The apostle charges them as actually doing the same things which they condemned in the heathens. Both, then, are guilty, and from their superior light the Jews must be the most [more] guilty.

'Nor was it ever in the contemplation of the law of Moses to give the Jews a righteousness by their own obedience to it. Rather it was to manifest their guilt. By the law there was to no individual a righteousness unto life; by the law was the 'knowledge of sin.' All men, then, without exception, are shut up unto condemnation.

'But this law veiled the truth which the apostle now lays open and exhibits in the strongest light. He proclaims a righteousness so perfect as to meet the whole demands of the law, both as to penalty and obedience—a righteousness so free as to extend to the very chief of sinners. This righteousness is in Jesus Christ. He has borne the curse of the law, and perfectly obeyed all its precepts. All this becomes ours by believing the testimony of the fathers concerning him. The guiltiest of either the Jews or the Gentiles becomes perfectly righteous the moment he believes in the work of Christ. This glorious plan of salvation vindicates the law, vindicates the character of God, and makes mercy entirely consistent with justice. In the gospel grace appears; in the gospel grace reigns; but it reigns not on the ruins of law and justice, but in the more glorious establishment of both; it reigns through righteousness unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord. In the salvation of men by the Son of God, the law is not made void. It is magnified and made honorable. In this salvation sin is not represented as a harmless thing. It is here seen in a more awful light than it is seen in the future punishment of the wicked. The gospel is the only manifestation of God in the full glory of his character as the just God, yet the Saviour—punishing sin to the utmost extent of its demerit, at the same time that his mercy reaches to the most guilty of the children of men.'—Vol. i. pp. 480—482.

We intended, before closing, to compare a passage or two in this exposition with the corresponding sections of the author's 'Commentaire sur l'Epistle aux Romains,' printed in two octavo volumes at Montauban in the year 1819. Such comparisons are often interesting, and throw valuable light on the movements and progress of the human mind, and we regret that we have now no room to do as we had wished. We would in conclusion observe, that those who have perused or possess the commentary of Professor Moses Stuart on this epistle would do well to give a careful perusal to Mr. Haldane's exposition. To other readers, and especially to those whose taste is not polemical, we recommend in preference the commentary of Professor Hodge, of Princeton, republished by the Religious Tract Society.

Dr. Chalmers's lectures on this epistle are eminently character-

ized by adaptation to the object which their author had in view. As a pastoral course, it was requisite that they should be practical; and they are admirably so. Each lecture takes up some distinct section of the epistle, of which section, after a brief introduction, it furnishes, first a short exposition, then a paraphrase, last of all a practical application. This is the usual order of the lectures. Dr. Chalmers's cast of sentiment and diction are so well known, that it is unnecessary to describe or discuss them. We shall therefore confine ourselves chiefly to extracts; and shall in the first place offer a selection from the lecture on Rom. iii. 20—26, of which the subject is the doctrine of justification by faith. Dr. Chalmers thus commences his lecture:

'There is perhaps no single passage in the book of inspiration which reveals in a way so formal and authoritative as the one before us, the path of transition by which a sinner passes from a state of wrath to a state of acceptance. There is no passage to which, if we would only bring the docility and the compliance of childhood, that is more fitted to guide and to turn an inquiring sinner into the way of peace. Let the light which makes apparent to the soul, only shine on these verses, and there is laid before the man who questions what it is that he must do to be saved, the great link of communication in which he may be led along from the ground of fearful exposure that nature occupies, to the ground of a secure and lasting reconciliation. Let him lay aside his own wisdom, and submit himself to the word of the testimony that is here presented to his notice; and taught in the true wisdom of God, he will indeed become wise unto salvation.'

After some further introductory remarks, and an exposition and paraphrase of the passage occupying nearly six pages, the lecture thus continues:—

'The first lesson that we should like to urge upon you from this passage, is the gospel doctrine of an acceptance with God, in all the strict entireness and purity of its terms. There is nothing which so much darkens the mind of an inquirer, and throws such a cloudiness over the simple announcements that God has made to us, as the tendency of a legal spirit to mix up the doings of the creature with the free grace and mercy of the Creator. Take up with it as an absolute truth, that the law has condemned you. Be very sure that this is the sentence which is in force against even the most virtuous and upright of the species. Do not try to mitigate the evils of your condition, or to blunt the edge and application of the law, as having pronounced a destroying sentence on your person, by alleging any extenuation of your offences, or any number of actual conformities. You have broken the law in one point, have you not? So only has the assassin done in respect of the law of his country. His execution is the legal consequence of his guilt, and by that you will carry out your guilt to its legal consequence. It will be better for you that you regard yourself

as under the law to be wholly undone. If you do not you will keep out from your mind the whole clearness and comfort of the gospel. If you admit any merit, or any innocence of your own, among the ingredients of your security before God—then all is thrown back again upon a questionable and precarious and uncertain foundation. The controversy between God and man is wakened up anew by such a proceeding. You are again consigned, as before, among the old elements of doubt and distrust; and the question, what degree of comparative innocence is enough to admit your own righteousness into the plea of justification before God, will, by its ambiguous and unresolvable nature, remove you as far from any solid ground of dependence, as if there was no righteousness of another, in which you might appear, and as if no propitiation had been made for you.'—vol. i. pp. 194, 195.

We have discontinued the extract, though the same argument is pursued to the end of the lecture, purely because there is not, among the various allusions and figures by which it is supported, any thing that carries the reader one step further than the sentences already quoted. The whole section, had we room for it, would be found to be a characteristic specimen of Dr. Chalmers's pulpit style of argument—a style not unadapted, when not too exclusively employed, to the exigencies of an occasion, where many that are present need line upon line, in order to understand or retain what they hear, but exceedingly wearisome when it covers page after page of a printed book.

It must not, however, be imagined that these volumes are made up of wearisome repetition. There is, it is true, too much of this for the consecutive reader, but the tares have not so overrun the field as to prevent the growing of much precious corn. There is a golden crop for the reaper. The epistle to the Romans indeed affords full scope for some of Dr. Chalmers's most valuable talents. On subjects where moral or psychological illustration is needed, these lectures have an extraordinary interest, as the reader may assure himself by reading those on the sixth and seventh chapters. The following passage from the eighteenth lecture is here selected, not as being better than many others, or indeed equal to many, but because it is compatible with our limits. It is on the words, 'patience worketh experience, and experience, hope.'

'But though the patience of our text by being turned into perseverance, is made rather to signify the impulse and direction which calamities are fitted to give to the active principle of our nature—yet we are not to exclude a meek and unresisting endurance of suffering, as one of its most precious fruits on the character of him who is exercised thereby. There is a certain mellowness which affliction sheds upon the character—a softening that it effects of all the rougher and more repulsive asperities of our nature; a delicacy of temperament, into which it often melts, and refines the most ungainly spirit—just as when you visit a man, from whose masculine and overbearing manner you

were wont to recoil, when, in the full glow and loudness and impetuosity of health, he carried all before him: but whom you find to be vastly more amiable, when, after the hand of disease has for a time been upon him, he still retains the meek hue of convalescence. It is not the pride of aspiring talent that we carry to heaven with us. It is not the lustre of a superiority which dazzles, and commands, and overawes, that we bear with us there. It is not the eminence of any public distinction, or the fame of lofty and successful enterprise. And should these give undue confidence to the man, or throw an aspect of conscious and complacent energy over him, he wears not yet the complexion of Paradise; and should God select him as His own, He will send some special affliction that may chasten him out of all which is uncongenial with the place of blessedness, and at length reduce him to its unmingled love and its adoring humility. Affliction has a kind of physical as well as moral power, in sweetening the character, and in impressing a grace and a gentleness upon it. It is purified by the simple process of passing through the fire. 'The fining-pot for silver, and the furnace for gold,' says Solomon, 'but the Lord trieth the hearts;' 'For thou, O God, hast proved us; thou hast tried us as silver.' 'And when he hath tried me,' says Job, 'I shall come forth as gold.'—vol. i. pp. 306, 307.

We trust that these lectures, which, doubtless, are to many of the author's former flock, a precious remembrance of spiritual impressions and benefits, may, now that they are printed, be productive of a happy measure of the same results as attended their first oral delivery.

Art. V. *A Narrative of the Persecution of the Christians in Madagascar; with Details of the Escape of the Six Christian Refugees now in England.* By J. J. Freeman and D. Johns, formerly Missionaries in the Island. London: 1840.

THIS is a genuine and affecting portion of the history of the diffusion of the gospel. If not a chapter in the Acts of the Apostles, it relates to the exertions of men who have cherished the spirit of the apostles, and walked in their steps; and those whom they were privileged to disciple to their divine Master have given honorable evidence of their sincerity, in the midst of fiery trials. It affords us unfeigned pleasure to place on record in our pages the principal facts here presented to us.

We do not mean here to enter into either the general history or the recent politics of the island of Madagascar, although neither of these topics is destitute of interest; nor do we mean to recapitulate at any length the proceedings of the London Mis-

sionary Society in that island. It is now matter of history that a mission was commenced in Madagascar by the society we have just named so far back as the year 1818; and that they met with a very encouraging degree of success. In 1828, Radama, their patron, died; and Ranavalona, one of his relatives, but not the heir to the throne, forced her way to it through treachery and blood. Under her reign the persecution has been carried on. Its origin is thus exhibited.

'The queen of Madagascar, although possessed of a masculine determination of mind, amounting often to an inflexible obstinacy, has never given any indication of superior intelligence. She is slightly acquainted with the elements of reading and writing, but never availed herself, even during Radama's life-time, of any means to become familiar with the instructions conveyed by the European teachers among the people. She was always known to be deeply attached to the superstitious customs of the country, and to have cherished a great veneration for the national idols, and their worship. Though rather intimate with the missionaries who first resided at the capital, and in the habit of visiting them and their families, she evinced no disposition to embrace the religion they taught. Her accession to the throne was carefully exhibited to the people as the act of the guardian idols. They, it was said, had placed her on the throne of her ancestors; and of course, being taught this doctrine herself by interested parties, she came under obligations to sustain the authority of the idols, to patronize their worship, and to encourage those who were regarded as the interpreters of the wishes of these divinities. For the service rendered to her, the idol party naturally expected her countenance and support in return. One of the hereditary guardians of the principal idol Rakelimalaza, at the time of her accession, was Rainiharo, and he was appointed, ostensibly by command of the idol, to remain with the new sovereign, while his prepossessing manners seemed to have won for him a large share of her good graces. Two parties were thus soon formed at the court, consisting of Rainiharo and his friends, who were evidently anxious to maintain the system of idolatry, and Andriamihiaja and his friends, who sought to extend education, and to carry out and enlarge the measures commenced by Radama. The jealous opposition of these parties lasted about two years, when the idolatrous or anti-liberal party prevailed. They proceeded at first with much caution and reserve, only giving signs of their determination to oppose Christianity just in proportion to the gradual increase of their power and influence in the country.

'It would be difficult to point out any one single act of the Christians which operated as the immediate cause of the fierce persecution which has been raised against them; but the queen and her principal officers, it was soon found, were evidently unfavorable to this new religion, and therefore to the means of its extension in the country. The character of the native mind, as indeed of the human mind at large, was opposed to the purity of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity; while the national pride was mortified, and an extreme jea-

lousy of foreigners awakened, on finding mere strangers changing the established customs and usages of the country. As a despotic government, the authorities of Madagascar have always been opposed to any bond of union subsisting among the people: and the idolatrous party then in power took advantage of the friendship which subsisted between the native Christians and the missionaries, to prejudice the mind of the queen against Christianity, by representing its teachers as having some political design.'—pp. 87—89.

A variety of circumstances are then narrated by which the queen's mind was, often artfully and always without cause, rendered bitterly hostile to the Christians; so that at length she disclosed to her chief officers her intention of destroying them. Upon this occasion a most honorable and valuable testimony was borne by one of her own officers to the excellence of their general character.

'There were several officers about her, but no one dared to speak. At length Rainingitabé rose; and, having made a long apology for presuming to speak, added that from the earliest times servants had had the privilege of telling their thoughts to their masters. 'But should you, to whom I belong,' said he, 'think fit to cut me off and destroy me, I still cannot refrain from saying freely what are my thoughts on this subject. Far be it from us to defend even our wives or children, our fathers or mothers, our brothers or sisters, our relations or friends, from being punished according to your will, when guilty of transgressing the law. We should most willingly deliver them up that the law may take its course, and especially those who conspire against the sovereign. Take confidence, Madam; we are here, and ready to put to death all who seek to do evil in your country and would overturn your government. Still I would entreat you to consider well what you propose to do with these people, who have learned the taratasy* and to pray. There are some of them daily about me, and I have had an opportunity for years past of observing their dispositions and their conduct; and I can assure you I have not seen any, whether among the soldiers or among the bourgeois, more upright, diligent, faithful, and trustworthy than those who have learnt the taratasy and attended the prayer-meetings. If I tell them to go anywhere on business, whether by day or night, they go; whatever I desire them to do, they do it, and scarcely ever have I cause to be angry with any of them. Besides this they certainly possess more intelligence and knowledge than most others in the country. Your predecessors, Madam, put a great value on wise, faithful, and intelligent subjects. (Here he mentioned the names of several intelligent persons in the time of Andrianimpoina and Radama, who died, and whose death had caused such grief to those sovereigns, that they had said they would rather have lost ten thousand of their subjects than such wise men.)

* A general term for paper, books, instruction from books, reading, &c.

Should you put to death any of these intelligent young people, who have been for years receiving instruction from the Europeans, I fear, Madam, you will be the loser, and be sorry for it. When once they are killed, you cannot purchase back their lives with money. These are my thoughts, Madam, and I cannot but tell them, whatever may be the consequence.' After he had resumed his seat, a long silence ensued. At last the queen said, 'I thank you for your advice: I have indeed a father and a mother in you: you do not conceal from me what you think will be of service to the kingdom. We shall consider well what to do with them.' '—pp. 108—110.

Consideration, however, unhappily confirmed the queen's purpose, and a kabary, or assembly of the people, was subsequently held, at which her sovereign will was announced in the following terms.

'I announce to you, O ye Ambaniandro, I am not a sovereign that deceives, nor are the servants deceived. I therefore announce to you what I purpose to do, and how I shall govern you. Who then is that man, a servant too, that would change the customs of our ancestors, and of the twelve sovereigns in this country? To whom has the kingdom been left by inheritance, by Andrianimpoinimerina and Radama, but to me? If then any would change the customs of our ancestors, and of the twelve sovereigns, I abhor that, saith Rabodo-nandrian-impoin-imerina.

'Now, on the subject of reviling the idols, treating the divination as a trifle, and throwing down the tombs of the Vazimba, I abhor that, saith Ranavalomanjaka. Do it not in my country. The idols (say you) are nothing. By them it is that the twelve sovereigns have been established; and now are they changed, and become nothing? The divination also, you treat in the same manner; and the tombs of the Vazimba, too, though indeed, they are their own evidence. Even the sovereign counts them sacred; and are the *people* to esteem them as nothing? This is *my* affair, saith Ranavalomanjaka, and I hold him guilty, whoever in my country destroys them (the tombs).

'As to baptism, societies, places of worship, distinct from the schools, and the observance of the sabbath,—how many rulers are there in this land? Is it not I alone that rule? These things are not to be done, they are unlawful in my country, saith Ranavalomanjaka; for they are not the customs of our ancestors, and I do not change their customs, excepting as to things alone which improve my country.

'Now then, as to those who have observed baptism, entered into society, and formed separate houses for prayer (or worship), I grant you one month, saith Ranavalomanjaka, to confess (to make self-accusation), and if you come not within that period, but wait to be first found out, and accused by others, I denounce death against such; for I am not a sovereign that deceives, and servants are not to be deceived. Mark then the time, it is one month from yonder sun of

this day, that I give you to confess. The scholars at Ambodinandohalo, and those at Ambatonakanga, and not those only, for there are scholars in these twelve principal towns, and the scholars that have not opened separate houses, but at the appointed schools alone have worshipped and learned, these are not condemned, and they are not to confess; but those who have opened other houses, these are to accuse themselves.

'And those who have been baptized, whether they have worshipped in other houses or not, these must also accuse themselves, and those also who have entered into society.

'And you, the bourgeois and soldiers, that have been attending the schools for worship, and especially such as have opened other houses for worship, and been baptized, and entered into society, and kept the sabbath—Come, and accuse yourselves on these accounts, for I, the sovereign, do not deceive; but if any come first, and accuse you, I denounce death against you; and I do not deceive, saith Ranavalomanjaka.

'And I moreover announce this to you, saith Ranavalomanjaka, here are your slaves, that you have been teaching to write, and who have gone to the separate houses of prayer, and others who have gone to the schools also, and especially that have been baptized; all these must also come and accuse themselves.

'I announce to you, scholars, my command; so long as you are scholars, and remain under the instruction of the Europeans in their houses, observe the sabbath; nevertheless, it is as to writing only, in which you are to observe it, but not in anything else whatever; and further, from the moment that you go out of their houses, even on the sabbath, you are not to use or observe it, for I, the sovereign, do not observe it all; and it shall not be done in my country, saith Ranavalomanjaka.

'And again, as to your mode of swearing, the answer you are giving, is, 'True,' and when you are asked, Do you swear it? you reply 'True.' I wonder at this! What, indeed, is that word 'True?'

'And then, in your worship, yours is not the custom of our ancestors; you change that, and you are saying, 'Believe,' 'Follow the customs;' and again you say, 'Submit to him,' 'Fear him,' 'Remember him,' and thus, you change the customs of the ancestors, for you do not invoke all that is sacred in heaven and earth, and all that is sacred in the twelve sovereigns, and all that is sacred in the sacred idols. And is not this changing the customs of the ancestors? I detest that, and I tell you plainly that such things shall not be done in my country, saith Ranavalomanjaka.'—pp. 119, 120.

The consequence of this was, as was to be expected, that great multitudes made self-accusation (in Madagascar, it seems, the way to forgiveness), and turned their backs on Christianity. Not so, however, with the faithful few. Their perseverance in exercises of Christian worship of a social, and even of a solitary kind, aroused the utmost indignation of Ranavalona, not so much, it would appear, in the end, as a departure from the customs of the

country, as an act of resistance to the royal authority. 'It is 'announced to you, O people,' saith the queen [concerning some Christians about to be reduced to perpetual slavery] 'there are 'stubborn persons, persisting in doing what is forbidden, and the 'punishment of their own deeds is inflicted upon them.'—p. 183. In this respect the spirit of modern persecution is strikingly identified with that of early times. All our readers will recollect that the ancient Roman magistrate, Pliny, when expressing his inability to attach any fault to the religion of the Christians, complacently condemns them for their obstinacy. 'Of this I had 'no doubt,' he says in his letter to the Emperor Trajan, 'whatever 'was the nature of their religion, that a sullen and inflexible 'obstinacy called for the vengeance of the magistrate;' a passage which is very happily quoted by the authors of the volume before us. 'Is it possible,' said the Malagasy personification of the Roman despot on another occasion, 'that there is any one so 'daring as to defy me, and that one too a woman? This is 'annoying to me. Go, and put her to death at once; it cannot 'be borne.'—p. 159.

The test to which these young disciples of Jesus were now put was indeed a searching and severe one; and the manner in which they bore it affords evidence at once of strength and of weakness, it shows them to have been both men and Christians. In the commencement of the persecution there seems to have been a very natural prevalence of timidity, and a desire of concealment; an infirmity against which they were much helped by a keen remark of one of the queen's officers. A wife of one of the Christians having accused her husband, the officer

'Listened gravely to her accusation, and then replied that he did not believe it, for said he, 'they are too much afraid to transgress again the laws of the queen; they pretend they can do great things, but when it comes to the crisis, they give up their religion to save their lives. When I used to go out after sunset before the suppression of Christianity, I sometimes overheard them singing, 'Izaho tsy matahotra,'

'I have no dread of death,
For Jesus Christ is ever nigh.'

I felt annoyed at them, and began to think they really did not fear death; but as soon as the queen ordered them to come and accuse themselves, they ran from every direction, confessed their crimes, craved the queen's pardon, and promised to do so no more. I am almost convulsed with laughter to see some that I heard sing a few weeks previously, 'I have no dread of death,' coming almost out of breath to accuse themselves, in order to avoid death. I said within myself, these men were singing falsehoods; they are as much afraid of death as any body else. I do not believe there is one real believer in

this country, besides the Europeans. I have heard indeed that many Europeans in their own country have continued obstinate and suffered death for it, but they have not done so here.' These remarks made a deep impression on the minds of many of the Christians; and there is reason to believe that the reproof they contained, coming from such a man, proved a blessing in arousing them to greater fortitude, decision, and consistency.'—pp. 147, 148.

An interesting view of the state of the Christians during the early part of the persecution is afforded by the following brief extract from a letter of Mr. Baker, the missionary who remained for a time after the others had left the island. The usual congregations of course had been broken up and dispersed.

'In the mean time, those who had preserved their faith in the word of God became gradually known to us and to each other. Slowly and cautiously did they open their hearts even to their most intimate friends. Sometimes a recognition took place by a reference being made to the words in Jeremiah, xxxviii. 15: 'If I declare it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me to death?' to which the answer would be from the following verse:—'So Zedekiah sware secretly unto Jeremiah, saying, as the Lord liveth, that made us this soul, I will not put thee to death, neither will I give thee unto the hand of these men that seek thy life.'

'After a time the natives began to hold secret meetings at our houses and their own, and on the summits of solitary mountains, whence, amidst the treeless hills and vales of Imerina, they could observe the approach of strangers at a very remote distance. These latter were their favorite places of assembly, since they could there freely sing to the praise of their God and Saviour without fear of being overheard, and none so well as afflicted Christians know how soothing oftentimes to the afflicted heart is the language and music of a hymn.'—pp. 153, 154.

Many sufferings were encountered by the Christians in their endeavors to conceal themselves, and to evade the search incessantly made for them; and many more by their being sold as a punishment into perpetual slavery. Still prayer was offered, and even new converts were made, so that the queen's hostility was provoked to the uttermost. Rather than she would be baffled in her object, Ranavalona determined on the shedding of blood. The first victim marked out was Rafaravavy; of the circumstances relating to whom, however, although deeply interesting, we shall here say nothing, inasmuch as, preserved by wonderful providences, she yet lives, to glorify God, as we hope, by a consistent and devoted life. The first martyr for the name of Christ in Madagascar was Rasalama, of whose sufferings and deportment we find the following description. By torture and artifice she

had been led to mention the names of some of her companions, a course which all the others had firmly resisted.

'She was deeply grieved when she heard this, as it showed she had been most unintentionally the cause of betraying her friends. She was overheard, during the time she was under confinement, to express her astonishment that the people of God should be treated in such a manner. 'Men,' said she, 'that have neither excited rebellion, nor stolen the property of any, nor spoken ill of any, yet all their property is confiscated, and they themselves reduced to perpetual slavery: I would advise the persecutors to think a little of what they are doing, lest they bring on themselves the wrath of God. When the Tsitialaingia came to my house,' she added, with extraordinary warmth of feeling, 'I was not afraid, but rather rejoiced that I was counted worthy to suffer affliction for believing in Jesus; I had hope of the life in heaven.' The wife of Ramiandravola, her master, heard the remarks and told her husband, who immediately communicated it to Rainiharo, The latter praised him for his fidelity and diligence, and ordered him to put heavy irons on Rasalama. A messenger was also sent to acquaint the judges with what she had said.

'On the return of the messenger, she inquired of him what message he had taken. 'Only your words,' said he, 'that you rejoiced when you saw the Tsitialaingia come to you.' 'Why,' rejoined Rasalama, 'when I said much did you report little? The net is spread, but the bird may escape. It was I,' added she, 'that gave the names of Raintsiheva and others as our associates, that it might be for their honor and happiness. No one else raised them to honor, and I did.' She was now put in heavy irons and beaten, but continued singing hymns. 'My life,' said she, 'shall go for my companions. You say Rafaravavy will be put to death; but no, she will not die, I shall be killed instead of her!' Such a spirit and such remarks in Madagascar were sufficient to lead to her condemnation and death.

'Such was her excitement of mind amidst an enfeebled state of body produced by severe beating and excruciating pain, that she perhaps said some few things unadvisedly, and led some of her friends to think that for a day or two there was a slight degree of incoherence about her. But she was perfectly calm and tranquil before death.

'Ramiandravola had said to her, when the heavy irons were ordered to be placed on her, 'I know you are a relative of mine, and that we share the same family grave, still, if you are found doing what the queen condemns, I renounce all acquaintance with you. I have nothing whatever to dread but Ranavalona the queen, and Rainiharo; what they love I love, what is sweet to them is sweet to me, and although a dog should be cut to pieces over my head, if that would please them, it would please me.' 'That is a strong expression to use,' said Rasalama, 'and ought to awaken some reflection; you say you would delight to submit to the greatest possible indignity, even that a dog should be cut to pieces over you, if the queen desired it—and all this out of love to the sovereign. That devotion to the queen ought to make you reflect a little'—meaning, if so much is due to an

earthly sovereign, is no obedience to be paid to the authority of the Supreme Lord of all?—should not his servants be willing to suffer in his cause, and cheerfully endure all that he may impose on them?

'Many of the people attributed her firmness, and the remarks she continued to make, to the influence of some secret witchcraft which they believed had been employed over her by means of the missionaries. 'Dreadfully powerful indeed,' said they, 'must those ('ody') charms be, which can induce her to keep on talking in this way even to the very last!'

'She was now taken from the house of Ramiandravola, and ordered for execution the next morning. She was put that afternoon into irons of a peculiar construction, not intended so much for the security of the prisoner as for cruel punishment. The irons consist of rings and bars, and are so fastened around the feet, hands, knees, and neck, as to confine the whole body in an excruciatingly painful position, forcing the extremities together, as if the sufferer were packed into a small case. These irons are called '*omby fohy*,' 'the shortened bullock,' from the mode in which the natives are accustomed to tie the animal by drawing the fore and hind feet together in one knot.

'Being led to the place of execution next morning, she expressed her joy that she had received the knowledge of the truth, and continued singing hymns on the way. Passing by Mr. Griffiths' chapel, where she had been baptized, she exclaimed, 'There I heard the words of the Saviour!' On reaching the fatal spot, she requested permission to kneel down and pray; her request was granted; she calmly knelt down, committed her spirit into the hands of the Redeemer, and in that attitude was speared to death, the executioners, three or four in number, standing behind and by the side of her, and striking her through the ribs and the heart. The pain would be momentary, the release triumphant, and the bliss that followed immortal. Her body was left to be devoured by the wild dogs that frequent all places in Madagascar where criminals suffer. When Rafaravavy and a friend went some time afterwards to the exact spot where she was killed, they could find only a few bones lying about, where they had been scattered by the dogs.

'Some said, when she was led forth to death, 'Where is the God she prays to, that he does not save her now?' Others were touched with pity, and could not see for what crime these Christians were put to death.

'Few of the Christians, if any, except one young man named Rafaralahy, ventured to the spot while she was put to death. He did, and was deeply affected with the scene. He saw her calmness, and returned from the spectacle a martyr in spirit. 'If,' said he, 'I might die so tranquil and happy a death, I would not be unwilling to die for the Saviour too.'"—pp. 184—188.

The pious youth who uttered this language was shortly put to the severest test of his sincerity, and we rejoice to say that he bore it like a Christian. As the passage containing the account

of his martyrdom is short, we shall add it to the extracts we have already made.

'Rafaralahy was immediately seized and put in irons, and everything was done to extort the names of his companions from him; but her emained inflexible, saying, 'Here am I; let the queen do what she pleases with me; I have done it, but I will not accuse my friends.' After being in irons for two or three days, he was taken to Ambohipotsy, the place of execution, where he was speared to death. The calmness and tranquillity with which he met death made a deep impression on the minds of the executioners. When they came to the door of the house where he was bound, they asked, 'Which is Rafaralahy?' He replied very calmly, 'I am, Sir.' They approached him and took off the irons, and told him to go along with them; he arose immediately, went with them, speaking to them all the way of Jesus Christ, and how happy he felt at the thought of shortly seeing Him who had loved him and died for him. On arriving at the place of execution, he requested them to allow him a few moments to commit his soul to the Saviour; this being granted, he offered a most fervent prayer for his country, for his persecuted brethren, and commended his soul to his Saviour. He then rose from his knees, and the executioners were preparing to throw him down on the ground; he said there was no need of that, as he was now ready to die; he laid himself down, and was immediately put to death. His friends were allowed to bury the body in the grave of their ancestors.'—p. 212.

The volume concludes with an account of the protracted and hazardous wanderings of the six refugees who accomplished their escape, and are now in England; a narrative full of peril and of providence, but affording no short portion adapted to citation, and our limits forbid a long one. The whole will be read with much interest. We perceive an endeavor on the part of the authors of the narrative to avoid giving an opinion as to the propriety of the efforts which the converts made to escape. 'It should perhaps be 'stated,' they say, 'that, in escaping from Madagascar, the Chris-'tians were but accomplishing their own expressed and most 'earnest wishes. It is not that their European friends had urged 'them to the measure. To these belongs neither the commenda-'tion nor the censure attaching to the plan.' We regret the tone of these remarks. However the fact might have been in the first instance, Messrs. Freeman and Johns are fully competent to form an opinion on the case now, and they should not, we think, have shrunk from it. The passage as written leaves us to suppose that the course taken by the Malagasy disciples has been partially disapproved; and, if it has been so, it was due alike to these and to other converts, to the friends of missions, and to themselves, to avow either their concurrence in that sentiment or their dissent from it. The case may often recur, and the path of Christian

obligation with respect to it should not be left in doubt. If the Christians of Madagascar have failed of the courage their profession required, it is an act of faithful love to reprove their timidity; if they have not, it is an act of cowardly unkindness to abandon them to a current but unmerited censure. To us it appears that the avoidance of danger by means not in themselves wrong—as by concealment or flight, which is the case in question —is not blameable; and that the courage required in a disciple of Christ lies in maintaining his profession faithfully in perils which he cannot with uprightness avoid. If a different view of this subject is taken in any quarter, we should like to be made acquainted with it, and with the grounds on which it may be sustained. Were a question to be raised at all, a more debateable one might perhaps be, whether the missionaries (whom, however, we do not censure for returning) would have been blameable if they had staid in the midst of their converts, to share their perils, and if necessary their martyrdom.

Madagascar exhibits the most direct and aggravated case of persecution for Christ's sake which has appeared in the progress of modern evangelical missions, and goes farther than any other country to identify the recent with the early dissemination of Christianity. How pagan converts would endure persecution, must have been a question oft-times anxiously agitated by observant friends of the missionary enterprise; and the practical answer afforded by the present instance is matter of unfeigned thankfulness to the God of grace. We rejoice also to know that the utmost severity of persecution has not exterminated Christianity in the island. The authors of the volume before us intimate the existence of encouraging facts which it would not be safe at present to mention; and they close it in the following cheering language.

'Barbarism, cruelty, and inhumanity cannot destroy even the little leaven in Madagascar. Pure and spiritual Christianity has prospered there, even amidst persecution. There are more hearts on the side of Christ at this moment in Madagascar than there ever were. And there is hope for the future. *The blood of the martyr is there*, the pledge of the Saviour's watchful care, and the seed of the church. The prayers and tears of many water it. The harvest will come, and Madagascar will be added to the kingdoms of *our God and of his Christ*.'—p. 297.

There is much more in this narrative which we could have noticed with pleasure; but we must now conclude our notice by thanking the worthy authors of it, who have done themselves much credit in its preparation, and by commending it to an extensive perusal.

Art. VI. *Thoughts on Religion and Philosophy.* By Blaise Pascal. *A New Translation, with an Original Memoir of the Author, and an Introductory Essay.* By Isaac Taylor, Esq., Author of 'Natural History of Enthusiasm,' &c. 12mo. Glasgow: William Collins.

FRANCE is distinguished by the number of great men whom she produced in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the Augustan age of her literature. A solitary bright star is of rare occurrence in the literary firmament, which, like the heavens, is studded with clusters and groups, distributed with tolerable equality over the whole: sometimes, however, leaving intervals of comparative darkness, and sometimes exhibiting a galaxy of genius, the blended light of almost innumerable minds. The latter part of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, constituted the bright era of French literature, in which the great dramatists, Corneille, Racine, and Moliere flourished; and, in other walks of poetry, Boileau, La Fontaine, and Jean Baptiste Rousseau. The church also produced men of great genius and celebrity. Bourdaloue, Bossuet, Flechier, Massillon, and Saurin have spread the fame of their eloquence as far as the French language is read; and Rollin, Fenelon, and Pascal are not less widely known by their various writings.

Of these, no one was a greater genius, or a more estimable man, than Pascal. In his early years his progress in knowledge was so remarkable, and he so far outran the instruction conveyed to him by his father, that he is well known as an instance of precocious intellect, and there are perhaps few studious young persons to whom his name is not familiar. Still he cannot be classed among those who have, by the force of their genius, triumphed over the most formidable difficulties, and emerged from ignorance, obscurity, and poverty, to learning and fame. His circumstances in his infant years were most favorable to the development of his powers, and for the cultivation of a taste for letters. One oft-told tale of his early history is too remarkable to be omitted in the slightest sketch of his life.

'Young Pascal sometimes joined in the scientific conversations held at his father's house. He listened to every thing with extreme attention, and eagerly investigated the causes of whatever fell under his observation. It is said that at the age of eleven years, he composed a small treatise on sounds, in which he endeavored to explain why the sound made by striking a plate with a knife ceases on applying one's hand to it. His father, fearful that too keen a relish for the sciences would impede his progress in the languages, which were then considered the most important part of education, decided, in concert with his friends, to abstain from conversing on philosophical subjects in his

presence. To pacify his son under this painful interdiction, his father promised that when he had acquired a complete knowledge of Greek and Latin, and was in other respects qualified, he should learn geometry; only observing, that it was the science of extension, or of the three dimensions of body, length, breadth, and thickness—that it teaches how to form figures with accuracy, and to compare their relations, one with another. Slight as these hints were, they served as a ray of light to develop his genius for mathematics. From that moment his mind had no rest; he was eager to explore the mysteries of a science withheld from him with so much care. In his hours of recreation he shut himself up in a chamber, and with a piece of charcoal drew on the floor triangles, parallelograms, and circles, without even knowing the names of these figures; he examined the different positions of convergent lines, and their mutual relations. By degrees he arrived at the conclusion that the sum of the three angles of a triangle must be measured by a semi-circumference; or, in other words, are equal to two right angles, which is the thirty-second proposition of the first book of Euclid. While meditating this theorem, he was surprised by his father, who having learnt the object, progress, and result of his researches, stood for some time dumb with astonishment and delight, and then hastened, almost beside himself, to tell what he had witnessed to his intimate friend M. le Pailleur.

'The young Pascal was now left at full liberty to study Geometry. The first book on the subject put into his hands, at twelve years old, was Euclid's elements, which he understood at once, without the slightest assistance. He was soon able to take a distinguished station among men of science, and at sixteen composed a small tract on Conic Sections, which evinced extraordinary sagacity.'—pp. lxxxv., lxxxvi.

This marvellous tale we have no means of controverting; and, supposing it to be true in every circumstance, it presents a dazzling and seductive, but dangerous example before the youthful mind. There is, indeed, no reason to fear that it will operate very powerfully on the great mass of young persons; but, unhappily, the greatest influence will be on those temperaments kindred to Pascal's, where its effects will be most calamitous. Great injury has been done by the ill-judged admiration which is lavished on premature talent, and by attempts to force, by unnatural culture, the buds which have been put forth too soon. Genius itself, or that peculiar development of mind which exhibits it in almost preternatural beauty, partakes, probably, of the nature of disease; and, as in the case of the tulip, the auricula, and other florists' flowers, what is gained in brilliancy is dearly paid for by an increased delicacy of structure and liability to decay. This supposition seems warranted by the melancholy details of literary history; by the eccentric career of genius, and its too frequent tendency to consumption and insanity. Chatterton, Kirke White, Keats, and Byron, are but a few out of many names which might be cited in support of this opinion.

But if genius itself bears too frequently within it the seeds of decay, the danger is unspeakably increased when it is developed at an immature age. The cases, we apprehend, are very rare in which great talent exhibited at an early age ripens into correspondent stature in manhood. The infant giant seldom becomes the colossus he promised; or, if the promise be fulfilled, he descends to an early grave. We have seen instances of precocious genius; but have never seen a monster of a child become a wonder as a man; and, in all instances, life has been quickly terminated. Reason teaches us that it cannot ordinarily be otherwise. Youth is the period during which important processes are going on in the bodily frame, which require its continual exercise, and comparative rest of the mind: and where the laws of nature are outraged by rigorous mental application during this period, she avenges herself by the rapid destruction of both mind and body. The influence of undue mental excitement, especially in early life, is analogous to the effect produced by spirituous liquors on the body. It lives too fast, and life is soon over.

Pascal, notwithstanding his great attainments, can scarcely be regarded as an exception to the general law; for he died at the age of thirty-nine, and his life was rendered wretched by disease and pain. When only twenty-four years old a paralytic attack nearly deprived him for three months of the use of his limbs. Thus, compelled to rest from his severe studies, he mingled with society, and even thought of marriage; but an unforeseen event gave a new turn to all his future life. When taking the air in a coach and four, the leaders took fright on the bridge of Neuilly, and, over a part where there was no parapet, plunged into the Seine. Although the traces gave way, and the carriage stopped on the edge of the precipice, the shock given to Pascal's disordered frame was so great that he took it as an admonition from heaven to separate himself from worldly things, and devote himself to religion. The prejudices in which he had been educated taught him that this could be done only by a life of seclusion and asceticism. His gigantic mind had probably become enfeebled by disease, and yielded to the influence of motives which might not have had the same force had he been in health.

'The convent of Port Royal, after a long interval of languor and relaxation, had risen to a high reputation under the direction of Angelica Arnauld. This celebrated woman, desirous of augmenting the reputation of the establishment by all lawful means, had drawn around her a number of persons distinguished for learning and piety, who, disgusted with the world, sought to enjoy in retirement the pleasures of reflection and Christian tranquillity. Such were the two brothers, Arnauld d'Andilli and Antoine Arnauld, Le Maître, and Saci, the translator of the Bible, Nicole, Lancelot, Hermant, and others. The

principal occupation of these illustrious men was the education of youth; it was in their school that Racine acquired a knowledge of the classics, a taste for the great models of antiquity, and the principles of that harmonious and enchanting style, which places him on the summit of the French Parnassus. Pascal cultivated their acquaintance, and was soon on terms of the most familiar intimacy. Without making his fixed residence with them, he paid them, at intervals, visits of three or four months, and found in their society every thing that could instruct him—reason, eloquence, and devotion. On their part, they were not slow to apprehend the extent and profundity of his genius. Nothing appeared strange to him. The variety of his knowledge, and that fertility of invention which animated him, gave him the ability to express himself with intelligence, and to scatter new ideas over every subject he touched upon. He gained the admiration and the love of all these eminent recluses, but especially of Saci. This laborious student, who spent his life in the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers, was devoted to the writings of St. Augustin, and never heard any striking sentiment on theology to which he did not imagine he could find a parallel in his favorite author. No sooner had Pascal uttered some of those elevated thoughts which were familiar to him, than Saci remembered having read the same thing in Augustin; but without diminishing his admiration of Pascal, for it excited his astonishment that a young man who had never read the Fathers should nevertheless by his native acuteness, coincide in his thoughts with so celebrated a theologian, and he looked upon him as destined to be a firm supporter and defender of Port Royal, which was at this period exposed to the virulent assaults of the Jesuits.'—pp. xc.—xcii.

We need not enter into the particulars of that contest between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, which engaged the attention of the greatest statesmen, and called forth, in support of the Jansenist party, the celebrated Provincial Letters by Pascal. Although these, by their delicate wit and their elegance of style, attracted general admiration, it is neither by them, nor by his scientific researches, that their author is principally known in the present day. His 'Thoughts on Religion and Philosophy' consist of a number of opinions and arguments which he penned on different occasions, and designed as the foundation of an elaborate work, which he did not live to complete. These hints and scraps, which were written in the midst of sickness, on any piece of paper that came to hand, were collected after his death by the members of Port Royal, and published in their unfinished form. The vast merits of this collection have been long acknowledged. We feel, as soon as we begin to read, that we are in communication with a mind of more than common greatness; and both in the depth and the simplicity of the thoughts we discover an irresistible charm.

In contemplating the life of Pascal, the charity that 'hopeth 'all things' is delighted to discover such genuine and fervent

piety existing in a communion in which we are not accustomed to expect religion of a high order. Even amidst the superstitions and gross errors of Romanism, we perceive not only that it is possible for piety to exist, but that it may attain to high degrees of excellence. An extensive acquaintance with the various sections of the Christian church will thus enlarge our charity, and will cherish the belief that many of those who differ widely from ourselves in creed and discipline may be among the excellent of the earth; and that, even in the most degraded portions of Christendom, there may be many who have escaped the surrounding corruptions, and are walking with God. Yet, while we are cheered by this blessed hope, we cannot avoid the conviction that the errors which enter into their creed have a deteriorating influence on their minds, and lessen their usefulness. Their writings are liable to be tinctured with the peculiarities they have imbibed, and should be read with caution. Such men can hardly be esteemed safe guides for the young and inexperienced. This is the case with the popular works both of Pascal and Thomas à Kempis. The writers were men of unquestionable and extraordinary devotion; but their ascetic habits, their celibacy, and their numerous mortifications communicated a gloomy tinge to their opinions, and diminished the loveliness of their piety. Insulated in a great degree from the world, and never having experienced the tenderest ties of nature, the love of a husband and a father, they exhibited a want of sympathy with the sweetest human affections.

From these remarks it will be seen that, while we regard Pascal's Thoughts as a work of great value, we see in them many things of which we cannot fully approve. We will endeavor to point out some of their excellencies and defects; and to mark the peculiar merits and demerits which characterize this edition.

The volume before us contains an introductory essay by Mr. Taylor, who is well known by his 'Natural History of Enthusiasm,' and by other works. That this gentleman possesses a powerful and cultivated mind is very apparent in all his literary productions which we have seen: but there is a peculiarity in his mode of treating a subject which does not meet with our approbation. There are two very different ways by which talent may be displayed. The first is by making the most difficult topics clearly understood by the reader; and bringing them down to the level of common capacities, by a skilful selection of arguments, by abridging the process of thought, and by employing the most appropriate language. This is the highest triumph of mind in composition; and genius of the first order may be recognized by its noble simplicity of thought and diction. It goes always straight forward to its object, and never takes a circuitous route, when there is one more direct. The great masterpieces of

literature bear this character; and from their transparent clearness, and their consequent easy comprehension by minds of every grade, have taken and kept their hold of public opinion. The other way in which talent is often exhibited is in making a plain and easy subject difficult. There are minds so constituted as to delight in multiplying arguments, in tracking a fugitive idea through all the turnings and mazes of thought, till it is lost, and they are thoroughly bewildered. Many authors and readers have no taste for the simple processes of mind; they judge of the completeness of proof by the very length and tediousness of the journey through which they have gone; and think an idea grand and magnificent only when it is magnified by the mists which they have raised around it. Something of this we have perceived in Mr. Taylor's works. Yet there is less of this defect in the introductory essay before us than in any other of his writings which we have seen; and altogether it is an admirable production. But we still think it too abstruse for the occasion, and many of its thoughts too far-fetched. On some subjects we hold Mr. Taylor to be no more safe as a guide than Pascal himself. Notwithstanding the portion of good sense and truth contained in pages 44—47, their general tenor appears to us very exceptionable.

We cheerfully admit with Mr. T. the benefit to be derived from an enlarged charity and a friendly intercourse with Christians of other communions; and we despise that narrowness of spirit which would confine itself within the limits of its own party, and think all beyond a wilderness, and all other Christians heretics or barbarians. But the boundary of virtue and vice is extremely delicate, and he who pursues the path of candor too far is in danger of overstepping the invisible line. The man who is happy and contented at home will not be haunted by a perpetual desire to travel; he will not love every neighbour's house, or every neighbouring country, better than his own. Such a restless disposition is not very favorable to improvement of any kind, either worldly or spiritual. Besides, he who is for ever rambling in other lands acquires a distaste for his own, and becomes lost to his country; not because his own government and his country's customs are inferior to those of other nations, but because his vagrant habits have destroyed his old associations, and induced a diseased state of the mind. It is so likewise with the religious rambling here recommended. Mr. Taylor himself implies that only 'those who 'think themselves to be gifted, or who in fact are gifted, with the 'requisite intelligence and discretion, and are not so unstable of 'mind as to be liable to be presently moved from their firmest 'convictions,' should make the experiment. But self-knowledge is of rare attainment, and many a man is deceived with respect to his own strength to resist temptation: and observation supplies us

with many instances of those who thought 'themselves gifted 'with the requisite intelligence and discretion,' who, notwithstanding, were 'so unstable in mind as to be presently moved 'from their firmest convictions.'

In reading Pascal himself we begin to feel how much better it is to eat our own bread with contentment, than to run the risk of being poisoned, or of injuring our spiritual health by foreign aliment. Notwithstanding the many great and good things contained in his 'Thoughts,' his powerful mind is so utterly imbecile in all that relates to his own communion, that the authority of every thing he utters is weakened, and we read with a continual suspicion and distrust. Now, though we would exercise our own judgment on whatever we read, it is too painful, and can yield but little instruction, especially on religious subjects, to be always engaged with authors in whom we have no confidence. With still less satisfaction can we put such books into the hands of the young, who are too apt to be fascinated with great names, and to yield an implicit submission to their authority. For this reason, though in general we have no taste for selections, nor for 'the 'beauties' of any particular writer, we think it would do greater service to the public to issue an edition of his 'Thoughts' carefully expurgated from their puerilities and errors, than to reprint them in their present form. Hear Mr. Taylor himself on the subject.

'Did he know so little of this monkish craft as to believe, without inquiry, in the genuineness of the Port Royal 'holy thorn.' And must we yield an indulgence to Pascal, the geometrician of the seventeenth century, which we do not grant without reluctance to the benighted St. Louis of the thirteenth century? One might have thought that the author of the tract on the properties of the cycloid, would have left 'holy thorns' to be the playthings of the debauched and debilitated understandings of monks! But it is not so; meantime who shall calculate the damage thus done to the religious sentiments of mankind by the like insanities of powerful minds? It has been thus that the entire influence of Pascal's religious writings in France has been turned aside, and his powerful thrust at impiety successfully parried by a contemptuous reference, on the part of his infidel commentators, to the childish superstitions to which he was accustomed to surrender himself. For example, Condorcet, in putting forward a foolish paper of abbreviated notes of Pascal's daily religious observances, and which was constantly worn by him as a sort of amulet, stitched in his dress, insultingly exclaims—'What an interval between this paper and the treatise on the cycloid! Nothing in fact can better serve to explain how all the thoughts contained in this collection could have come from the same brain. The author of the treatise on the cycloid wrote some; and the rest are the work of the author of the amulet.'

—pp. lxvi. lxvii.

Chapter the twentieth, on miracles, is a melancholy instance of Pascal's occasional weakness of mind. It is full of false reasoning, of inconsistencies, and contradictions. Nothing can be more confused than his statements, and it is evident that he has no clear and definite ideas on the subject. 'A miracle,' says he, 'is 'an effect which exceeds the natural power of the means em- 'ployed: and an effect not miraculous is one which does not 'exceed the power employed. Thus those who cure diseases by the 'invocation of the devil, do not work a miracle, for this does not 'exceed the natural power of the devil.' Now, passing by this assumption concerning the limits of Satan's power, of which he knows no more than we do, this definition would destroy the existence of miracles altogether: for we might with as much reason say, those who cure diseases by invoking Jesus Christ do not work a miracle, for this does not exceed the natural power of Jesus Christ. Our notion of a miracle is, that it is an effect produced by a power that is more than human, and manifestly beyond the common operations and laws of nature: such as the act of stilling a stormy sea in an instant, and by a word; or, raising a dead body to life. The instantaneous cure of certain diseases, such as blindness, or lameness, which had been suffered from the birth of the patient, when effected by a word, or a touch, would be evidently a miracle. Were such an act to be wrought before us, with the irresistible evidence that attended the miracles of Scripture, even were a man the agent, it would be most consonant with sound reason and philosophy to ascribe it to the power of God; since we are unacquainted with the power of intermediate agents, and are warranted to conclude that, whatever their natural power may be, they cannot disturb the harmony of those laws which he has ordained, without his express permission, which he would not give as a sanction to error. It is clear that Pascal's belief in the perpetuity of miraculous powers was the cause of his perplexity on this subject, and kept him in continual fear lest he should admit any thing which might be employed against the Romish church. Thus he says, 'the truth 'of a doctrine is to be judged of by the miracles wrought to sup- 'port it; the reality of miracles is to be judged of by the doctrine. 'The doctrine discriminates the miracles, and the miracles discri- 'minate the doctrine. Both these positions are true, but not 'contradictory.' By this mode of arguing, all miracles must be impotent as an evidence of truth; for it is only necessary to disapprove of the doctrine, and the miracle is nullified at once. The admission of Nicodemus is worth a thousand of the nice distinctions of Pascal: 'We know that thou art a teacher come from 'God, for no man can do these miracles that thou dost except 'God be with him.'

It is amusing to see the false reasoning to which the mathema-

tical mind of Pascal was driven by a blind attachment to his own communion; and the contemptible shifts to which he was forced to resort. 'It is the same in reference to heretics. Miracles 'would be of no use to them [he means, if employed by them]; 'for the church, whose authority is established by antecedent 'miracles, which have preoccupied our belief, assures us that they 'have not the true faith. There can be no doubt that they have 'not, since the first miracles of the church exclude belief in this, 'should they ever occur. In such a case, miracles would be 'opposed to miracles, but the first and greatest would be on the 'side of the church: thus there would always be reasons for belief 'against their miracles.' The above argument is exactly that of the Scribes and Pharisees, when they rejected our Saviour. Acting on a contrary principle, we say, show us miraculous acts of equal truth and splendor with those that witnessed to Christianity, and we pledge ourselves to embrace the doctrines they attest: nor shall we live under any apprehension of the consequences of such a pledge.

The fallacies in Pascal's reasoning are numerous, and many of them may be attributed to the prejudices of his education, his ascetic habits, or his infirm health. He viewed all earthly objects with a diseased eye, that tinged every thing with its own all-pervading gloom. This is particularly the case when he discourses on the nature of some of our common pleasures, too much in the spirit of Rochefoucauld; and exhibits a peevishness and unloveliness of temper not quite consistent with Christianity. But he sometimes falls into an error of a somewhat different kind; and shows how dangerous it is to illustrate religious doctrines by tropes taken from mathematical studies.

Pascal is a remarkable instance of the injury which a mind of the first order may suffer from the influence of an erroneous system of religious doctrine. His genius was splendid; his capacity of vast dimensions; his intellect as powerful as falls to the lot of the greatest men. At an early period of life he reached the highest place in the estimation of his countrymen; and posterity has confirmed their judgment. He is acknowledged by the common consent of men of literature and science, to be one of the most remarkable men whom the world has seen. No subject, with which the human intellect can deal, was too vast for the grasp of his mighty mind. His was that high order of intellect which could not remain confined within the narrow circle of human attainments in his own age; but was ever to be found on its extreme verge, penetrating the dark terra incognita of philosophy and discovering new tracts which it brought under the dominion of man. Such minds are born to be leaders of their race, and all pay willing homage to their greatness. Yet this vast mind exhibited singular defects when it applied its powers to the investiga-

tion of theological subjects; and, with all its acuteness, it seemed to possess no power of discriminating religious truth from error. The cause of this becomes an interesting subject of inquiry. And it is evident that his blindness to certain gross errors and delusions, his tenacious adherence to them, and his advocacy of some palpable absurdities of the Romish superstition are to be ascribed to no natural defect in his mental constitution, but to the fatal influence of a fundamental article in his creed. He believed that Christians were bound to be guided by the authority of the church in their interpretation of Scripture. Proceeding on such a principle, inquiry could not be pushed beyond a certain limit; and the daring mind that, in the regions of philosophy, soared like the eagle, or rushed, like the comet, into the dark and distant realms of the universe, lost its noble character in its theological investigations, and was tethered and confined within a limited circle.

We observe the influence of this principle throughout the religious portion of Pascal's 'Thoughts.' On those subjects concerning which there is no dispute among Christians, and where truth was most plainly on his side, he proceeded with all the confidence of full conviction; not afraid to examine, lest he should discover himself to be in error. Hence, on the evidences of Christianity, we have some masterly trains of thought, and he is a formidable antagonist, so far as these arguments are considered by themselves, both of the Jew and the infidel. But in the controverted points between papists and Protestants, we see no such acuteness, and he evidently writes like one who believes because he thinks it his duty to believe. It was forbidden ground, on which he thought it a sin to tread; into which he might not direct one piercing glance, and concerning which it would be perilous to exercise the curiosity of an inquisitive mind. How fatal such a principle must be in the pursuit of truth will be easily perceived. But by this masterly device the church of Rome preserved its domination over the human mind for so many ages; and it was by questioning the right of that church to interpret Scripture for all men, and by asserting the right of free inquiry in a matter which personally affects our eternal happiness, that the Reformers discovered the errors of Romanism, and emancipated a great portion of Europe from its spiritual bondage. Had Pascal been thrown into the society of those excellent men, and could he have seen and known their real character, we cannot doubt that his kindred mind, which had imbibed evangelical doctrines from the Portroyalists, would have coalesced with them, and he would have lost his horror of heretics. As it was, he blindly adopted the creed of his fathers, and lived and died in the communion in which he was born.

But the clear and powerful arguments of Pascal on the evidences

of Christianity are almost worthless in their present form, as instruments of attack on infidelity, or as defences of real truth against the attacks of infidels, because of the errors and absurdities with which they are mingled. They are like a fortress which presents at a distance a formidable appearance, and, even on a near inspection, exhibits large portions of wall and tower of impregnable strength; but the whole of which is useless when attacked, because of numerous weak points which are wholly indefensible. The apology which Pascal offers for Christianity is often admirable, and incontrovertibly true; but then he presents Popery before us as Christianity, and expects that we shall receive his arguments as unquestionable proof that Romanism is a pure system of truth. From this our common sense revolts; for we cannot see how the most elaborate proof that a legitimately born prince is heir to his father's crown, can be produced in favor of a usurper. In this way, the labors of Pascal, like those of Chateaubriand, who has adduced the pomp and ceremonies of the Romish church as the beauties of Christianity, are useless to the common cause of our religion: for the infidel, who cannot avoid seeing the gross absurdities of Romanism, when he finds these advocated with all the zeal of keen partizanship, and treated as of equal importance with the essential truths of Christianity, doubts concerning the soundness of any part of the argument of which he knows that a great part is hollow, and rejects the gospel altogether. In this way the corruptions of the church have been the greatest enemy of religion among the European nations; and have constantly tended to produce its overthrow, and perpetuate its ruins.

The various opinions entertained by great men on religious subjects teach us that men of the most gigantic intellect or of the profoundest learning, are not to be esteemed authorities by us in our search after truth. 'Call no man master,' is a command emanating from divine wisdom. The reasonableness of this is very apparent. No division of the church is without its celebrated names, illustrious for their genius and their great attainments. These have lent their powerful aid in support of every form and shade of orthodoxy; and every variety of heresy and schism. No opinions have been hazarded, however wild and irrational, but they have been advocated with consummate ability. Is truth, therefore, a thing without real existence; a mere visionary blessing, which we must despair of obtaining? By no means: but we learn from the conflicting opinions of the most noble in mental rank, that truth will be sought in vain by a deference to human authority.

Perfect uniformity of religious belief can scarcely be expected in this world; nor is it necessary to the peace and unity of the church. The objects that meet our senses make a tolerably

uniform impression upon all men. The image painted on the retina of the eye is so accurate, that all men of equal knowledge, and with healthy organs, can readily distinguish a quadruped from a tree, and one species of quadruped, or one species of tree, from another. But either the mental impressions are less accurate and distinct, or our spiritual sense is more dull. Much may perhaps be attributed to the inadequacy of words to convey an exact representation of our ideas; or to the imperfect training of the mind in its use of these symbols. Most men make use of language in a very loose and uncritical manner, so as to convey no definite thoughts in their own speech; and they interpret written language according to the vague meaning which they have attached to words in their own use of them. Thus every man's interpretation is, to a certain degree, arbitrary. Add to this, the unconscious bias which the mind acquires from education and from constant intercourse with others, and we need not wonder at the variety of opinions which men profess to have founded on the book of divine revelation.

He who implicitly follows any human leader has no reason to think his system of doctrine right; for no man is infallible. Yet, of those who are called Christians, how few have done anything but blindly follow another all their lives! The opinions which most men entertain are not their own; but have been adopted, in many cases, without any serious inquiry; in others, with no seriousness and diligence adequate to the occasion. In our early years we look up with reverence and docility to our teachers; and the greater portion of our opinions in after life is received, without question or doubt, from our parents and other instructors. Afterwards, perhaps, some established creed or some theological system is assumed as the standard of truth, to which every part of Scripture is made to bend; until the Scriptures themselves become useless as teachers of pure doctrine, and Christ is regarded as subordinate to Paul and Cephas. Happy would it be for the church were the contrary practice more general. If Christians drew their opinions directly from the Bible, instead of some favorite system of divinity, though there might not be a uniformity of creed throughout the church, there would be a greater general approximation to truth; there would also be a greater harmony of belief among all the different Christian denominations. Such a practice would go far to destroy the polemic spirit; for Christians in abandoning human creeds would have less of a warlike disposition. Creeds, and other human devices, have been erected as standards around which the army of the church has rallied in various divisions, and the several parts have attacked each other. Let the party standards be lowered, and the distinctions would cease; the several divisions would blend into one, and employ their united energies against the common enemy of God and

man. To this happy and most desirable consummation few things would tend more than an humble, prayerful, diligent search after divine truth from the fountains of the word of God alone.

Art. VII. 1. *Report of the Home Missionary Society*, 1840.
2. *Report of the Colonial Missionary Society*, 1840.

IT is not an uncommon thing for irreligious men to cast discredit on the philanthropy which sends the gospel at vast expense to heathen nations, by telling us of the misery and ignorance which remain unremedied amongst our own countrymen both at home and in our colonies. They insinuate that there must be something spurious about a benevolence which must needs go six thousand miles in search of its objects while there are multitudes perishing at our own doors, or which sympathizes more readily and deeply with the Esquimaux or the Hottentot than with those who are 'our brethren and kindred according to the flesh.'

We need hardly say that we are not of the number of these accusers, and yet we think that their uncharitable accusations may be turned to most excellent account, and teach us some important lessons. Let us act upon the principle of the old adage, 'that it is right to learn wisdom even from an enemy.'

The charge, indeed, in the shape in which these men put it, is wholly false; for the benevolence which they deprecate is in their opinion exercised not only on the wrong *persons*, but in the wrong *mode;* they would have the money which is expended on foreign missions expended not in home missions or colonial missions, but in promoting the *temporal* welfare, the civil liberties, the social comfort, the secular advantage of our own countrymen; not in the purchase of Bibles and other means of spiritual improvement, for the spiritually destitute, but in the purchase of bread and cheese, broad-cloth and woollens, for the hungry and naked.

Now, though these latter objects are unquestionably most important, and as unquestionably involve a sacred duty of Christian charity, we feel persuaded that a fair proportion of the whole funds raised by public benevolence for one purpose and another is devoted to these objects. And more than this fair proportion cannot be demanded for them, unless it be pretended either that there are no other duties to which our benevolence is to apply itself, or that these particular duties are so paramount to every other that we are to attend to nothing till these objects are fully met. Neither of these positions is likely to be conceded or could be consistently

conceded by the Christian; he cannot admit the former while he believes in the divine authority of the command to 'preach the 'gospel to every creature;' nor the latter while he believes the welfare of the body less important than that of the soul, and the interests of a day less momentous than those of eternity. Considered in this point of view, therefore, we think the charge is wholly nugatory. It may be quite true that Christians do not contribute so much as they *ought* for the alleviation of the temporal miseries of their fellow creatures. But we again say, that we think a fair proportion of the whole funds supplied by public benevolence are devoted to this object, and that to devote more to it, unless the funds themselves were actually greater, would be a wrong to religion; robbing the soul to benefit the body. Yet these mere politicians are continually harping upon this string, whenever philanthropy looks beyond our own country, no matter whether its objects be the religious or the civil improvement of mankind. If we busy ourselves about the cruelties and wrongs inflicted upon slaves, we are told that there are thousands at home who are on the brink of starvation, and who though they possess civil freedom, are laboring under hardships scarcely less oppressive than those of slavery. If we are anxious to diffuse the light of knowledge and the benefits of civilization amongst barbarous nations we are told of the multitudes in England who can neither read nor write. If we establish schools for religious instruction abroad, we are told that there is still much need of schools of secular learning at home. If we endeavor to cure the spiritual maladies and relieve the spiritual destitution of New Zealanders and the Hottentots, we are told that there are multitudes of English, Scotch, and Irish to whom cheap medicines and cheap food would be great blessings! These men would not be satisfied, therefore, unless we not only changed the objects of our benevolence, but unless we diverted it into new channels. We need pay no further attention, therefore, to the accusations of these men, but merely take heed that a *fair proportion* of the funds of benevolence is expended on the objects they recommend, and to which they would exclusively restrict it. But to refuse to send the gospel to the heathen or to exert ourselves for the spiritual amelioration of mankind till every Englishman is well provided with temporal comforts, well housed, well clothed, and well fed, would be equally preposterous and cruel, and postpone to a marvellously distant period any, even the slightest attempt, to evangelize the world. Urgent and deplorable as may be the temporal necessities of many of our countrymen, they are far less urgent and far less deplorable than the spiritual necessities of the millions of perishing heathens who are imploring the aid of Christian zeal and benevolence.

But we do not know that we could quite so easily meet the

charge if it were put in a somewhat different shape. If it were said, for example, that we seem to be scarcely so solicitous about the *spiritual* necessities of our countrymen at home, or in our colonies, as we are about those of the heathen. We are not of the number, of course, who think that a single farthing more has been contributed to the cause of foreign missions than there ought to have been, but we certainly do not think that a due proportion has been maintained. In consistency we ought to contribute more to the purposes of Home and Colonial Missions. Though we are not foolish enough to demand that our colonies should be thoroughly evangelized before we turn our steps to the heathen at all, or to suppose that so large an amount of contributions can be expected or required for the latter object as for the former, we do say that there has been a lamentable apathy in relation to the millions of our heathen-like countrymen and a lamentable disproportion between the sums advanced for their relief and those given to the support of foreign missions. We further say that this comparative neglect is as impolitic and unwise in relation to the ultimate success of heathen missions themselves, as it is unchristian and unkind; it is impolitic and unwise, both because the propagation of the gospel amongst those who speak the same language and are connected with us by the ties of blood, is more easy than amongst heathen nations, and because if we can but Christianize such communities, they begin immediately to contribute to the cause of general missions; and to do this (from their possession of all the elements of superior knowledge, wealth, and power) in a greater ratio than heathen communities possibly can. America may serve as an illustrious example of the truth of this statement.

To what can we attribute the fact that our destitute population, whether at home or in our colonies, has hitherto attracted so little of our missionary zeal, and so disproportionate a share of attention? We apprehend that one great cause, although a Christian should be almost ashamed to own it, is that the spiritual necessities of our own countrymen appeal less to the imagination than those of heathen nations, and that the triumphs of missionary enterprise in the one case seem so much less splendid and gorgeous than in the other. There is, it must be admitted, something magnificent and imposing in the idea of achieving a conquest over strange tribes and nations; of demolishing ancient systems of idolatry and superstition; of enlarging the map of Christendom, and adding absolutely new territories to the dominion of the Redeemer; of introducing a purer faith, and with it the arts of life, amongst rude barbarians; of translating the Scriptures into foreign languages; of making strange tongues proclaim the praises of the great Deliverer, and of rendering far distant shores and wildernesses

vocal with His name. There is something too, it must be confessed, calculated to stimulate curiosity in the new forms which Christianity assumes when received by foreign nations, modifying but not destroying the peculiarities which distinguish them, whether of race or language, manners or costume. We know of nothing whatever which appeals more powerfully to the imagination, or which more illustriously displays the grandeur of Christianity than the sight of converts from a far distant land, marked by features and complexion, arrayed in a garb, and speaking a language altogether different from our own, uttering in the accents of another tongue their attachment to the faith they have received, and paying their homage to Him in whom 'all 'nations shall be blessed.' There is something scarcely less stimulating in the accounts we read from time to time of the missionary enterprises carried on in widely different parts of the world. Whether these countries be marked by the peculiarities of savage or of civilized life, every thing about them is strange and novel, and forcibly addresses itself to the imagination. It is not the progress of Christianity alone we are interested in, we are also interested in the very scenes of nature and the forms of human life amongst which it is introducing itself.

We freely admit that the spectacle of a company of savages, listening to the gospel for the first time, with delight and wonder, amidst the lovely scenery of the southern isles is a much more picturesque object for the imagination to dwell upon than any which awaits the exertions of the missionary amongst the rural or manufacturing population of our own country, or in the wilderness of the far west. In the latter case, it is true the scenery is novel, but the forms of human life are but too familiar to us.

Of course we are merely speaking of the aspect which the different species of missionary work assumes to those who contribute only their money, and who look on at the great strife from a safe distance. Those who have been *engaged* in it, we apprehend, like those who have been engaged in battle, know how delusive the pictures of the imagination are; they know that whether engaged in one scene of such labor or another, the ardor and the zeal which spring only from an enthusiastic fancy (whatever accession they may gain from such an auxiliary, when they are based upon a more secure foundation), soon evaporate. The sublime and the beautiful which captivate the mind at a distance soon vanish amidst the drudgery and the hardships of the actual work. Surrounded by the sordid forms of savage life, by human nature in its most revolting and disgusting shapes, scantily supplied with the ordinary comforts of life, often condemned to the most menial and mechanical employments, teaching young barbarians

to read and spell,—the missionary at times finds it considerably more difficult to realize the sublimity of his office than does a village school-master. He discovers with the soldier, that there is nothing so unlike a battle as a review.

And knowing that such must be the case, surely even we at home ought to learn to correct the delusions and exorbitancies of our fancy, and to look at things as they really are rather than as they seem. Nor should it be forgotten, that if colonial missions present less that appeals to the imagination, there are other considerations which ought to be amply sufficient to animate our zeal and excite our sympathies. It is our own countrymen or their immediate descendants—those who are connected with us by the ties of kindred and of blood—who speak the same language, who are characterized by the same institutions, customs, and manners —it is such who call upon us for our aid. On the subject of home missions, we shall say no more at present. We trust from the demonstrations recently made, that they are about to be supported with an energy in some degree proportioned to their importance. The systematic efforts recently made by the Congregationalists in particular, merit special commendation, and we trust their zeal will extend itself to other denominations. But the subject of colonial missions is of such vast importance, and has received hitherto such a disproportionate share of attention, that we must be indulged in a few more observations upon it.

Our colonies are every day becoming more populous, not only in the natural course of things, but by the extensive draughts from our own population. This again is continually multiplying and strengthening the bonds of connection between the mother country and her colonies; and even now it may safely be said that there are few families in England at all numerous, who have not some relative (more or less distant) in Canada, Australia, the West Indies, the East Indies, or at the Cape. And such is the condition of the mother country, such the pressure *outwards*, such the exigencies of her enormous and still rapidly increasing population, that emigration must continue to proceed, and proceed in a continually increasing ratio. The late troubles in Canada have, it is true, temporarily checked it in that quarter, but let that vast country be once quietly settled (of which there seems at present some reasonable prospect), and the tide of emigration must again set in thither deeper and more rapid than ever. New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, are drawing largely upon our super-abundant population. Thousands upon thousands are going out annually to one or other of our colonies, and carrying with them our knowledge and our arts, our manufactures and our industry, and too often, alas! all but our religion.

It is often supposed, that as they go out with the *knowledge* of Christianity, with the prejudices and feelings of early education

in its favor, and with habitual reverence for those institutions which, in their own country, mingled their influence with all the forms of life, they cannot in the distant wilderness easily forget what they have learned; that their first impulse must be to supply, by some extraordinary efforts, those means of religious instruction which in their native land were brought to their very doors. Some few who are under the influence of decided religious principle before they leave their homes may do so, but to suppose that the generality will act thus, would betray a strange ignorance of human nature under the given circumstances. It is a much easier task to forget altogether the truths, which their novel and engrossing employments leave them little leisure to remember, and to neglect the observances for the maintenance of which their very situation affords them so few facilities. It is no very difficult thing to account for the indisputable fact, that too many of our emigrants silently drop into a state little better than heathenism. There are few situations more hazardous in this respect than that of a settler's family in the distant wilderness, whether we regard his solitary position or his severe occupations. As to the former:—he is cut off from all social sympathy; he has no neighbors; he seldom sees a human face except those of his own family, or at long intervals, that of a chance visitor. If he would see his fellow man, he must traverse leagues of forest or of prairie. Here and there a homestead scattered over an immense tract of country is the only thing which distinguishes it from an uninhabited wilderness. Now even if in remote districts of our own country we find intercourse so difficult and so rare in a thinly scattered population; if we find the inmates of a lonely farm-house often so deplorably ignorant on religious subjects, what must be the case in the wilds of Canada or the vast plains of Australia? In our own country few individuals live in spots so secluded as to be beyond the music of the 'Sabbath bells,' or at too great a distance to frequent church or chapel; but in those lonely regions there is too often neither church nor chapel to frequent, and if there were it could not often be frequented, since the whole population of a circuit of nearly a hundred miles could hardly furnish out a decent congregation. It is in precisely situations like these that the labors of the itinerant missionary are so much needed, and become so valuable. By 'preaching from house to house,' he carries the gospel to those who cannot go in search of it, and in some measure keeps alive those recollections and associations which in the absence of public worship would soon be lost altogether. Public worship was ordained by Him who 'knew what was in man,' our whole intellectual and moral nature, our social sympathies and the modes in which they operate; and we accordingly find that

wheresoever it is wholly neglected, and nothing substituted in its place, the habits of religious feeling are soon weakened and often wholly lost.

If we look at the employments of the settler, they are, for the most part, equally unfavorable to the culture and development of religious feeling. Nothing, as old experience proves, has a more hebetating influence on our intellectual and moral nature than severe and incessant bodily labor; that toil which leaves us so exhausted as to be fit for nothing but sleep, and which, the moment we awake, calls us to renewed exertion. Excellent it may be for the health of the body; to strengthen the sinews and harden the muscles; to quicken and develop all those qualities which we possess in common with the brutes. But it too frequently happens that as the brute becomes perfect, the man diminishes; the sensual nature subdues the rational; the creature can endure any amount of fatigue or devour any given quantity of food after it; that is all we can say of him. He works hard by day and he sleeps soundly by night; and toil and slumber make the sum total of his existence. It has accordingly been often remarked that agriculturists are the most stupid of the whole population; 'of the earth, earthy;' merely

'Fruges consumere nati.'

It has been a matter of wonder that they should be so, seeing that they are for ever busy amidst scenes and and objects eminently calculated, one would think, to stimulate both intellect and sensibility; that they are continually in contact with the most glorious proofs of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness,—with all that is sublime and beautiful in external nature. The fact, we apprehend, may be principally accounted for by the causes above adverted to. Arduous and incessant toil is utterly inconsistent with much reflection or with deep emotion, however well fitted may be the objects upon which it is exerted, to stimulate the one or to excite the other.

Now if this be so, who can wonder that the emigrant too often rapidly deteriorates into the mere animal? His first duties, and that too for many years, involve a dire and perpetual struggle with necessity; a contest with the stubborn soil to yield him a bare subsistence. His axe is heard from morning till night in the depths of the ancient forest. To clear the land of its wild growth, and to bring it into a state at all fit for cultivation is a work of more than herculean toil. Then again, he has to carry on the war with animal nature, partly for subsistence, partly for the security either of his person or his labors. Thus he generally goes forth with a rifle on his shoulder; and the pursuits of fishing

or the chase fill up the intervals which are left by the labors of the field. He is moreover to a great extent, what with us is a very rare and singular person, 'Jack of all trades;' most of those processes which in an artificial state like ours are distributed amongst many hundreds of workmen, being performed (rudely, it is true, but in some way or other) at his own homestead. Altogether, therefore, there is not a more busy man in the world than a settler in the wilderness. But his business (all of which has reference to his bodily interests) is so incessant as to leave little leisure for the cultivation of the mind or for much thought about a spiritual world. Who can wonder that when he returns home at night, weary and hungry, he has little inclination for anything else except food and slumber? Who can wonder that by a life like this, which constantly makes the material and the visible of such paramount importance, should too often reduce the man to little more than what in fact the brutes are—a creature of instincts, appetites, and sensations? Who can wonder that in too many cases the mind of an emigrant, who has gone forth without any decided religious character, should undergo a deterioration as melancholy as it is rapid? that, removed far from the associations and habits of life—the rites and observances —nay the very sights and sounds, which at least reminded him of the claims of religion and insured a decent reverence for it, the whole subject of religion should die out of his remembrance altogether.

Still less can we be surprised that his children in the very next generation should be found growing up little better than young heathens. Many and affecting are the changes which often take place in the emigrant's social position and habits of life, but there are none so melancholy as this. Not infrequent, it is true, are instances of sudden and swift descent from civilization to something very like barbarism, from refinement to what is very little better than savage rudeness. There is many a man who has been brought up with no inconsiderable expectations, and whose children have received a correspondent education, whose declining fortunes have compelled him, late in life and when his children's habits have all been formed, to scrape together his little all, and to commence farmer on the verge of the wilderness. Here he finds that his previous habits have not only taught him wants which can no longer be gratified, but that a great revolution is necessary to enable him to accommodate himself to his altered condition; he suffers not merely a privation of the luxuries and refinements to which he has been accustomed, but he must study to forget the remembrance of them, and strive to unlearn much of what it has been the pride and delight of his life to acquire. His children, in like manner, find that a great part of their know-

ledge is totally unavailing there; that their accomplishments, if they have any, and the habits of mind which those accomplishments have necessarily formed, are not only of no use, but positively in their way; that music and drawing in such a place are about of as much service as silk stockings and cambric pocket handkerchiefs, and that they must make haste to strip themselves, at the same time that they put off the dress of civilized life, of those refinements of mind which as exclusively belong to it. *Their* children grow up, of course, with the manners of the wilderness and the forest, and with the expectations and habits which correspond to them; and thus in a single generation, and by the mere force of circumstances, has often been effected the great transition from civilization to barbarism. Still it is only the man who has seen better days who feels any thing of all this; and even to him there is compensation in the thought that if he has no refined pleasures, he has no sordid wants; that if he has lost luxuries, he has escaped poverty, and that savage plenty abroad is better than starvation at home. The great bulk too of the emigrants feel *no* privations; the hardy rustic and the laborious mechanic have no refinements to forego and no habits to renounce; to them it is a change of scene, and place, and nothing more. But to the lamentable change, which too often reduces the emigrant and his descendants to the verge of heathenism, all are alike liable, and the change, unlike that from civilization to barbarism, is attended by none of the alleviating circumstances above adverted to. Is it possible that we can contemplate this gigantic and affecting evil without making more strenuous efforts to avert or remedy it? Can we endure the thought that the children or the children's children of those who are nearly related to us should fall unpitied into a state of practical heathenism?

It is our deep conviction that we have exhibited a deplorable apathy with regard to this subject, and that our colonies have not excited a tenth part of the attention and sympathy to which they are rightfully entitled. To take a single instance,—although our observations apply indiscriminately to all the religious denominations. The London Missionary Society, which it is well known derives nearly the whole of its revenues from the Congregationalists, collected during the past year the greater part of a hundred thousand pounds; the Colonial Missionary Society, which is supported by the same denomination, collected only £3,600! Now although we admit that so large a sum can neither be expected nor required for the one object as for the other, is this any thing like *proportion?* Ought not at least a tithe of our contributions to go to our needy fellow countrymen? We admit that the Colonial Missionary Society is in its very infancy, but we certainly do not think that it has been supported as it ought,

even in its infancy. If it is ever to arrive at manhood at all, or be any thing else than an infant all its days, it must be better *fed.*

We think, however, that we can see the dawn of better times. The very attempt to do something systematically in favor of this great object—the very establishment of a Colonial Missionary Society, is a good omen. The reports of the Society furnish abundant proof not only that the subject possesses strong claims to attention, but that it offers ample encouragement. It is a gratifying circumstance, as we have already intimated, that missions of this kind, if at all successful, much sooner repay the time and the money expended upon them than missions to the heathen. The communities we form speedily become themselves sources of missionary influence, and propagate the benefits which they have themselves received. To gather a congregation and to form a church in one of our colonies is a work of not much more time or difficulty than doing the same thing at home; and yet there as well as here, the moment that a church is formed, it becomes the centre of a new radiation; a system is organized which has for its object aggression upon the surrounding territory; various societies are established, and all our ordinary machinery of benevolence set a going to extend to others the blessings which have been communicated. Not only so; the sense of obligation and the emotions of gratitude will speedily impel to the exercise of a still wider benevolence, and these stations soon begin to contribute their quota in aid of foreign missions. On these grounds the funds of colonial missions (if those missions be at first adequately supported) need never be of a very large amount, and perhaps might at no very distant date even cease altogether. The colonists would soon feel themselves able to do their own work of home missions just as we do our own. This, however, cannot be for some time to come; before that day can arrive many of the places which are now villages must become towns, and the population in general both more dense and more wealthy.

Art. VIII. 1. *A Letter to T. Fowell Buxton, Esq., on Negro Emancipation and African Civilization.* By JOHN JEREMIE, Esq., Senior Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. London: 1840.

2. *An Appeal to the Government and People of Great Britain against the proposed Niger Expedition: a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, &c. &c. &c.* By ROBERT JAMIESON, Esq. London: 1840.

3. *Letter of Colonel Nicolls to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, in that paper of September* 8, 1840.

4. *Address at the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, November* 11, 1839. By R. R. GURLEY. Published by request of the Society. Philadelphia: 1839.

5. *A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, in reply to Mr. Jamieson on the Niger Expedition.* By Sir GEORGE STEPHEN. London: 1840.

THE approaching expedition to the Niger, undertaken by the government at an expense of £61,000, and comprehending three iron steamers, armed to the teeth and manned with chosen crews of British officers and seamen, is undoubtedly of much interest and importance. Neither its remote nor its immediate results can be insignificant. The survey of the river Niger with its many tributaries, penetrating into the heart of Africa, and constituting the great highway of perhaps a thousand nations, cannot but supply a large addition to our stores of topical and geographical knowledge. Of still greater importance is the design of forming British factories at such points of the interior of that vast continent as may be found favorable for the promotion of legitimate commerce, and conducive to the advancement of native agriculture. And above all is it interesting to humanity, that the whole scheme is subordinate to the benevolent purpose of counteracting the slave-trade at its source. Of this motive for the expedition, which is expressly and exclusively assigned in the letter of Lord John Russell to the Lords of the Admiralty proposing it, we cannot speak in too high commendation; nor, in relation to this most momentous object, can we do otherwise than wish it the most ample success. We may add an expression of our gratification further, that the expedition has been resolved on, as it appears, upon the suggestion and recommendation of philanthropic men; and affords, consequently, a pleasing proof that the power and resources of the British government are available, not for political purposes alone, but for the execution of well considered plans for the benefit of mankind.

Suggested as the expedition to the Niger has been by the purest philanthropy, fruit as it is of the deep and long continued meditations of men largely qualified by knowledge and expe-

rience, and directed exclusively as it is to a result of such vast, unquestioned, and precious good, it might seem that the expedition itself should be allowed to pass unquestioned by benevolent persons, and be greeted by all with approving smiles, if not with rapturous applause. It may be even dangerous to do otherwise. Those who investigate the means may be represented as averse to the end; and those who think that the expedition to the Niger will neither destroy the slave-trade nor promote commerce, may be proscribed as wanting in humanity, as showing more ingenuity than candor or good sense, and as indulging in preposterous or fantastic objections. Nevertheless, examination, and a searching examination, ought to be not only permitted but welcomed by the originators of a benevolent project. Benevolence is not identical with wisdom. There is no necessary conjunction between good motives and good plans. To love our species and to mean their welfare is one thing; to know how to promote it on a large scale is another. To look compassionately over the face of the world, and to bewail till you are irresistibly stirred to action the touching evils by which it is desolated, requires only a large heart; but it wants a large head, a profound view of the constitution of human society, and a sagacious aptitude in dealing with the springs of human action, to proceed with either certainty or safety in vast attempts to remedy them. The very best of men, with the very best intentions, may be the means of doing extensive mischief. Philanthropists may give admirable hints to statesmen, but they are not necessarily themselves statesmen; and every hint they give should be submitted to as rigorous an investigation as though it had come from a man of ambition or of blood. There may be no difference in the result between the ill consequences of a benevolent mistake and those of a wicked design. Philanthropists should always be respectfully heard; but mere philanthropists are among the last men that should be permitted to govern.

We have made these remarks, not because we are going to find all manner of fault in the matter before us, but to clear the way for that freedom of speech, whether for praise or blame, which we mean to employ.

Let us begin by observing that we attach the highest possible value to the impending expedition to Africa, as an expedition of discovery. On this point we quote with entire approbation the following language of Mr. Jamieson.

'The three iron steamers, now in progress of preparation for government, being of a class peculiarly suitable for river navigation, ought to survey all the great rivers of Africa, including the Niger, not only on the west but on the eastern coast, and so prepare the way for commercial intercourse; taking especial care, however, from the first, to let the natives understand that this, and this only, was the object of their

visit, and avoiding every act which might afterwards be prejudicial to the formation of commerce.'—*Appeal*, p. 17.

As an exploring party these British steamers may be productive of incalculable benefit. They may trace navigable rivers hundreds, and perhaps thousands of miles through the heart of Africa; they may bring home authentic accounts of hundreds of tribes, with descriptions of territory and productions, vegetable and animal, innumerable and of great value; and, if they conduct themselves with moderate equity and kindness, may prepare the way for merchant vessels not a few immediately to follow in their track. Than this business of exploring and surveying nothing can be more important or more unexceptionable; and by this alone, if effectively conducted, the whole cost of the expedition would be amply repaid.

We do not know that we can speak with the same confidence as to the result of the expedition in the promotion of commerce. To introduce our thoughts on this point we shall cite another passage from Mr. Jamieson.

'As a private trader to that river, having at my individual expense built for the express purpose, and sent out, a steam vessel to navigate and trade upon its waters, I, in a former letter to your Lordship, dated 11th January last, respectfully inquired whether the plans of the 'Society,' at whose urgency three steam ships were to be sent to that river, would be followed out at the expense of the public; and, whether the cost and sailing expenditure of the vessels to be employed in the execution of such plans would be defrayed by government. To which your Lordship was pleased to reply, that 'the expedition will be undertaken at the expense of her Majesty's government, but will engage in no commercial transaction, either for the benefit of the Society, for promoting the civilization of Africa, or for that of any private parties whatever.'

'Now, my Lord, before I proceed further, I beg here to mention, that I have since been given to understand, that, although no commercial pursuit will be engaged in *by government*, yet that merchandise designed to promote the objects of the 'Society' may be, and is to be, conveyed up the Niger by such government vessels—vessels equipped, manned, and sailed, at the public expense.'—*Ib.*, pp. i. ii.

With whatever caution the opinions of Mr. Jamieson may properly be received, as himself a private trader to the Niger, facts are as convincing in his mouth as in another's; and it is manifest from this paragraph that he lays the whole stress of his appeal on what he alleges as a fact—namely, 'that, although no 'commercial pursuit will be engaged in *by government*, yet that 'merchandise designed to promote the objects of the 'Society' 'may be, and is to be, conveyed up the Niger by the government 'vessels.' We think this statement is of sufficient importance to

elicit explanation. Colonel Nicolls, in his letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle (which is generally honorable to his good sense and always to his good feeling), meets it by saying that he thinks Mr. Jamieson 'is mistaken as to the manner in 'which the government vessels are to be stored.' This is admitting hypothetically the mischievous tendency which Mr. Jamieson asserts, while it is not denying his allegation of fact. Colonel Nicolls thinks he is mistaken; but does he know it? Can he affirm it? Can he tell the British public how the government vessels are to be stored, and whether they are to be lent to the objects of commerce by any party, or not?

The language of Sir George Stephen, although more confident than that of Colonel Nicolls, is not at all more satisfactory. Sir George maintains, and we freely admit, the propriety of taking goods as presents for African chiefs; but this is not the matter of complaint. That the expedition should convey articles bonâ fide the property of the government, and to be made presents of by the government, in order to facilitate the making of treaties with African chiefs, or any other objects not commercial which the government may have in view, is one thing; but it is quite another that the expedition should convey 'merchandise designed 'to promote the objects of the 'Society.'' This Mr. Jamieson alleges; of this, and of this alone, he complains. The contradiction Sir George Stephen gives to it is founded merely on 'the 'character of the Society.' 'Trade,' he tells us, 'is not within 'the scope of the institution.' As though no society ever acted inconsistently with its character, or went beyond the scope of its institution! We may go further, however, and cite Sir George Stephen as a witness for the existence of that very state of things which he strives to deny. What else is the meaning of the following passage?

'I never yet heard it insinuated that the expedition had any commercial object, unless to open the way as a pioneer for British vessels can so be considered; and surely, if Mr. Jamieson himself finds it essential to his own individual success as a merchant to incur a similar expense, in a way precisely similar, and in the same identical route, he countenances the policy of the very measure that he denounces, and gives to your lordship's proceedings on behalf of the trading community at large, the full sanction of all his skill, local knowledge, and experience, as an enterprising and successful African merchant.'

—*Stephen*, p. 8.

As to our lawyer's simplicity in stating that '*he has not yet* '*heard* that the expedition had any commercial object,' we may apply to it the case of the Irish pickpocket adduced by himself against Mr. Jamieson in p. 29 of his pamphlet. But if, in point of fact, the government expedition is going to do that for the

African Agricultural Society which private merchants have had to do for themselves, here is the very mischief alleged. It is doing that for one party at the pubic expense which others have to do at their own. Whether the 'trading community at large' are really to be so largely benefited by the government 'pioneering' as a certain benevolent portion of it, is still in mystery. But there must be some persons who can tell, and we think they ought not to be silent. Nothing could have been easier than for Lord John Russell to have settled this point by a single word. So long as silence is maintained, Mr. Jamieson's allegation may and must be taken for truth; and if it be true, then force is not wanting, we think, in the reasonings which he founds on it.

'If I am correct in this, my Lord, then is it not apparent that the private merchant who conveys his merchandise to the same quarter at his own cost, and especially by so expensive a means of transport as steam navigation, must necessarily retire before such unequal competition,—and that thus the expedition will defeat one of its own professed and principal objects, the encouragement of trade with Africa: while the giving away of presents to chiefs in articles of merchandise, as I have every reason to believe is intended, will further be injurious to the formation of commerce—as being a direct and unfair interference with the trader in the same articles—and as establishing a precedent which he cannot afford to follow; because *his* presents would, in the natural course of things, be made only in proportion to the extent of trade done, in order to induce and encourage its increase; yet the continuance of the mischievous precedent above referred to would nevertheless be looked for, perhaps insisted on from him, at every fresh visit.'—*Appeal*, p. ii.

In a subsequent page, Mr. Jamieson emphatically and justly calls 'private enterprise, *when let alone*, the soul of British commerce;' and then proceeds:—

'From the day it is interfered with by government the progress of trade must stop. No private merchant can keep his ground in or near a government merchant, or government-philanthropic-merchant settlement, bolstered and sustained by the public purse, and by public subscription: he must withdraw. The men who are really traders, who are competent to the well conducting of business, go away; the zeal and activity of private interest are lost; competition ceases; and the native finds it of no use to raise and prepare the productions of the soil, for which he cannot find a remunerating price or a market. This we honestly believe is the history of the failure of Sierra Leone, commercially and agriculturally; and, impressed with such a belief, we cannot withhold this our humble protest against a trial of the experiment '*on a larger scale.*' It is useless to speak of trying to work it out 'on right principles,' while it is based in error.'—*Ib.*, p. 6.

Now we freely admit that the force of this latter passage de-

pends wholly on the truth of the assumption, that the government operations are to be, in some way or other, auxiliary to the commercial pursuits of some parties, so as to constitute them a favored class. If this be not so, if all parties who venture on this traffic are bona fide to be left to contend with its difficulties by their own resources, the ground of Mr. Jamieson's argument is cut away, and not of his argument only, but of his announced withdrawment of his steamer Ethiope from the Benin (a declared test of his sincerity which has been, at once uncourteously and unjustly, represented as a piece of 'ludicrous 'arrogance') since he can never, with his principles, shrink from competition on equal terms. This is the point which waits to be cleared up. We have heard it asserted that Mr. Jamieson is altogether wrong; that the African Civilization Society will have nothing to do with commerce at all; and that the African Agricultural Society, which is provisionally formed, will be nothing more than an association of British capitalists, competing on equal terms with every other merchant. But what we want is to hear this from authority, and to have full certainty that it is so. As yet, we confess, we have our misgivings whether British capitalists will be found to venture far into African agriculture for benevolent purposes, without some advantage over others, or without some reason to hope that, should it unfortunately be a losing concern, they may be 'bolstered and sustained, either by the public purse or by public subscription.' If not directly intended in the first instance, the benevolence of the motive may be made an occasion for it in the second, and the same mischief will result from it in either.

Before quitting this topic, we must quote Mr. Jamieson's reply to the statement of Sir Fowell Buxton, that no legitimate commerce exists on the Niger.

'And first, *as to the exclusion of legitimate commerce,* let us take a look at the actual trade to that river, the Niger, on which we are told 'none is found.' This river, we need hardly state, is now known to flow into the Atlantic by its several mouths in the Bight of Biafra; and it may be readily ascertained by reference to the Custom-house books of Liverpool, that the import of palm oil from the west coast of Africa (nine-tenths of it being from the Bight of Biafra) into Liverpool alone, in 1836, the year above named in reference to Sierra Leone, was 9,783 tuns, and in 1839, 14,126 tuns; besides ivory and other commodities to a large amount, the quantities and values of which are not so easily ascertainable. To say nothing of these last, however, the value of this oil alone is, at the present price of the article, about half a million sterling, procured in exchange almost exclusively for British manufactures; *and of this oil three-fourths at least* (or to the value of about £350,000) *are produced and manufactured on the Niger,* and shipped from its delta. Such is the legiti-

mate trade of a river, on which the projectors of an expedition to it believe and tell us 'none is found:'—a trade which took its rise from the date of the abolition of the slave traffic by England, but which has made its principal advancement in the last twenty years; a trade with England, the formation of which has not cost government a shilling, though now giving employment to from 12,000 to 15,000 tons of British shipping annually, from the port of Liverpool only. So much for private enterprise (the soul of British commerce) *when let alon .'*

—*Ib.*, pp. 5, 6.

This amount of trade on the Niger contrasts very unfavorably for Sierra Leone with the returns from that colony, which Mr. Jamieson also gives, but which we have not room to extract.

Next after commerce comes the question of civilization, the promotion of which is the direct object of the African Civilization Society, pioneered and assisted by the government expedition. The prospectus of this society, without being very definite as to what they intend to do, contains a most distinct specification of what they mean to avoid. 'The present society,' it declares, 'can take part in no plan of colonization.' Notwithstanding this, however, we find the secretary of the American Colonization Society, the Rev. R. R. Gurley, immediately starting up, 'in delightful astonishment at the views, convictions, and hopes 'of Mr. Buxton;' and affirming, in the Address which we have placed at the head of this article, that this leader of British philanthropists 'has only adopted the original principles and 'policy of the society he represents,' pp. 29, 30. This claim to close relationship has not a little startled many staunch abolitionists, who have been accustomed, and we think most justly, to regard the American Colonization Society with unmingled detestation. If, indeed, (to use Mr. Gurley's words) Sir Fowell Buxton's plans are but 'a republication of theirs,' it is time they were looked at somewhat more narrowly. On this representation Sir Fowell Buxton himself has as yet made no public remark. It is highly desirable, however, that he should do so, and explain fully how far he acquiesces in it, or dissents from it. During his silence, his friend Mr. Jeremie has volunteered a reply, which to us is not satisfactory; but our readers shall judge for themselves.

'That able and distinguished abolitionist, Mr. Gillespie Birney, having mentioned the present exultation of the colonization party in America at some portions of your work, it may be as well to remind them, that the whole basis of the further proceedings of English abolitionists, who, however, are not pledged to any scheme or system of colonization whatever my anxious views may be, is founded on a conviction of the truth of this axiom, that liberty and slavery are irreconcilable; and that before the slave-holder of these states can proceed to establish any identity, or even a similarity, between the views of any

body of Englishmen and theirs, he must begin where Britain has begun, by liberating his bondsmen—that America's first step must be to let her two millions go free; then, and then only, help them if you will to proceed to any place of their own voluntary and unbiassed selection. But that, whilst their negroes are in bondage, or whilst a single enactment exists erecting a barrier between white and colored, their system will be viewed, not as one of emigration but of expulsion; their attempts at colonization as an endeavor to establish a safety valve for the planter—to prop up, by an additional fraud, rapine and murder; and their insidious and wicked efforts to force back the negro across the Atlantic, as a renewal, though perhaps somewhat mitigated, of the atrocities of the Middle Passage, adopted for the continued promotion of their own selfish interests.'—*Jeremie's Letter*, pp. 31, 32.

Now, agreeing as we do in all that is here said, we think Mr. Jeremie leaves the case just where Mr. Gurley has put it; namely, that, in so far as they regard Africa, the two systems are one—so much so, that they would be wholly one if America would 'let her two millions go free.' Will Sir Fowell Buxton assent to this?

Mr. Jeremie professes to speak only his own opinion, and informs us that Sir Fowell Buxton 'was not acquainted with the 'contents' of the letter thus addressed to him through the press. Neither the baronet nor the Civilization Society, therefore, can be held responsible for any thing that he has stated; but his pamphlet has its value nevertheless, as showing the form into which the plans of that society have thrown themselves in his mind—one certainly of much vigor, benevolence, knowledge, and experience. Now Mr. Jeremie's plan is decidedly one of colonization. He says naively (p. 17), '*You have* the soil—*you have* 'the people—*you have* the productions of the soil—turn them to 'use.' He is also for black colonists. After speaking of the climate, and acknowledging its fatal aspect on the life of Europeans, he thus proceeds.

'And now, I trust I shall not be misunderstood or misconstrued when I say, even with regard to climate, so much the better.

'You, who have studied these questions as well as myself, are too well acquainted with the domineering spirit of the races of Europe, to be able to contemplate without extreme apprehension the introduction of any large body of any European nation into the heart of communities such as those with which that continent teems. Whilst he who carefully ponders over the dispensations of God to man will not easily conclude, that even the horrors of the Middle Passage were without a benevolent object.

'To the sons of Africa must we look for the regeneration of Africa.

'To a reflux of the West upon the East, in moderate numbers, managed with caution, must we look for the civilization of the East.

'Your instruments should be the objects of your recent benevolence,

men vividly alive from their own experience to the wrongs and sufferings of their race, yet humbly grateful at Britain's generosity.

'Nor would they be wanting in any number you might require. Give them the means of transport, and leaders in whom they can confide—I know their sentiments—have tried their fidelity—and you would raise five thousand of the race in either hemisphere.

'But you require not this number, nor need you take the ordinary agricultural laborers; you have them on the spot. Two to three hundred families, mostly composed of the respectable colored man with a little capital, his wife, perhaps a servant, and children; ten or a dozen families of carpenters; of masons; of ship and boat-builders (the craft from Bermuda and St. Lucia are probably as fine as any in the world); with persons of other trades, volunteers from different West Indian Islands, these placed some fifty miles *below* the confluence of the Niger and the Sharry would form the nucleus of your settlement.

'Nor need any untried Utopian plans be adopted in your arrangements.

'It would be the South Australian scheme, except that your colonists, adapted to the climate, would have black faces.'

—*Ib.*, pp. 20, 21.

'The South Australian scheme!' Is it so? And will the conductors of the Civilization Society affirm this? The South Australian scheme has never, that we have heard of, been considered as identical with an Australian Civilization Society. It takes possession of land for the profit of the emigrants, and leaves the natives to catch such crumbs of civilization as they may. Is the same thing to be done in Africa? Mr. Gurley thinks it must be so; and that, if colonization be not intended in the first instance, it must be resorted to in the last. In this idea Sir George Stephen (who, however, is not authorized, and does not profess, to speak the sentiments of the Committee) agrees with him. In page 28 of his Letter to Lord John Russell, he makes the following frank avowal: 'If we found settlements in Africa, 'colonization must follow; wherever the British flag is raised, 'thousands and tens of thousands will seek protection under it; it 'is sheer hypocrisy to pretend that this is not the consequence of 'our civilization plans, if fairly carried out.' Now Sir George Stephen is a leading member of the committee of the Civilization Society, and has been moreover in intimate communication with Sir Fowell Buxton through all the proceedings which have led to its formation, so that the announcement of his opinion is likely to be too near the truth. If so, then we say farewell to all hope of the civilization of Africa. Colonies, white or black, have never been harbingers of anything but mischief and extermination to native tribes. And although it is to be hoped that a benevolent character may hereafter be so far impressed upon

the system of colonization, as to render it consistent with the welfare of uncivilized races, it will never be found, we suspect, to have any such direct or peculiar adaptation to their improvement as to become worthy of adoption for this especial end. Nor is this, we are well assured, what some of the parties who have rendered their support to the African Civilization Society have intended. Sir George Stephen lets us know—it had been currently rumoured before—that so many differences of opinion were found in the committee that it was a 'delicate task' to prepare a prospectus at all, and impossible to prepare one containing much besides vague generalities. We cannot doubt but the question of colonization had some connexion with the 'difficulties' and 'dangers' of this initiatory process; and we trace the force of opinion on this point in the formal and explicit declaration which the prospectus contains—'the Society can take part in no plan of 'colonization.' The philanthropists who took this stand in the committee are certainly called upon to look well to their present position. The public, too, should be awake. Efforts are making to cover the country with auxiliaries, and to obtain large funds. Even Sir George Stephen himself has 'lately attempted, in several 'provincial towns, to get up public meetings by way of enlisting 'auxiliaries; but I have been thwarted,' says he, 'in these 'attempts.' p. 32. The public, it seems, ask him 'the homely 'question, 'What would you be at?'' p. 32. They say, 'Do 'you undertake the duty of education? And if so, upon what 'principles?' p. 30. To all which Sir George admits he has no satisfactory reply. But let us hear what he does say. 'Africa 'exists in an atmosphere universally tainted with slavery, *a taint* '*that Christianity alone can remove, and Christianity must seek* '*her introduction by agriculture and commerce. These last three* '*lines embrace the whole case.*' p. 23. We have marked these lines in italics as deserving especial regard. If this be 'the whole 'case,' we pronounce it lost. The truly religious population of Britain, among whom the great bulk of anti-slavery friends are to be found, are now thoroughly satisfied that civilization follows Christianity, and not Christianity civilization. If the African Civilization Society is instituted in order that, through the civilization of Africa, it may introduce Christianity, it is altogether unworthy of the patronage of religious men. This is not the way to evangelize Africa; nor can it be genuine and uncorrupted Christianity which will follow in the wake of such an institution.* We earnestly hope that the public will insist upon knowing

* Since writing these remarks we have learned, on the best authority, that Lord John Russell has determined to permit no missionary agents to go out with the expedition but those of the Church Missionary Society.

something more definitely of the plans of the African Civilization Society, before they give it pecuniary support. As a scheme for colonizing—or, which is the same thing, for establishing a British empire in Africa, by charitable contributions, it can have small claim on their liberality.

On the influence of the expedition to the Niger and its associated operations on the suppression of the slave-trade we have spoken our sentiments freely in our last number, and we see no cause to retract or modify them. Whether our objections were really so futile, preposterous, and fantastic as they have been represented to be, it is not for us to affirm; but this we may say, that to call them so is not to answer them. We know that they are lying with great weight on the minds of considerate persons. We might content ourselves with this; but we shall offer a few remarks.

In speaking of 'the magnitude of Africa,' we neither insinuated nor imagined that so obvious a feature in the case had been 'over-'looked.' But, however clearly it may have been seen, we must repeat our conviction that in Sir Fowell Buxton's plan it has not been provided for. There are in Africa quite points enough to which the slave-trade may migrate, to render the expedition to the Niger, and all its results, very harmless to that traffic. Mr. Jamieson adduces evidence of the gratifying fact, in relation to which Colonel Nicolls agrees with him, that the augmented vigilance of British cruisers has, within the last two years, almost annihilated the slave-trade in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. The parliamentary papers just printed confirm this representation, and open to us one of the consequent schemes of the Cuba planters for perpetuating their supply of slaves. Their method now is, it appears, to collect slaves in the first instance within the French colonies on the African coast, from whence they are to be conveyed in small craft to larger depots in the Cape Verd islands, to await their voyage in the regular slavers for Havana. How will Sir F. Buxton's plan meet this? While we are sending an expensive expedition to the Niger, for the suppression of the slave-trade where now it scarcely exists, our consul at the Cape Verds is calling loudly for a ship of war, to drive the horrid traffic from its new haunts among these defenceless islands.*

When we represented it as 'doubtful whether the Africans 'would abandon the trade in men for legitimate commerce,' we sustained our opinion by the citation of Sir Fowell Buxton's authorities, which are scarcely to be answered by an appeal to Mr. Jamieson. This gentleman's testimony, however, really goes

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* See Correspondence with Foreign Powers relative to the Slave-trade, 1840.

to the same point. He tells us that, since the abolition of the slave-traffic by England, a considerable trade in palm oil and other articles has been growing up in the delta of the Niger: but all this while the slave-trade has been going on, and it is at last driven out only by the activity of our men of war; that is to say, the slave-traders have not relinquished their atrocious business for lawful industry. This is just another confirmation of our opinion.

Our allegation that, 'if Sir Fowell Buxton's plan should ex-'tensively succeed, we should have British merchants crying out 'for protection against the productiveness of Africa,' is treated as 'preposterous, and not worthy of a serious reply.' Yet it is a notorious fact that one part of the British dominions has raised this very cry against another, and that the agriculture of the East Indies has, during many years, been discouraged for the protection of the West. Is it preposterous, therefore, to believe that, whenever Africa shall produce sugar, coffee, or spices, in large quantity, and cheaper than our own colonies, there will be a call for protective duties against her industry? It is said in answer to this, that the contemplated trade with Africa '*is to be* natural, 'and not forced;' but it is no proof of this assertion to say that the trade 'will be carried on by British merchants.' We are willing to admit that British merchants would not carry on a forced —that is, a losing trade, absolutely at their own risk; but that raises the very question which waits to be solved, namely, whether the British merchants who, if some persons may be believed, are going to embark their capital largely in the African Agricultural Company, will do it without some kind of advantage by which their risk is to have an unusual compensation. If any such advantage is to be given, then the trade will be forced, and not natural.

In calling our reference to the relation between the African chiefs and their people 'fantastic,' it is but justice to the writer on whom we are remarking to admit that he has not understood us. 'Treaties,' of course, are to be made with chiefs; but we were not speaking of treaties. We spoke of the principle on which Sir Fowell Buxton proposes throughout to awaken that impulse of self-interest, to which he looks for the renunciation of the slave-trade. Teach the chiefs, says he, 'the greater value of men as 'tillers of the soil than as articles of merchandise:' in other words, say to the chiefs, do not sell your people, but make them work—do not part with them as slaves to others, by which you will make a little money, but keep them as (what they are already) slaves to yourselves, by which you will get a great deal more. This, we think still, is the direct tendency and inevitable issue of Sir Fowell Buxton's plan. In taking away from the marauder the musket with which he has been making

slaves of other tribes, this scheme will put into his hand the lash by which he will aggravate the slavery of his own. He will be transformed from the slave-hunter to the slave-driver, and nothing more. Instead of having sent one set of victims across the Atlantic, he will be watering the soil of Africa with the tears and blood of another. And Africa will be the worse for the change, inasmuch as the misery will become more uniform and universal. It may seem marvellous that a design so benevolent should tend to an issue so melancholy; but the problem is not of difficult solution. The radical mischief lies in appealing to an inferior motive—to self-interest. We do not question the general principle that self-interest is on the side of virtue; but it is in the long run that it is so. It is not always so in its immediate influence, and it is not so in the present case. It will lead the African to relinquish one crime only by making him feel a stronger inducement to commit another. This shifting of a vicious impulse from one object of cupidity to another can never constitute the regeneration of Africa. It must be superseded by a better motive. The lesson which the chiefs want to be taught is to love their neighbours as themselves—this would put an end both to the slave-trade and to slavery.

Our reviewer concludes his observations by another misunderstanding of our meaning. We commended the plan of Mr. Turnbull, not merely as directed to the attainment of a practical benefit, but as so directed *without inconsistency or compromise of principle.* We cannot view Sir Fowell Buxton's plan with equal favor, because we think it does compromise principle. We would extinguish slavery as well as the slave-trade; and we could not, therefore, without an intolerable sense of inconsistency, endeavor to get rid of the slave-trade in a way which would extend and consolidate slavery. With our sentiments on this subject a passage in Mr. Jamieson's Appeal is so perfectly coincident, that we shall quote it. The object of the expedition, or rather of the Society which it pioneers, he says, is

'To cultivate the soil by 'free labor' (a *sine qua non* of the 'Remedy'), where, nevertheless, *few or no freemen are to be found*—amongst a people who are, almost *exclusively, slaves or serfs to their kings and chiefs.* The adoption 'as a primary and sacred principle' (see page 447 of the 'Remedy') 'that any man who enters any territory we may acquire in Africa, is from that moment free and discharged from all manner of slavery, and that Great Britain pledges herself to defend him from all, civilized and savage, who may attempt to recapture him,' implies, in the present state of the population of Africa, that agricultural establishments are to be worked by runaway serfs, the recovery or 'recapture' of whom by the chiefs or powers to whose dominions they belong Great Britain is pledged to prevent.

Now (unless, indeed, it were intended to purchase with a price the freedom of such laborers) continual strife among and with the natives would, under such a system, be inevitable, and Great Britain might find she had undertaken a task more onerous and expensive than she had bargained for, or ever contemplated.

'But it is useless to enter into these details. The African sees only one of two purposes in the visits of strangers, *trade* or *war*. Assuredly he will not see the former in the arrival of three armed steamers, or in the desire to acquire and take military possession of territory; and his friendship is therefore likely to last just as long as he is bribed to it by the presents given him, and no longer. But, even if there *were* chiefs willing to permit of British settlements being formed in their territory, and not inimical to that 'sacred principle' the operation of which encouraged their own and other serfs and dependants to violate their allegiance, what would be their situation with neighbouring powers? The probability is that such chiefs, with the British settlements and the freemen upon them, would promptly disappear! An occurrence which, by the way, might unexpectedly give rise to certain grave inquiries!—Would our national honor be compromised under such circumstances?—And would England feel called upon to engage in a war with Nigritia, as France has done, with so little honor to herself, with Algeria?'—*Jamieson,* pp. 14, 15.

At the risk of making a long article, we shall extract from the same pamphlet a statement respecting the slave-trade in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, by which the representations of Sir Fowell Buxton are considerably modified. The facts are new to the British public, and very gratifying.

'However the case may have been in 1834, we are prepared to show by the testimony of respectable men, commanders and supercargoes of vessels trading to the coast—testimony the correctness of which we presume may any day be satisfactorily ascertained at the Admiralty, by reference to the log books of our cruisers on the coast—that a great and important change has taken place in 1838-9. From such testimony procured in writing, now lying before us, we select the following:

'TO ROBERT JAMIESON, ESQ.

'Liverpool, July 16th, 1840.

'SIR,—Being on the point of sailing for Africa, I, at your request, state in writing, what I have already mentioned in your hearing, that I was in Bonny last voyage, from the month of October, 1839, to the month of March this year, during which time there was but one slave vessel there.

'That I was likewise in that river in 1838 from four to five months, during which time there was only one slaver there;—and that it is my

opinion the export of slaves from Bonny River is at an end, if the same watchfulness be shown by H. M. cruisers as at present.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

PETER DOUGLAS,

Commanding the Barque Brutus.'

'Liverpool, July 22, 1840.

'SIR,—I now state in writing, what I have before stated to you verbally, namely—that I was in the command of the barque Boddingtons, of Liverpool, in the Old Calabar River, Africa, from the 23rd of February to the 21st of September, 1839, and that the only vessels that were engaged in the slave-trade in the river during that time were two small schooners from Prince's Island, owned by a man of color at Prince's, both of which were taken by H. M. cruisers shortly after leaving the river; and I firmly believe that the slave-trade is entirely at an end in Old Calabar, and will continue so, if the same vigilance is kept up by the same class of H. M. cruisers on that station; for the men-of-war have such easy communication with the river from Fernando Po, that it is quite impossible for a slaver to escape from Calabar, if vigilantly looked after.

'These facts I am ready to give my solemn declaration to before a magistrate, if required. I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

W. Moss.'

'Liverpool, 23rd July, 1840.

'SIR,—In reply to your inquiry, I beg to inform you, that I was with the barque Chatham and schooner Killermont at Cameroons, from the 10th of April to the latter end of November, 1839, and that during that time there was no slave vessel there or in the neighbourhood, with the exception of a small schooner belonging to the Island of Prince's, and manned by blacks. She might carry about twenty slaves, but left, after remaining three months, without obtaining one. I was likewise at Cameroons in the Strathmore and Killermont for four months, in the year 1838; and there was no slaver there then, nor had been for a considerable time previously.

'This I am ready solemnly to declare before any magistrate, if required;—and it is my firm belief that the slave-trade on that part of the coast is entirely extinguished, should our cruisers continue to keep as bright a look out as they have done.

I remain,

Your very obedient servant,

JOHN DICK,

Late Master of the Barque Chatham.'

'Liverpool, 18th July, 1840.

'SIR,—At your wish I now state on paper what I had before done in your presence verbally, namely, that I was lying in and off the river Benin, or Formosa, from the middle of December, 1839, to the 22nd of

March, 1840, during which time no slave vessel was there, with the one following exception.

'In the month of February last a Brazilian Brig, the Santa la Rosa, came to anchor off the bar, sent in her cargo by boats, with a supercargo and three men, to form, it was believed, a slave factory on the river. Soon after (the brig having left the mouth of the river) the whole of these men were massacred, and the property plundered, by the natives, with, it was believed, the sanction of one of their principal men.

'On a former voyage, in the early part of 1839, I was both at Bonny and Benin; saw no slaves whatever, neither did I on the passage home.

'These facts I am ready and willing solemnly to delare before a magistrate, if required. JOSEPH GIBSON,
Brig Satisfaction.'

'Here, then, is proof of the actual state of matters in relation to the slave-trade *at the present time*, at Bonny, Old Calabar, and Cameroons, formerly the great slave marts of the Bight of Biafra, as well as at Benin in the adjoining Bight. We request for it an attentive perusal, —and we ask, will the commercial community, will the public generally believe, after reading this testimony, that the Bights of Benin and Biafra continue to send away 140,000 *slaves annually*? The assumption is a mistake.'—*Jamieson*, pp. 7—12.

We cannot close our remarks without noticing the uncourteous, and in some cases vulgar style of Sir George Stephen's Letter. His treatment of Mr. Jamieson (of whom, from personal acquaintance, Colonel Nicolls speaks in the handsomest terms) is anything but fair or gentlemanly. The staple of his pamphlet is a direct charge against that gentleman of 'interested motives,' which, if it were sustainable, proves nothing to the matter in hand; while every fact, argument, and opinion is twisted after the manner of a special pleader. All this will recoil upon the writer. If he had intended to render service to the cause he has espoused, he should have been less severe and more just. Sir George Stephen can do much better than this; and he would have done much better on the present occasion, we presume to think, unless there had been something in his subject which he felt he could manage in no other way than by attempting a broad laugh, and a tone of confident denunciation.

Art. IX. 1. *The Biblical Geography of Central Asia.* By Dr. E. F. C. Rosenmuller, of Leipzic. Translated from the German by Rev. N. Morren, A.M., with Notes by the Translator. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Clark. 1836.

2. *The Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible.* By the Same. Translated by T. G. Repp and Rev. N. Morren. Edinburgh: Clark. 1840.

THESE volumes are the eleventh, and twelfth, and the twenty-seventh numbers of that series of works designed to aid in the study of biblical criticism, which is now publishing in Edinburgh under the name of the Biblical Cabinet. Most of the series are, like the above, translations from the works of the Germans, whose diligent labors during the last century entitle their productions to be considered, if not as our chief authorities and guides, at least as our principal sources of information on all points connected with the interpretation of the sacred volume. In recommending the present works to the diligent perusal of every student of the Divine Record, we would make a few remarks on the advantages of an acquaintance with the subjects of which they treat.

The revelation of God's will, under both the old and the new dispensations, has been communicated to us, not in the form of expository treatises on moral and spiritual truths, but in that of historical compositions, accompanied by documents which proceeded from and are illustrative of circumstances detailed in the history. Nothing evidently is more requisite for the correct apprehension of the facts recorded in any history than accurate information with regard to the situation, character, and peculiarities of the countries and places mentioned in it. Hence information relative to these points is usually supplied by the author of an historical account, as an essential part of the work itself. Thus Herodotus and Cæsar, to cite no other examples, give us detailed notices of the foreign nations, to whom the occurrences they narrate may in any way refer, informing us of the nature, extent, and chief productions of the countries which they inhabited. But the Hebrew annals, contained in the Bible, ought not to be considered so much as a professed history, as in the light of a national document, intended to describe the origin, nature, and progress of the Theocratic institutions. Thus we find them distinguished by brevity, and by a systematic omission of everything, however interesting and curious otherwise, which does not bear directly upon the peculiar object of the inspired writers. Such geographical notices, therefore, as in a history we should expect and require, are either entirely passed over or very slightly touched upon. Those for whom the document was originally intended, were supposed to have all the *necessary* knowledge of

the places alluded to; and not only were very far from being such as would peruse it in a spirit minutely inquisitive on such points, but had it been otherwise, their taste in that respect would assuredly have exerted no influence upon the composition of that which was addressed to them. Yet what *they* did not require, *we* may stand in need of; and the curiosity, which in their circumstances would have betokened a culpable indifference to things of higher importance, we in the present day may reasonably seek to gratify. We must, however, as we have said, have recourse to other sources than the Bible itself, when we seek to elucidate the brief hints and allusions to the circumstances of foreign nations with which it abounds, or to obtain that information with regard to their condition which will enable us better to understand in general those parts of their history which are presented to us as being connected with that of the Hebrew people.

It should be remembered that knowledge of this kind is not merely possessed of an historical interest, but lays claim to a peculiar value from the character and bearing of the sacred history. We are bound to inquire into these subjects, not simply as those who are desirous to acquire a correct idea of the physical and political circumstances which modified the conduct of the various actors, whether states or individuals, in the scenes set before us; but in the far higher character of those who would rightly comprehend the purposes of God with reference to our world at large. The Hebrew theocracy, though limited in duration as to its external form, was not of temporary importance, influencing only one age, and the fate of a single obscure nation. It was in fact the type and germ of that great spiritual kingdom of God which is to spread over the whole earth, and to the progress of which all historical events are intended finally to contribute. Consequently, we find that its records embrace details which concern the whole family of mankind, and that matter is introduced into them which was meant to throw light upon transactions of the nation at a period long subsequent, or which may still be requisite to enlighten our minds when contemplating the bearings of the vast scheme of God's providential dealings with our race. It is in this way, doubtless, that we must seek to account for the insertion of such an ethnographic roll as that contained in Gen. x., and for the description of the future fate of many of the nations to whom the prophecies refer. The Hebrews might, indeed, emphatically be said to be a people separated from all other nations, with whom they were forbidden to form alliances and to hold intercourse, by commerce or in any other way. Thus neither embassies nor the pursuit of traffic could give occasion for travelling into other lands, or excite a desire to become acquainted with them, a desire which, had it arisen, they could

not conscientiously have cherished, since they were taught to regard with abhorrence the habits and customs of all foreigners, constantly entwined as these were with idolatrous and degrading superstitions. And we may remark that these facts sufficiently account for the continued prevalence among them of that primitive simplicity of their social condition, which prevented the production of a secular literature, and confined the number of their writings to those annals and oracles which had a reference solely to the ends of the theocracy, and supply no more information than these ends call for. Yet though in this way separated and apparently unconnected with all others, a people who had no common interest with those around them, the fate of all the neighbouring nations was intimately linked with theirs. In the eye of the theocratic seer, the destinies of the mighty kingdoms by whose ambitious struggles they were encircled and within whose wide shadows they lay concealed, all depended on God's intentions with regard to his own people, were regulated in entire subservience to the condition assigned to them, and were of importance only so far as they affected the divine commonwealth, in whose bosom were deposited those seeds that were afterwards to be developed in the growth of that vast community in which 'all the nations of the earth should be blessed.' From this remarkable difference between their outward circumstances and their internal character and destiny, arises the striking contrast which may be perceived between the *history* and the *prophecies* contained in the Bible. In the former, the notices of other nations are slight, and extend no farther than to the accounts of their interference with the Israelites; we are told when the latter were defended against their inroads and delivered from their attacks by a faithful adherence to Jehovah, and when, being seduced by foreign superstitions, they were punished by a subjugation to foreign power—but nothing further. However great and important might be the changes that were going on around the borders of the hallowed territory, no hint is given as to the origin of the empires that came in contact with its occupiers, or their subsequent fate when they disappear from the page of the Hebrew history. But in the latter, these nations occupy no inconsiderable part of the field of vision; their habits and manners are touched upon or delineated; their advancement is described; their downfall predicted, and not unfrequently allusion is made to the causes of their ruin. Then we begin to perceive the use and intention of the brief notices and genealogies which occur in the early portions of the history. We find also the need of more exact and extensive knowledge of the situation and condition of the nations spoken of, nor can researches of this kind, for the elucidation of the prophecies, be regarded as mere matters of curiosity, as they might while we are engaged in the considera-

tion of the sacred history itself. Without such knowledge we cannot clearly discern the application of many predictions, and of the fulfilment of most we shall have no established certainty. We shall often be in doubt as to what nations are intended by the Spirit of prophecy; or we shall fail of perceiving the force of many of the expressions, and the accuracy of the entire description. And the accomplishment of many of the events foretold can be ascertained only by consulting the relations of those who in the present day have visited the scenes connected with them. For the proof of this, which is evident enough from the nature of the case, it is sufficient to refer to the prophecies concerning Babylon and Idumea, as illustrated, the former by the accounts of Porter and Rich, the latter by those of Burckhardt and Captains Irby and Mangles, in their Travels. Thus an acquaintance with the geography of the countries mentioned in the Bible is a matter not only of general importance to the student of history, but essential even to any one who would rightly understand the mind of the Spirit as expressed in those oracles, which, next to the doctrinal and preceptive parts of Scripture, are of vast and momentous interest to the people of God. This interest they possess as not only supplying the most striking evidence of inspiration, but abounding also in all that is calculated to encourage and comfort the church in its conflict with the world, and to rouse and animate it to those efforts which it is bound to sustain, until the final triumph and establishment of God's universal dominion on earth be achieved.

In the study of this most interesting and important branch of biblical antiquities, a noble commencement was made by the illustrious Samuel Bochart in his work entitled 'Phaleg and 'Canaan,' first published in 1646. The latter portion of this work relates solely to the Phœnicians and their colonies; the former, which derives its appellation from Peleg, 'in whose days 'the earth was divided,' to the dispersion of nations at the Tower of Babel, the catalogue in Gen. x. being the subject of illustration. The immense erudition, the profound and accurate research, the general soundness of discrimination, and especially the thoroughly pious and modest spirit which he has here displayed, entitle him to our admiration, and attach very great weight to his authority. Yet there may be remarked in him the same defects by which the learned men of that age were characterized at large, defects which are, indeed, incidental to the first stages of literary investigation, and which may be traced in the development of individual minds not less than in the advancement of learning itself. They were too sanguine in expecting to obtain certainty on points where we must be content after all modestly to doubt and confess our ignorance, and were consequently led into a precipitate haste in the formation of theories, and an eager appropria-

tion of whatever could be adduced, by extensive learning and perverted ingenuity, to support them. In the inquiries of which we are now more particularly treating, the difficulties with which we have to contend should be well considered. The document from which we elicit part of our information, and upon which we seek to throw additional light, is of an antiquity far surpassing that of the Homeric poems, the very authenticity and coherence of which have been so much disputed; the language in which it is written, a primitive and uncultivated dialect of the Semitic family, is difficult and peculiar, often representing very imperfectly the sounds of foreign appellations; the period treated of is remote, being nearly throughout prior to all other authentic history; and, while great and sweeping are the changes which since then have passed upon the political state and general appearance of the cities and countries referred to, all the knowledge to which we have access to with respect to their former and present condition is necessarily far from complete and satisfactory. The more important countries indeed, and their chief towns, may be sufficiently prominent and easy to be recognized, but not so the districts and places of inferior note, especially those which are mentioned only once or twice, and then but by name, without farther description. In such cases the utmost progress we can make must be within the limits of mere conjecture, possessing a greater or less degree of probability. Concerning some, indeed, no reasonable conjecture even can be formed, except of the most general kind, that they may have been tribes of some particular district, with the name of the inhabitants of which we find theirs associated; thus, for instance, the *Ludim* and *Anamim*, who are spoken of as descendants of *Mizraim*, may be considered as tribes belonging to the north or north-east of Africa. But to what purpose is it to endeavor, as Bochart has laboriously attempted, to prove that *the Ludim* are the Æthiopians? simply because *lud* in Arabic signifies *to be sinuous or winding* (and thus a connexion would seem to be established between *Lydia*, noted for the tortuous Meander, and *Æthiopia* where the Nile flows in a winding course); and because the Ludim are spoken of in Isaiah lxvi. 19, and Jerem. xlvi. 9, as famous for archery, though this was an accomplishment which many of the nations of antiquity possessed in as efficient, though perhaps not so renowned a degree as the Æthiopians. Again, he seeks to show that the *Anamim* (Ghanamim) were the same as the Ammonians (which name he takes for a corruption of the former), because *ghanam* in Arabic signifies *a sheep*, and the Ammonians being shepherds, no doubt ate plenty of mutton and dressed in sheep-skins; besides that their idol Ammon had the head of a ram. The waste of learning and ingenuity, which he has expended in endeavoring to prove positions of this kind, which if established would be of no real value, is indeed prodi-

gious. He is too frequently led away in this manner by fanciful etymologies, and by as fanciful views with regard to the explanation of the futile and uncertain fables of the heathen poets, upon which he has expended much vain labor, under the idea that they contained in a distorted and allegorical form the relics (or, as we should rather think, the *refuse*) of ancient traditional history. Among the many sources from which he has drawn his materials, he has unfortunately quite neglected one, which even in his day had partially been opened up, namely, the researches of modern travellers in the East.

Since the publication of the work of Bochart, time and experience have introduced a more cautious and sober spirit of investigation, guided by higher and surer principles, and aided by more numerous and suitable sources of information. Our acquaintance with Oriental literature has been greatly extended by the publication of the Oriental library of Assemanni, archbishop of Tyre, and the works of Abulfeda, the Arabian geographer of the fourteenth century. These additional aids have been well employed by J. D. Michaelis, in his 'Spicilegium Geographiæ 'Exteræ Hebræorum.' He has subjected the etymologies of Bochart to a critical examination, and, restricting the use of these within its proper limits, has adopted the surer guidance of historical views; in the formation of which, though sometimes bold and conjectural, he displays deep and accurate research, and is generally actuated by a philosophical spirit. The work of E. F. C. Rosenmüller on Biblical Geography (with the translation of a part of which we are now furnished) is but a portion of a larger work on Biblical Antiquities in General, which the author, however, did not live to carry further than what belongs to the departments of the Geography and Natural History of the Bible. It is a manual intended for practical use, and therefore does not enter into the discussion of the questions connected with the various topics, but simply gives the result of the author's examination in the text, while authorities, additional statements, and opposite views, are subjoined in copious notes to the end of each chapter. This is by far the most satisfactory form in which students can have presented to them the instruction which they seek for; and the information supplied is always such as to bear directly upon the point in question, which receives no more lengthened examination than its practical importance entitles it to. We have here the results of the far more extensive and correct acquaintance with Oriental countries to which we have been introduced by the researches of such travellers as Carsten Niebuhr, Burckhardt, Ker Porter, Rich, &c. The journey undertaken by the first of these was, indeed, originally proposed by Michaelis, for the purpose of throwing light upon the geography and natural history of the Bible; though, owing to unforeseen casualties, the

fruits which it produced in this respect fell far short of what had been anticipated.

Rosenmüller's qualifications as a philologian and a biblical critic were of the highest order, as is attested by his Scholia on the Old Testament. His views indeed were considerably tinged with the rationalistic spirit for which so many of his countrymen have been notorious; yet that sound and discriminating judgment by which he is particularly distinguished, and which inspires confidence in those who consult him as an authority, preserves him from being carried away into the extravagant scepticism which others have displayed. He maintains the Mosaic origin and historical value of the Pentateuch, against the objections of Gesenius, De Wette, Bertholdt, &c., though he denies its inspiration, on the ground that Moses nowhere makes such a claim, and is of opinion that the primeval accounts, found in Genesis, were framed by Moses from the traditions of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and moulded by him so as to inculcate and sustain the doctrine of the unity of God. He agrees also with those who account the latter chapters of Isaiah and the book of Daniel spurious productions. His views in the present work are but slightly affected by these opinions; and most of the passages which betray their influence have been erased or modified by the translator, of the soundness of whose doctrinal sentiments, as well as of his high attainments in biblical criticism, his work, entitled 'The Rule of Faith,' affords ample proof. Indeed the care and research which he has exercised in translating the present work, and illustrating it with copious additional matter in the form of appendices, deserve our highest commendation. His attainments too, as an oriental scholar, and as a student of history in general, are evidently such as admirably to qualify him for the task he has here discharged. In the former department indeed he confesses his obligations to the Rev. J. Duncan, of Glasgow, his encomiums on whose scholarship in the preface are, as we should judge by report, very justly merited. The present volumes relate only to the countries of Central Asia, namely, the districts around the Caspian Sea (here called 'the Region of the North'), Media, Elam or Elymais, Persia, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Syria. The accounts concerning these are preceded by three introductory chapters. The first of these is concerning the earth in general, and many idiomatic expressions are admirably elucidated in it: the second is on antediluvian geography, in which we are not troubled with any laboriously useless attempt (like those of Bochart and Morinus) to ascertain the site of Paradise, but the various opinions with regard to the inexplicable rivers of Eden are simply detailed, and occasion taken to give a geographical description of the courses of the Phasis, Oxus, Tigris, and Euphrates, to which they would

seem to bear the nearest resemblance; and the third offers an explanation of the ethnographic document in Gen. x., where the table of nations given is very clear, and possesses as much accuracy as can be expected. Want of space prevents us from remarking on particulars, or from giving any specimen of the work. We shall simply state the plan pursued in each of the succeeding chapters. The situation and extent of the country is first described, and its various names mentioned along with their origin; the nature of the climate and the chief products are noticed; an account of the chief towns is given, especially such as are mentioned in Scripture, with an explanation of any thing which is peculiar in the allusions made to them; then follows an historical notice of the nation, its rise, progress, and present condition, with illustrations of the reference made to their habits and manners in the sacred writings. All this information is given in the most compressed form; and the indices at the end, the one of places mentioned, and the other of Scripture passages referred to, supply the means of consulting any portion of it in the most expeditious manner. From this the value of the work to all biblical students must be manifest; and we can only add our earnest wish that the succeeding portions of the work, which are indeed promised, may speedily appear, edited in as careful and praiseworthy a manner as the present. These are indeed very pressingly required to complete the series, for the volume on mineralogy and botany abounds with references to them; and we rather fear that these admirable publications by no means meet with the encouragement which they deserve, from the fact that four years have already elapsed since the publication of these volumes, and the appearance of the rest is not yet announced.

The subjects treated of in vol. xxvii. are not less interesting and important than the above: to ourselves, we must confess, they possess even a higher charm. A knowledge of the mineral and vegetable productions, whose names occur in Scripture, is an essential aid in the study of the history and geography of the countries to which they are indigenous. Countries and districts are frequently characterized by their products or imports, some of them indeed are solely mentioned because of these, and can in the present day be identified perhaps in no other way than by the substances in connection with which they are spoken of. Thus the description which we have of the land of Havilah is that it abounded in gold, bdellium, and the shoham-stone, or beryl, and we are thus led to identify it with Colchis and the neighbouring parts of Scythia, aided by the mention of the river Pishon or Phasis, for according to the most ancient traditions, this river yielded gold itself, and led to the gold country; while Strabo speaks of a part of Colchis, where the mountain streams washed down gold, that was collected in perforated troughs and

woolskins; and Pliny informs us of the high value in which the gems of Scythia were held by the ancients. All the knowledge that we have of Ophir, and from which we conclude that it was a harbour in the south of Arabia, is that Solomon procured thence gold, almug trees, or sandal wood, and precious stones. Lebanon is ever distinguished by its cedars, and its name is hardly ever introduced except as qualifying the mention of those trees; and it is through its *narcissus* alone that the beautiful plain of Sharon is introduced to our notice. The exact bearing of many important occurrences, both historical and domestic, in the sacred narrative, cannot be understood without such a knowledge of the substances alluded to, as it is by no means easy to find given with any degree of accuracy and satisfaction, except in a work like the present. The writer who treats of them is required to be well acquainted, not only with scientific works, and the accounts of travellers, but also with the criticism of the original texts, and with all the aids which can be derived from the ancient versions, Josephus, the Jewish commentators, and classical authorities. We shall give a few instances. In Ex. ix. 31, we are told that the barley and the flax were destroyed by the plague of hail, but the wheat and the spelt (not rye as in our version) were not smitten; in reference to which we find it stated in p. 87, that—

'In Egypt the barley ripens almost a month earlier than the wheat. Therefore, the barley, already in the straw, was destroyed by the hail-storm, which fell in the beginning of spring, shortly before the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt.'

Twice in the Bible mention is made of the dudaim, in Gen. xxx. 14, and in Solomon's Song, vii. 13. Olaus Celsius, the patron of Linnæus, who in his Hierobotanicon has done more than perhaps any other to advance our knowledge of the vegetable productions of Scripture, takes these to denote a species of lotus; Ludolf thinks they were the fruit of the *musa paradisiaca*, and J. E. Faber believed that they were a small fragrant melon, that grows in Syria, Egypt, and Persia. But these conjectures are opposed by the unanimous testimony of the ancients that they were *mandrakes;* the seventy translating the term by μηλα μανδραναρων and μανδραγορραι; Onkelos, the Chaldee paraphrast, and the Syriac version by *Yabruchin*, for which R. Saadias Gaon gives the equivalent Arabic word, *Loffach.* Now Mariti, in his Travels, says that the Arabs call the mandrake plant, *Yabrochak*, which is evidently the same as the Chaldee *Yabruach*, and determines their identity. These fruits were found by Reuben in the days of wheat-harvest, which in Mesopotamia takes place in the month of May, about which season we are told by Hasselquist, S. Schulz, and Mariti, that ripe mandrake fruits are common in

Palestine. They have a delightful scent, a pleasant taste, and are still thought by the women of the east to have the power of promoting conception. The occurrence in 2 Kings iv. 39—41, is explained by Rosenmüller to refer to the very natural blunder which might be made by a person in mistaking the wild or ass-cucumber for the garden cucumber. The former has a very bitter taste, 'which,' he says, 'made those who tasted them fear that they were poisonous,' though they are not in reality so. This would in a great measure take away the character of a miracle from the transaction, nor does he give any stronger reason for his opinion than the ease with which the mistake may then be accounted for. We hardly feel satisfied with this, and would prefer retaining the older interpretation of *coloquintedas*, which are really of a poisonous nature. Still it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what they may really have been, for this is the only passage in which the word occurs; nor is it of importance provided we keep to the idea which is very prominently expressed in the narrative, that the fruits were of a decidedly injurious kind. This knowledge will also materially avail us in our conceptions of the meaning and application of several of our Lord's parables which are founded upon analogies in the natural kingdom. Christ compares the commencement of his kingdom to a mustard seed, since that is 'the least of all seeds.' Now we know that there are many seeds smaller than those of the mustard shrub, but our Lord here makes use of an expression proverbial among the Jews; and, in describing the extraordinary growth of the plant, he does not seem to mean that it ever in nature attains such a height, but represents by an imaginary case what would really take place with regard to his religion. We might adduce as additional instances under this head, the barren fig-tree, and the beautiful simile of the vine in Ps. lxxx., but for these we must refer our readers to the work itself.

This last example leads us to consider the use which is made of allusions to plants, trees, and other natural productions in the poetical portions of the Bible, especially the prophecies. It is from the associations which are in this way connected with them that these investigations possess their chief interest and charm to the mind. In our opinion there is no more decided mark of a true poetical spirit than the aptitude to seize upon, and the ability to display, the analogies which exist between the various circumstances of our condition and emotions of our minds, and the natural appearances by which we are surrounded. To one endowed with this faculty the clouds of heaven and the changing aspect of the sky possess an intelligible language, and as he walks, unaccompanied through lonely wilds, the streams and flowers hold eloquent discourse to him. What glowing beauty have not the compositions of Shelley derived from this fount of ever-fresh and

sparkling adornment! And if sentiments so erroneous and debasing as his have been thus gilded by a lustre not their own, from the reflected splendor of the illustrations with which they are linked; what must be the effect produced when the highest moral truths are associated with their images as presented in nature, and when the physical creation of the Almighty is brought forward to impart light and grace and animation to the development of the mysteries of the spiritual world! We feel persuaded that the extreme appositeness of comparison which the material universe, when employed for this purpose, is found to afford, is by no means to be attributed solely, or even chiefly, as is generally done, to the vividness of imagination possessed by the writer himself. There would seem to have been originally established by the Creator in the very constitution of things this remarkable correspondence between the phenomena of visible nature and those of our feelings and moral dispositions. The external and internal words would appear to have been so constructed as to harmonize together in the most exquisite manner, and for the fairest ends; and thus, while our ideas, emotions, and moral sentiments derive from natural similes, which are their counterparts, a light and coloring which brings them out with a distinctness of impression, and a dignity of aspect, otherwise wanting, those objects with which our senses are daily conversant receive in turn a living power to excite thoughts and feelings of the noblest kind, being clothed with all the inspiriting associations of that higher order of things of which they are the representatives. The imagination of the poet is but the power of a keener and more elevated discernment by which he apprehends these recondite harmonies, which are not the creations of his fancy, but have a real existence in the arrangements of the universe. These are the discoveries of his etherial genius, as scientific and moral truths are the discoveries of intellect: they are not the inventions of his skill, as the beautiful and sublime fabrics which he constructs for them are. But to what end can these so appropriately be applied as to illustrate and enforce religious truth, the discoveries of the divine will, and the relations it bears to us? and what guidance so suitably can direct the use of them as the Spirit of Him from whose conceptions the whole fabric, with all its proportions, analogies, and connections, has proceeded? Here lies the great beauty of the style of sacred poetry; here is the source of the interest which we feel in obtaining a more extended and accurate acquaintance with the substances from which its ornaments and illustrations are drawn. No translation can supply the want of a lengthened description of them, when they are such as are peculiar to foreign and distant countries, with the forms and qualities of which we are consequently not familiar. But our translation very frequently either uses the name given in the original language, which to us

is unintelligible, as when it speaks of *shittim-wood*, instead of *planks of acacia*, and *almug-trees* for *sandal-wood*, or mistakes altogether the substance intended, putting *rye*, which in southern countries is not at all cultivated, for spelt wheat (the ζεα so frequently mentioned in Homer) the *rose*, of which there is no mention in the Bible, for the *narcissus*, (in Sol. Song ii. 1; Is. xxxv. 1)—*camphire*, for the cypress-shrub, or al-henna, with which eastern beauties adorn and perfume themselves (in Sol. Song i. 14, iv. 13); and in Gen. xxxvii. 25, the Ishmaelite merchants are represented as trafficking in *spicery, balm, and myrrh*, instead of *tragacanth gum, balm of Gilead, and ladanum*. Many other errors of a similar kind might be pointed out, but we must refer inquirers to the work itself, with the confident belief that they will find the trouble of the examination amply rewarded by the satisfaction which it will afford them. We would earnestly recommend every student of the Scriptures to consult constantly, in the perusal of the work, the passages of the Bible referred to, correcting the common version where it requires alteration, and remarking the light which is thrown upon the scope of each passage by the descriptions here given. As a specimen of the work we shall subjoin part of the article (p. 313) on that tree, which our translators have considered to be an *apple-tree*, but which seems rather to be identical with the *oriental quince-tree*.

'Tappuach, the quince-tree (Malus Cydonica, *Celsius.*) The above Hebrew word is by the most ancient Greek translators rendered *apple*, and in this the other ancient versions concur. It is confirmed by the cognate Arabic language, in which the similar word *taffach* denotes an apple. Yet in Scripture there seems to be a special reference to the sweet-scented *quince-apple*, for, in the Song of Solomon (vii. 8) the breath of the beloved is compared to this fruit, which was esteemed by the ancients chiefly on account of its fragrance, and was placed on the heads of those images in the sleeping apartments which were reckoned among the household gods. The odor of the quince possesses a restorative power; hence (in Song of Sol. ii. 5) the bride says, 'Refresh me with *quinces*, for I am sick of love.' *Abulfadli* remarks that the smell of the quince clears the brain, and renews and invigorates the animal spirits. *Phylarchus* affirms, that it even tends to lessen the power of deadly poisons. In Song of Sol. (ii. 3) it is said,

> 'As a quince-tree among the trees of the wood,
> So is my beloved among the young men.
> Under his shadow do I long to sit,
> And his fruit is sweet to my palate.'

'This allusion would scarcely apply to our quinces, which are coarse and sour, and require to be boiled and mixed with sugar to render them palatable. But there seems to be a species of this fruit in the east

which is eaten raw. *Tavernier* mentions, that the district round Vodana in the south of Arabia, yields a great abundance of fruit, especially plums and quinces, which have not the tartness of ours, and are eaten raw like apples. By the ancients, the quince was commonly boiled, along with honey or must. * * * That the quince-tree was formerly common in Palestine, appears from the circumstance, that various places obtained their names from it; as Tappuach, Jos. xv. 34, Beth-tappuach, Jos. xv. 33, and En-tappuach, Jos. xvii. 7. It is mentioned in the prophecy of Joel (i. 12) among the trees the locusts would devour. Various regulations concerning this tree and its fruit are to be found in the Talmud.'

In some instances we could have wished that the scientific appellations had been more exactly given. Thus Natrum (soda) is called 'an alkaline mineral *salt*;' now *soda* is the mineral alkali itself, not a neutral salt.

Puch is said to be the Hebrew term for antimony or stibium, but *stibium* is properly the black oxide of antimony, and is no other than the black powder, called kohol, which the orientals are here said to prepare from the metal. The translation is sufficiently well executed, though care and good taste would have avoided the use of the word *autopsy* for *personal inspection*, and *Joseph* for the name of *Josephus*, the Jewish historian. A German collocation of words is also sometimes perceivable, as in the phrases, 'the above alluded-to river,' 'rather Chaldaic is the name Seroim.'

Some of the notes added by the translators are exceedingly useful: though in one we remarked that the English word 'tribulation,' is incorrectly derived from '*tribulus*,' *a thorn or foot-trap*, whereas it comes from '*tribula*,' a threshing-instrument. These faults, however, are very slight and few; and altogether we would give the work our warmest recommendation.

Art. X. *The New Testament translated from the text of* J. J. Griesbach. By Samuel Sharpe. London: 1840, 12mo. pp. iv. 506.

THIS work bears so great a resemblance to a duodecimo New Testament published at Boston, U.S., and which has for some years been procurable through the American booksellers in London,* that to persons who have seen that volume we cannot better convey an idea of the present, than by reminding them of it. In characterising the work for other readers, it will not be necessary

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* The New Testament in the common version, conformed to Griesbach's standard Greek Testament. Boston; Gray and Bowen, 1830.

that we should either describe or discuss Griesbach's labors on the original text. Although we cannot say, with Mr. Sharpe, that these are too well known to need any remark, the present article does not require that we should open the whole question respecting the merits or demerits of that distinguished critic's recension. It is sufficient here to observe, that though that recension is evidently not immaculate, though erroneous principles occasionally appear in it, and principles to which no exception can be made, are occasionally misapplied, it is a noble monument of diligence and critical impartiality; and a good translation of it therefore is a service rendered to the English reader, who, if he be not in a condition, unaided, to form a satisfactory judgment respecting its variations from the authorised version, has yet the advantage, with its aid, of perceiving to how small an extent the critical investigation of MS. authorities has hitherto affected the text of Scripture, and of putting such questions as he may feel it necessary to ask his religious instructors on such topics in a more definite shape than he would otherwise be able to do. The variations which affect the Christian doctrine are indeed extremely few—we might say, next to none—and there is no one single doctrine which depends upon a disputed passage. But whether such variations were few or many, and of whatever sort they are, the English reader has a right to know them, and in these days of universal curiosity, assuredly will know them. Those, then, who would be qualified as the ministers of the churches in future years, to satisfy and instruct this growing curiosity, will do well, not only to possess themselves of the original of Griesbach's recension, as published with the references to the MS. authorities consulted, but also to investigate the principles which guide the judgment in relying on the testimony of one MS. in preference to that of another. Aids to this latter study are now better supplied than formerly, and the appearance of such works as that at the head of this article, shows that our theological students will do well to profit by them.

As a first specimen of the translation now under review, we shall select 1 Tim. iii. 14—16. This not only exhibits the effect of verbal variation in the 16th verse, but also gives an instance of the great alteration rendered necessary in translation, by the manner in which Griesbach has paragraphed and pointed the text.

'These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry, that thou mayest know how to behave in the House of God, which is the church of the living God.

'A pillar and support of truth, and confessedly great is the mystery of godliness; he who was manifest in flesh, justified in spirit, seen by angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up in glory.'

A second specimen, which the reader may compare with the authorised version, is furnished by the first epistle of John. It is the celebrated passage, chap. v. ver. 6—8.

'This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus the Christ; not in water only, but in water and blood; and it is the spirit that beareth witness, because the spirit is truth. For there are three that bear witness, the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one.'

We have selected these specimens, though so well known, for two reasons; first, because Griesbach's alteration of the passages, with one or two other alterations, formed the occasion of a charge against him of a Socinian bias, a charge for which we consider they supplied no convincing evidence, for we believe him, however liable to mistake, to have been honorably free from doctrinal bias; secondly and principally, because, if these variations, which are the most important in his whole recension, excite the interest or alarm of the reader, it is in our power to refer him to some writings in which they are extensively discussed. Not only have both of them been considered at considerable length by Dr. Pye Smith in his Scripture Testimony to the Person of the Messiah, but the former passage has engaged the attention of the late respected and lamented Mr. Orme, and the latter that of Dr. Henderson, each in a treatise particularly devoted to the subject. To these, and to the elaborate discussion in Dr. Smith's third volume, particularly as it appears in the third edition, we cordially refer the reader.

The translations before us differ moreover from our authorised version in passages where there is no difference between Griesbach's text and the original of our translators. In this respect it also differs from the American work above noticed, which is an emendation of the common version, rendering it conformable to Griesbach's text. The following passage (2 Tim. ii. 1—13) will exemplify the difference we intend.

'Thou, therefore, my child, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; and what thou hast heard from me by many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who will be able to teach others also. Thou, therefore, endure hardship, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that is a soldier entangleth himself in the affairs of this life, that he may please him that enlisted him. And if a man strive in the games, he is not crowned unless he strive according to the rules. The labouring husbandman ought to be first partaker of the fruits. Consider what I say, and the Lord give thee understanding in all things. Remember Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, who was raised from the dead according to my good tidings; wherein I suffer trouble unto bonds as an evil doer; but the word of God is not bound. Therefore I endure all things for the sake of the people, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with glory everlasting.

The saying is faithful; if we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we suffer, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he also will deny us; if we believe not, he remaineth faithful; for he cannot deny himself.'

From the above, which is a fair specimen, our readers may form some idea of the character of the present translation. It has been carefully made. It sometimes improves upon, sometimes falls below, the authorised version. This we say, making fair allowance, we think, for the influence of early association. There are several renderings from which we dissent on the score of correctness, others which we disapprove as disagreeable to our taste and feeling. Thus we should not have rendered εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον 'the good tidings according to Matthew.' It is evident that εὐαγγέλιον, as a title had become technical, though not the best title, according to modern ideas, which could be given to the gospels, it was retained when the New Testament canon was compiled, because it was the recognised title, and for the same reason we would retain the word 'gospel,' in a modern version. In John iv. 11, Mr. Sharpe translates 'Lord, thou hast nothing to draw with,' and in ver. 15, 'Lord, give me this water;' this we decidedly disapprove. In ver. 19, the rendering 'Lord, I perceive that thou art a prophet,' speaks for itself. We never wish to inquire into the motives of a translator in substituting one term or phrase for another, but could hardly resist the impression that this might be to detract from the force of 'Lord,' as applied to Jesus, when used in other places; however we might, and hope we should be, wrong in yielding to this impression. We will, however, observe, that, instead of 'the glory of the great God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ,' which is Mr. Sharpe's translation, we should have rendered τῆς δοξης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 'the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ,' and we are surprised that the considerations which induced Mr. Sharpe to translate 2 Peter i. 11 as he has done, did not induce him to prefer that rendering.

Our remaining observations respect the outward form of this translation, which comprises several valuable improvements. Every citation from the Old Testament is clearly distinguished by being printed in italics. The genealogies are put into a tabular form; the 'songs' of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon, appear in the hemistic form so well known and appreciated in Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, and in the poetical portions of the Religious Tract Society's paragraph Bible, which should be in every body's hands; and every discourse, and whatever occurs in the form of dialogue or conversation, is distinguished by inverted commas. The work is well printed, and though the price is high, being one-fifth higher than that at which the American Testament we have referred to is obtainable in London, there are doubtless many persons to whom it will be an acquisition.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons on Types and Metaphors. By a Dissenting Minister.

Illustrations of German Poety, with Notes, &c. By Elijah Barwell Impey, Esq., M.A., Faculty Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

The Congregational Lecture for 1840. Subject: The Connexion and Doctrinal Harmony of the Old and New Testaments. By the Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, M.A., of Edinburgh.

Just Published.

The Art of Needlework. Edited by the Countess of Wilton.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. King Richard the Third.

The Wesleyan Conferences of England and Canada—their Union and Separation.

Lives of the Queens of England. By Agnes Strickland. Vol. III.

Religion and Education in America. By J. D. Lang, D.D.

Stenography Remodelled. By J. Fancutt.

Chivalry and Charity.

Ward's Library. Aids to Preaching and Hearing. By Thomas Skinner, D.D.

Religion and Crime, or the Distresses of the People, and their Remedies. By John Minter Morgan.

Abridgment of Sir T. Fowell Buxton's Work on the African Slave Trade and its Remedy.

The History of England under the House of Stuart, including the Commonwealth. Library of Useful Knowledge. 2 vols.

Selections from Robert Hall. By Charles Badham.

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The Temple of the Living God as erected by the Apostles.

A Treatise on English Grammar, &c. By Richard Hiley.

The Spirit of Popery.

Letter to Lord John Russell in Reply to Mr. Jamieson on the Niger Expedition. By Sir George Stephen.

A Topographical History of Surrey. By E. W. Brayley, F.S.A. Part I.

Nelly Vanner.

The Works of Josephus. Translated by Whiston. Part V.

Canadian Scenery Illustrated. Part VI.

Consolation for Christian Mourners. By Adam Thomson, D.D.

Heber and other Poems. By Thomas Ragg.

A Summary of the History of France. Translated from the French of Felix Bodin. By Jonathan Duncan.

Memoir of Paul Duffe. By Wilson Armstead.

The Backslider. By Andrew Fuller, with a Preface by Rev. J. A. James.

The Naturalist's Library. Vol. 29. Entomology by James Duncan.

Fisher's Historic Illustrations of the Bible. Division I.

Cyclopædia of Domestic Medicine. By Keith Imray. Part I.

A Manual of Commerce. By William Waterson.

Dr. Pye Smith on the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and Some Parts of Geological Science. Second Edition, foolscap 8vo.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For NOVEMBER, 1840.

Art. I. 1. *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland.*

2. *An attempt towards an Analysis, Arrangement, and Compression of the Book of Common Prayer of the United Church of England and Ireland.* By Rev. J. Riland, M.A., Curate of Yoxhall. 8vo. pp. 64. Hamilton and Adams.

THE Book of Common Prayer is used every week by myriads of our fellow countrymen as a formula of devotion. It is employed for the same purpose in all places to which the Church Missionary Society and the government send clerical agents. Those who use it are accustomed to laud it as a sort of second Bible; and nonconformists have sometimes, by admissions more creditable to their good feelings than their judgment, helped to keep up the delusion. We propose to glance slightly at the history of this book; and inquire carefully into its merits.

In pursuing the course thus marked out, we shall endeavor to avoid whatever might needlessly wound the feelings of those Christians who use the Prayer-book as a guide in their approach to the mercy-seat. Devout emotions are always to be respected, however needless and erroneous the forms with which they are encumbered. The piety of a Christian papist (there are many such), whose penitence is awakened as he gazes on the mummeries of popery, is to be held in high esteem: and equal regard is due to the devout Protestant, who on the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany, or the five and twentieth after Trinity, or on Quinquagesima Sunday, or on any other Sunday, shall reverently

turn to the altar, and say the Nicene creed. We may deem the Quinquagesima, and the creed, and the altar, and the turning to the east, useless and frivolous; but if any think otherwise, and connect with these superstitions sincere worship, their piety is to be respected more than their weakness is to be despised.

In the year 1548, commissioners appointed by Edward and his council met to prepare an English liturgy. In prosecution of their task they examined the Breviary, Missal, Ritual, and Pontifical, the service books of the Romish church; together with other books of the kind then in use. These were compared with ancient liturgies, and the works of the fathers; and before the close of the year the new liturgy was completed, and sanctioned by parliament; which enacted 'that the said form of common prayer, and no other, 'should after the feast of Pentecost next following, be used in all 'his majesty's dominions.' In 1551, the articles were drawn up, nearly in their present form; and the new service book, as it was called, underwent a thorough revision. Several important omissions, and some valuable additions, were made; and the whole in its amended form was, in the month of April, 1552, authorised by parliament; the act requiring all 'persons after the feast of All-'hallows next, to come to common prayer, every Sunday and 'holiday, under pain of the censures of the church.' The Book of Common Prayer now in use is, with the exception of some prayers relating to events of more recent occurrence, and a few unimportant alterations, the same with that which received the imprimatur of parliament 288 years ago. Who can sufficiently admire the wisdom of the ecclesiastics and senators, who just emerging from the densest darkness themselves, could so amply and exactly provide for the wants of coming centuries, and produce a book to all and every thing contained in which a hundred and fifty thousand clergymen have since declared their unfeigned assent and consent!

Most Dissenters (by no means all of them) would object to the Prayer-book, simply as a form of prayer.* Were that form free from error, and greatly varied, still would they deem it a poor substitute for the pouring out of the heart. Prayer is the utterance of our wants and desires before God; and our wants are so infinitely diversified and so perpetually varying, that no petitions prepared for general and constant use can possibly answer the purposes of prayer: very much of the worth and efficacy of which depends on its being exactly and even minutely pertinent.

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* We have no certain account of the use of any liturgies in the first ages of the church; those of St. Mark, St. James, and that of Alexandria being manifestly spurious. It is not till the latter end of the fourth century that they are first mentioned; and then it was left to the care of every bishop to draw up a form of prayer for his own church.'—Neal's His. Pur. vol. i. p. 44.

He who will consult the dictates of common sense, or the prayers of Paul, recorded in most of his Epistles, will perceive how cold and chilling must be set forms used on all occasions, as compared with supplications which receive their peculiar character from our immediate exigences. Every devout man knows that the doctrines of our religion, though ever the same, yet so blend themselves with all the changes and chances of this mortal life, as to produce the greatest variety of religious feeling; and as the disciple of Christ is in all things to give thanks, so, we may add, is he in all things to pray. His prayers, therefore, and his praises, though always substantially the same, will yet in their complexion be ever varying, as the incidents of his own life, or the events of providence occurring around him, call into exercise his faith and piety. And as the Christian in his own retirement will thus find his devotions marked by a natural and most interesting variety, so will it be, at least so ought it to be, with Christian congregations. The varying state of the particular church, and of the neighborhood in which it is placed; unusual occurrences in the course of divine providence; intelligence relating either to the civil or religious condition of other parts of the world:—these, and many other causes, will perpetually operate, where the worshippers are not enslaved by a liturgy, and give a tone to the services of the sanctuary. The occasional prayers and thanksgivings, introduced into the Prayer-book, recognize the principle we have explained; but these forms for occasional use, though now and then enlarged by a scrap of prayer from the palace at Lambeth, for the use of the poor clergy (who, having been educated at the universities, cannot be trusted in their own words to pray that God would avert the cholera, or give thanks for the preservation of the life of the supreme governor of their church), are a very lame attempt to reduce that principle to practice. If extemporaneous prayer were *freely* used, in conjunction with liturgical forms, the objection to the Prayer-book which has now been advanced would be at an end.*

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* It is amusing to think what a pother would be raised in 'our most excellent Church,' by the simple requirement of prayer without book. Let it be supposed that some such missive as the following were issued.

Victoria Regina,

Our will and pleasure is, that after Sunday next, on all Sundays and ecclesiastical days throughout the year, there be used in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, and all chapels of colleges and halls within our Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and of our colleges of Eton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within those parts of the United Kingdom called England and Ireland, prayer without book; the minister uttering with his eyes closed the words of devotion which his heart has conceived, and not those forms of prayer which in our royal wisdom we perceive do lead to vain repetitions; and which, therefore, in virtue of our

If, however, a prayer-book is to be used, most assuredly the one now in use is open to valid and fatal objections. At the very commencement we are met by the unblushing and reiterated assertion of the authority on which it rests, the larger copies commencing thus: 'An act for the Uniformity of Common 'Prayer and Service in the Church, and administration of the 'Sacraments. Primo Elizabethæ.' The act affirms that at the time of the death of Edward the Sixth, the Prayer-book was used according to an act of parliament, which act of parliament was repealed by Mary. That statute of repeal is declared void, and of none effect; and then the act of Elizabeth proceeds as follows:—

'And further be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all and singular ministers ..... shall ..... be bound to say and use the mattens, even-song, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorised by parliament in the said fifth and sixth year of the reign of Edward the Sixth ..... and that if any manner of parson ..... refuse to use the said common prayers, ... or shall wilfully or obstinately use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating of the Lord's Supper openly, or privily, or other open prayers than is mentioned and set forth in the said book, for his first offence he shall forfeit the profits of all his benefices for one year, and also suffer six months' imprisonment; ..... for his second offence he shall suffer a year's imprisonment, and be deprived ipso facto of all his spiritual promotions; ..... for his third offence he shall be deprived ipso facto of all his spiritual promotions, and be imprisoned for life.'

And what next presents itself to the reader, in this book of devotion? Another act of uniformity, passed in the thirteenth year, and by the authority, of that 'most religious' king, Charles the Second; not only re-enacting the use of the Prayer-book, but requiring every clergyman to make this declaration: 'I, A.

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authority as supreme governor of the Church within these our dominions, we from this time prohibit. Given at our Court of Buckingham Palace, this 7th day of December, 1840.

By her Majesty's command,

NORMANBY.

Whenever Lord Melbourne, who is charged with seeking the destruction of the Established Church, really wishes to perform the good work, we humbly advise him to persuade his royal mistress to issue a mandate rigidly exacting prayer without book; and in one week our 'most excellent Church' would be laid in ruins.

'B. do here declare my unfeigned assent, and consent, to all and 'every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book, inti- 'tuled the Book of Common Prayer.'

This supremacy of the king or queen in ecclesiastical matters, from which the Prayer-book derived its authority when first used, and but for which it would not have come into general use, has never been surrendered, but repeatedly exercised in later times. Even the Articles of the Church, by which the faith of the clergy and their flocks is regulated, rested originally upon the authority of his Majesty Edward the Sixth; that supreme governor of the Church being, at the time of their publication in his name, in the fourteenth year of his age. They were drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley at the suggestion of the Council of Regency, reviewed by certain divines whom Cranmer and Ridley thought proper to consult, presented to the council, and published by royal authority, without even the advice of either convocation or parliament. Ten years afterwards, Elizabeth permitted the convocation to reconsider the articles; and at some future time, but whether during the reign of Charles or James is doubtful, there was prefixed to them 'his majesty's declaration,' which reads thus:—

'Being by God's ordinance, according to our just title, defender of the faith, and supreme governor of the Church within these our dominions, we ..... have, with the advice of so many of our bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this declaration following: That the articles of the Church of England do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, agreeable to God's word: which we do therefore ratifie and confirm, requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said articles ..... That we are supreme governor of the Church of England ..... That out of our princely care, that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them, the bishops and clergy, from time to time in convocation, upon their humble desire, shall have license under our broad seal, to deliberate of, and to do all such things, as being made plain by them, and assented unto by us, shall concern the settled continuance of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England now established; from which we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree.'

If this evidence of the prostration of what is called the Church in these realms be thought insufficient, the reader is referred to two or three other examples. Soon after the revolution, it was thought desirable that the people of England should say some new prayers; and there issued three additional forms from that apostolical college, Whitehall: the first for the fifth of November; the second to be used yearly, with fasting, upon the thirtieth of

January, 'being the day of the martyrdom of the blessed King 'Charles the First; to implore the mercy of God, that neither 'the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood, nor those other sins, 'by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our king 'into the hands of cruel and unreasonable men, may at any time 'hereafter be visited upon us or our posterity:'* the third to be used on the twenty-ninth of May, because on that day it pleased Almighty God in his inscrutable wisdom, to permit the wicked Charles the Second to regain the kingdom, and become supreme governor of the Church of England. Here is the document by which the millions of Britain are bidden to canonize the first Charles, and give thanks to God on behalf of his 'anointed ser-'vant' the second Charles.

MARIE R.

'Our will and pleasure is, that these three forms of prayer and service made for the fifth of November, the thirtieth of January, and the twenty-ninth of May, be forthwith printed and published, and for the future annexed to the Book of Common Prayer and Liturgy of the Church of England, to be used yearly on the said days, in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, in all chapels of colleges and halls within both our Universities, and of our colleges at Eton and Winchester, and in all parish churches and chapels within our kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

'Given at our Court at Whitehall, the sixth day of October, 1692, in the fourth year of our reign.

By her Majesty's command,
NOTTINGHAM.'

Anne exercised the same prerogative, and sent out her command from St. James's, that her clergy should use the form of prayer appointed for the eighth of March, the day on which she began her reign. And that pattern of all pollution, George the Fourth, issued similar orders to the successors of the apostles from Carlton House, on the twenty-first day of February, 1820. Where were the most reverend the archbishops, and the right reverend the bishops, that this royal profligate, instead of being excommunicated, was even allowed to dictate prayers, and having been by baptism made a member of Christ, received in his last hours the communion of the body and blood of Christ, and was buried in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life? This is the example of pure and undefiled religion which 'our excellent Church' exhibits to the people.

* 'No political questions should be allowed to emerge in addresses to God, such for example as are interwoven with the history of the Stuarts. The actual introduction of these into our state services, has turned the house of prayer into an exhibition and exasperation of the malignant passions.' Riland.

The authority of the monarch as supreme governor of the Church of England, is very carefully recognized, as that authority flows to the subordinate officers of the Church. When a bishop is to be consecrated, certain other bishops present him to the archbishop, saying, 'Most reverend father in God, we present 'unto you this godly and well-learned man, to be ordained and 'consecrated bishop.' The archbishop then requires that the Queen's 'MANDATE' for the consecration be produced, and read; and afterwards that the oath of supremacy be administered; which is this, 'I, A. B. do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, 'that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this 'realm, and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, 'as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as 'temporal . . . . so help me God, and the contents of this book.'* This oath is taken by every deacon at the time of his ordination, twice by every priest, thrice by every bishop, and by the archbishops four times.

We have been induced, by the Act of Uniformity, which is printed at the commencement of the larger copies of the Prayer book, to expatiate on the authority of the book as derived from the monarch, whatever his character may be. If the reader will now turn over a single page, or having but a small copy of the Prayer-book, will open it at the commencement, he will find several paragraphs 'concerning the service of the Church:' and they relate chiefly to the order in which the Scriptures are to be read, and point out the advantages of the new mode, as compared with that practised before the reformation. About this plan for the public reading of the Word of God nothing would have been said here, but for the outcries which have been recently raised on this subject by some advocates of the Church. These outcries may be, with sufficient accuracy, summed up in the sentence, 'The Bible, 'the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible.' So zealous are the religious Tories, aye and the irreligious Tories too, for the word of God, that they cannot rest satisfied so long as children at school are not permitted to have the Bible in its integrity. Selections from the Bible they abhor, as throwing a reflection on those parts which are not selected. Now, how stands the case in the reading of the Scriptures in the churches, not to children, but to the people generally? Of those parts of Scripture which are

* So that every clergyman now ordained swears that in his conscience he believes that Queen Victoria is, in things spiritual, supreme governor of Great Britain and Ireland, Canada, Malta, New Holland, British India, &c.! In virtue of this prerogative she enforces the use of the Prayer-book in England, supports Presbyterianism in Scotland (for we suppose this will be true when this article will be put in print), Catholicism in Canada and Malta, and has to the present time supported idolatry in India.

read most frequently in churches, the best translation is not adopted.* Many parts of the word of God are omitted, and six books of the Apocrypha are introduced.† Queen Victoria (we speak of her not as head of the state, but as assuming to be head of the Church) indulges her subjects (not however on Sundays) with the stories of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon; but withholds from them, amongst other parts of sacred Scripture, seventeen chapters of that book which opens with this divine declaration, 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this 'prophecy.'

The instructions 'concerning the service of the Church' are followed by an explanation of 'ceremonies, why some be abo-'lished, and some retained.' This explanation was directed against the Puritans, whose quarrel with the Church related chiefly to the tyrannical imposition of kneeling at the Lord's Supper; of the sign of the cross in baptism; and of the ecclesiastical, or as the Puritans rightly said, the popish vestments. The law of the Church of England in relation to dress, is delivered in two of the canons, the fifty-eighth and seventy-fourth, and in directing attention to the important subject of clerical habiliments, the monarch and his clergy were but following the example which had been set by their predecessors. The Council of Vienna (for instance) in the year 1311, prohibited upper garments laced, and of divers colors; and frocks shorter than the vestments; and red and green breeches chequered: and the Council of Trent renewed these prohibitions. Who does not recognize here the indubitable marks of apostolical succession?

Every clergyman of the Church of England is, to the present day, compelled when reading the prayers to be dressed

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* 'The psalms we use in our daily service are not taken out of either of the two last translations of the Bible, but out of the great English Bible translated by W. Tyndal and Miles Coverdale, and revised by Archbishop Cranmer: for when the Common Prayer was compiled in 1548, neither of the two last translations was extant. . . . . At the last review (i. e. of the Prayer-book) the epistles and gospels were taken out of the new translation, and the lessons, too, since that time have been read out of James the First's Bible.' Shepherd's Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer, p. 124.

† 'The plan of the lessons is this: to begin at the beginning of the year with Genesis, and so on to continue till all the books of the Old Testament are read over, only omitting the Chronicles and other particular chapters in other books, which are left out either for the same reason or else because they contain genealogies, names of persons or places, or some other matter less profitable for ordinary hearers. The Canticles are wholly omitted. Very many chapters in Ezekiel are also omitted upon account of the mystical visions in which they are wrapped up. *Why some others are omitted does not so plainly appear,* though doubtless the compilers of our liturgy thought there was sufficient reason for it.' Wheatly on Common Prayer, p. 125.

in white. The practice of men putting on a white gown to read the Athanasian creed, and then changing it for a black one in order to read a homily, is unmeaning and ludicrous, and altogether at variance with the dignity and simplicity of the Christian religion. Nothing but custom can have reconciled us to such follies. If the dress were more convenient than any other, or had any typical import, it might be admissible or even obligatory, but wanting such recommendation, it would much better befit the mountebank than the Christian minister. A meaning has, indeed, been given to the color, shape, and material of the surplice; and if the reader is satisfied with it, he will be pleased to consider our condemnation of this unmanly garment as revoked. 'As to the name of the surplice, which comes 'from the Latin superpelliceum, I can give no better account of 'it than what I can put together from Durand, who tells us that 'it was so called because anciently this garment was put (super 'tunicas pellicas de pellibus mortuorum animalium factas) upon 'leathern coats made of the hides of dead beasts; symbolically 'to represent that the offence of our first parents, which brought 'us under a necessity of wearing garments of skin, was now hid 'and covered by the grace of Christ; and that, therefore, we are 'clothed with the emblem of innocence. But whencesoever came 'the name, the thing is certainly good.'* The same author adduces reasons for the color of the surplice, and the material of which it is fabricated; but we must refer the reader, who may desire to understand the sacred mystery of this vestment, to the book itself, subjoining only the explanation offered of the shape of the surplice. 'As for the shape of it, it is a thing so perfectly 'indifferent, that it admits of no dispute. The present mode is 'certainly grave and convenient; and in the opinion of Durand, 'significant; who observes, that as the garments used by the 'Jewish priesthood were girt tight about them, to signify the 'bondage of the law, so the looseness of the surplices used by the 'Christian priests, signifies the freedom of the gospel.'* This no doubt is ingenious and pious, but we might possibly be quite as near the truth, were we to regard the white surplice and black gown as symbolical of the opposite doctrines generally proceeding from the desk and the pulpit.

The cabalistic wonders of the calendar next court our notice. Will the reader turn to the months of March and April? In the first column he sees the numbers from one to nineteen (called golden numbers) ranged in mystic disorder. In the third column are the first seven letters of the alphabet (called Sunday letters), occurring with wearisome frequency and regularity. By the help

* Wheatly, pp. 93. 94.

of these two columns, and of certain tables afterwards supplied, the Churchman is to find out when Easter will arrive. Nor let him think that to be an unimportant matter which Constantine and the clergy of all Christendom met to discuss; and about which Constantinople and Rome have a Christian quarrel of 1400 years standing. Besides, it is not Easter alone that is discovered by the algebra of the Prayer Book, but also the date of nearly all the moveable feasts, holydays, and fasts observed, or at least enjoined, by 'our excellent Church.' These are they,

Septuagesima*
Sexagesima
Quinquagesima
Quadragesima } Sunday, which is { nine / eight / seven / six } weeks before Easter.

Rogation Sunday
Ascension-day
Whit-Sunday
Trinity-Sunday } which is { five weeks / forty days / seven weeks / eight weeks } after Easter.

The forty days of Lent, two of the Ember days, and the three Rogation days, are also reckoned from the same time. All these days of festivity and abstinence, of joy and sorrow, receive their date from Easter; and tables are therefore supplied, by the help of which Easter may be found till the year 2199.

Besides the mysterious letters and figures of the calendar (for mysterious to most Church-going people they are), the reader will mark the number of saints who find a place therein. Take, for example, the calendar for November, and we have 'All Saints-'Day,' the day of 'the Papists' Conspiracy,' of 'Leonard the 'Confessor,' of 'Bishop Martin,' of 'Bishop Britius,' of 'Bishop 'Machutus,' of 'Bishop Hugh,' of 'King Edmund,' of 'Cecilia, 'Virgin and Martyr,' of 'St. Clement,' of 'the Virgin Catharine,' and, finally, of 'St. Andrew the Apostle.' Each month of the year furnishes a similar list. It may be said that no regard is now paid to these confessors, and bishops, and martyrs, and virgins, and kings; to Bishop Blasius, and Bishop Chad, and St.

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* It is difficult to explain these long words, with which the unlettered members of the Establishment are edified. Wheatly gives the following as the most probable among several explanations:—

The first Sunday in Lent being forty days before Easter, was for that reason called quadragesima, which in Latin signifieth the fortieth: and fifty being the next round number above forty, as sixty is to fifty, and seventy to sixty; therefore the Sunday immediately preceding quadragesima Sunday, being further from Easter than that was, was called quinquagesima (or fiftieth) Sunday; and the foregoing two Sundays being still further distant, were for the same reason called sexagesima (sixtieth) and septuagesima (seventieth) Sundays.

George; but why then are they not banished from the Prayer-book? Are the bishops and deans so absorbed in their laborious duties that they have not time to effect this purgation? Besides, there are many of the saints in the calendar whom every good Churchman is bound to honor. Nelson, in his 'Companion to 'the Festivals and Fasts,' a book yet in high repute, and circulated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, gives a table of 140 days, besides Sundays, on which vigils, fasts, or festivals are to be observed. And from the time when Butler, in his charge to the clergy of Durham, lamented that the services of the Church were 'neglected, not only on common days, but also 'upon saints' days,' till the Bishop of Oxford, on a similar occasion, and referring to the authors of the 'Tracts,' declared that he 'heartily approved the spirit which would restore a due observ-'ance of the fasts and festivals of the Church,' there have not been wanting plain indications of the leaning of the Church of England to these ordinances of men: 'How turn ye again to the 'weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in 'bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. 'I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in 'vain.'

The tables of superstition, i. e., of saints' days, dominical letters, and golden numbers, with which the Prayer-book begins, and which the good sense of the laity is consigning, together with the hieroglyphics of Moore's Almanack, to well merited disregard, are followed by the order for prayer throughout the year. That order ought to be observed daily, but by some means the clergy, who have declared solemnly their unfeigned assent and consent to every thing therein contained, contrive to satisfy their consciences whilst neglecting about six sevenths of the duties which the Prayer Book imposes. But let that pass; and let it be cheerfully acknowledged that some of the formularies which the order for prayer contains are scriptural and beautiful. The thought is delightful, indeed, that thousands of devout men and women, do every week, with a pure heart and humble voice, accompany the minister to the throne of the heavenly grace, using the prescribed language of prayer and praise. Imperfect and objectionable—very imperfect and very objectionable as we deem the Prayer-book, God forbid that we should ever fail to respect and love those of our fellow Christians who by means of it draw near unto God. But when that book is spoken of in terms of the highest eulogy,* and placed almost on a par with the

* At the anniversary of the Church Missionary Society in 1839, the Earl of Chichester being in the chair, it was moved by Rev. H. Raikes, Chancellor of the diocese of Chester, and seconded by Rev. R. Burgess, of Chelsea, 'That

Bible, it is high time to express dissent, and to show that these forms of prayer are meagre, not always free from great faults of style, disfigured by tautology and abrupt transitions, contradictory in point of doctrine, and further and especially, that they suppress one of the most important doctrines of the New Testament, and by this means are lulling thousands of impenitent men into fatal repose. Few things would tend more to the increase of true religion in this kingdom than the universal abandonment of this idolized and dangerous book.

Let any Christian look to the Gospel according to John, or the Epistle to the Ephesians, or that to the Hebrews, and then turn to the order for morning or evening prayer daily throughout the year, and he will be sensible of a great want of evangelical sentiment. The prayers are such as would well have befitted the days of Daniel, or of Solomon, with the addition of some Christian phrases. The peculiar doctrines of the new covenant are not infused into the prayers, but rather appended to them. Those doctrines do not appear there as a soul animating the body, but rather resemble the charmed scraps of parchment with scriptural sentences written on them, which in some parts of the Greek church are placed in the coffin with the dead body, to serve as a passport at heaven's gate. The mind of the devout worshipper will, it is freely admitted, impart its own unction to these sterile forms, but let such worshippers candidly examine what hitherto they have perhaps received with unenquiring admiration, and they will be amazed at the attachment they have felt for the pauperized formularies of the Prayer-book. A slight alteration only would be required to adapt this code of devotion to the use of Socinians. The experiment, indeed, has been tried.* Of course the parts affirming the divinity of the Son of God are left out, as also are the creeds; but the substance of the forms usually employed has been adopted.

The style in which the Prayer-book is composed has been lauded greatly; nor without reason. It is simple, nervous, and majestic; admirably adapted to both the illiterate and the learned; and fitted alike for the expression of humble and devout feeling, and for the communication of knowledge to the many. But this

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the activity of the church of Rome to extend its influence, especially in those countries wherein Protestant missions are carried on, calls for increasing exertion, liberality, faith, and prayer on the part of members of our Protestant Church, to extend to the heathen that system of pure Scripture truth which is so fully embodied in her articles, liturgy, and homilies.' If Popery had no antagonist but the Prayer-book, its victory would be certain and easy.

* Devotional Services, selected from the Book of Common Prayer, revised and arranged for public worship, as used at the Old Meeting House, Birmingham. Sold by Allen, Birmingham.

eulogy must be confined to those parts of the Prayer Book which are translated from the Latin. The portions of the service which are strictly speaking Protestant, do not deserve such commendation. The opening address, for example, would expose a tyro in a lecture-room to a severe castigation. The Scripture moveth us to *acknowledge* and *confess* our *sins* and *wickedness*, and that we should not *dissemble* nor *cloak* them, but confess them with an *humble lowly* heart, especially when we *assemble* and *meet together* to ask those things which are *requisite* and *necessary*, wherefore, adds the minister, I *pray* and *beseech* you, &c. This wordiness would hardly be endured in the extemporaneous effusions of an untaught local preacher, but in forms prepared for the use of learned deacons, priests, and bishops, who pass to the desk, the pulpit, and the throne, from Oxford and Cambridge, it is insufferable. The absolution which follows the general confession, besides being open to similar criticism, is open also to another objection. A second nominative case is very awkwardly introduced in the middle of the sentence, a fault which we should not have mentioned had it not appeared to arise from a greater fault. The sentiment is hobbling and disjointed, and seems to have occasioned the defect in the style.

'Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live; and hath given power to his ministers to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins: he pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel. Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, &c.'

That part of the preamble about ministers having the power to absolve, leads to no conclusion. It is a mere incumbrance, and a very clumsy one too; and the whole paragraph might lead a stranger, hearing it for the first time, to the suspicion that the priest repented of his design when in the midst of his lesson, and had not the presumption to complete what he had the vanity to commence.

The remaining part of the Prayer-book is almost entirely adopted from the service books of the Romish church. What we have already commented upon was supplied by the compilers of the Anglican liturgy. Their composition is wretched: we have now to scrutinize their compilation. If their own performances be lame in style, and suspicious in sentiment, how marvellous that they should have succeeded in arranging a ritual, to all and every thing contained in which all clergymen in after time have declared their unfeigned assent and consent! The commencement of the book certainly would not lead the reader to

look for perfection as he advanced, but rather to anticipate what Calvin affirmed did exist. When some of the English clergy had taken refuge at Frankfort, from Mary's persecution, they were divided in opinion about Edward's liturgy; some wishing to retain it, exactly as it had been used in England, others to amend it. Calvin was applied to for his advice, and wrote in reply, 'that there were many tolerable weaknesses in it, which, because 'at first they could not be amended, were to be suffered; but 'that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ 'to enterprise further, and to set up something more, filed from 'rust and purer. If religion (says he) had flourished to this day 'in England, many of these things should have been corrected. 'But since the Reformation is overthrown, and a church is to be 'set up in another place, where you are at liberty to establish 'what order is most for edification, I cannot tell what they mean 'who are so fond of the leavings of Popish dregs.'*

Amongst the most obvious faults of the English Prayer Book, are its vain repetitions. The same sentences are uttered in the same service, again, and again, and again. Four times during the ordinary morning service is the Lord's Prayer repeated. Eight, nine, or ten times are these sentences iterated, 'Glory be 'to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was 'in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. 'Amen.' And against what can the command of our Lord, that we should shun vain repetitions, be designed to guard us, unless against such flippant sentences as the following, taken from the Litany?

'*We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.*
Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.
Son of God: we beseech thee to hear us.
O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world;
Grant us thy peace.
O Lamb of God: that takest away the sins of the world;
Have mercy upon us.
O Christ, hear us.
O Christ, hear us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.'

As though it were not sufficient that the order for morning

* Neal, vol. i. ch. 3.

prayer daily throughout the year should be disfigured by such wearisome and irreverent tautologies, the order for evening prayer daily throughout the year consists of a repetition of prayers used in the morning ! !

The abrupt transitions of the service are a further and very serious defect. For example, we find it ordered that there shall be said or sung the Apostles' creed, and after, these prayers following.

'The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy Spirit.
Minister. Let us pray.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Then the minister and people shall say the Lord's Prayer.
Then the Priest standing up shall say,
O Lord, show thy mercy upon us.
Answer. And grant us thy salvation.
Priest. O Lord, save the king.
Answer. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.
Priest. Endue thy ministers with righteousness.
Answer. And make thy chosen people joyful.
Priest. O Lord, save thy people.
Answer. And bless thine inheritance.
Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.
Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God,
Priest. O God, make clean our hearts within us.
Answer. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.'

These expressions are thrown together without any regard, or with the slightest regard to continuity. They are an assemblage rather than a collection of prayers. The transitions are sudden and painful; and the worshipper proceeds not easily, but by jerks, and violent ones too. Habit may have reconciled devout Episcopalians to this jumble of petitionary sentences. Taught to use the Prayer-book in the days of youth, all their religious feelings are associated with it; and they are not in circumstances to exercise an unbiassed judgment on its merits, or its faults. The Laplander thinks his train oil the greatest delicacy which the universe supplies. The Episcopalian, from the same cause, viz., custom, thinks the Prayer-book the ne plus ultra of devotional forms. Would he, without prejudice, reconsider the subject, he would be astonished beyond measure at the extravagant value he has set upon this miserable compilation; be convinced that Calvin spake the truth when he described it as the leavings of Popish dregs; and long, with that great reformer, for something more, filed from rust and purer.

The creeds of the Prayer-book next claim attention. They are three in number; and certainly these three do not agree in one. The first is palmed upon Churchgoers as the Apostles' creed, though the apostles had no more concern in its construction than in the composition of the confirmation service. We protest against this fraud. The Nicene creed was produced at the beginning of the fourth century, but not in its present state. The latter part of it, which describes the Holy Ghost, was added at the Council of Constantinople in the year 381. The former part was produced by the Nicene Council; which council was summoned by Constantine, and according to general belief consisted of 318 bishops, who were assembled from all parts of the Roman empire (Britain included), at Nice, in Bythinia, in or about the year 325. The opening of the council is thus described by Eusebius. 'After all the bishops were modestly seated, there was 'silence; the entrance of the emperor being expected. By and bye, 'one of those most closely connected with him came in, and then a 'second, and a third. Some also walked before him: not a body-'guard, as is customary, but his friends, and those only who pro-'fessed the faith of Christ. And when the signal was given by 'which the approach of the emperor was known, all rose up. He 'then walked into the midst, as some heavenly angel of God, 'seeming to be clothed with radiance, and dazzling the eyes of 'all by the splendor of his purple robe. He was also most richly 'adorned with gold and jewels. And whilst he was thus out-'wardly adorned, it was apparent from his downcast eyes, his 'blushes, and gait, that he was decorated with the fear of God 'and with piety. After the emperor had come to the head of the 'seats, he remained standing. A low stool made of wrought gold 'was then placed before him, but he did not sit down till the 'bishops had motioned him to do so. The whole assembly then 'took their seats.'* After this apostolical opening of the council who will doubt that its doctrines were apostolical? This great convention of ecclesiastics, from Asia, Africa, and Europe, had several points of great importance to discuss and settle. Amongst them, as intimated above, was the exact time of celebrating Easter. The celibacy of the clergy was another controverted subject. The doubt was not, whether it were becoming in the clergy to abstain from matrimony (that it was, does not appear to have been denied or doubted), but whether celibacy should be enforced: a conclusion to which these successors of the apostles were about to come, when they were saved from it by the prudence of the Bishop of Thebes, who himself practised celibacy. Another matter of contention was the Arian heresy; to check

* Eusebii de vita Con. lib. 3. cap. 10.

which, the creed was prepared. The purity and grandeur of its style, and the acute discernment of nice distinctions which it manifests, are highly creditable to those who drew it up. The tenets of this creed will come under consideration hereafter. Suffice it now, therefore, to signify the most decided disapprobation of the bald and dogmatical manner in which they are propounded. The other 'Confession of our Christian faith,' is 'commonly called the creed of St. Athanasius;' and as all parties admit, falsely called so. It were quite as well, therefore, to cease from calling it so. This longest of the creeds is by some learned men attributed to Hilary; but judging from some things which he certainly wrote, it is difficult to believe him the author of the formula in question. In truth, its age and origin are left in obscurity. Dr. Cave affirms that it was never seen till about the year 800, and was not received into the church till about the year 1000.

In reviewing these creeds, we cannot fail to observe, that even on the supposition of their being consistent with each other, and correct in sentiment, they are yet unscriptural. We never meet, in the words of our Lord, or the writings of his apostles, with such cold stringing together of doctrines. The same truths, when presented to us in the Scriptures, are presented practically, not dogmatically. And, further, it is surely unpardonable that whilst the Protestant Church of England has three creeds, that great truth, which Luther declared to be the basis of the Reformation, should not find a place in either. The Church of England has protested against the corruptions of doctrine which obtained in the church of Rome, and has nevertheless adopted her creeds; creeds which exclude what the reformers termed the articulum stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ, and also the grand truth which our Lord first taught to Nicodemus. As a profession of a believer's faith, these symbols are not only jejune, but wretchedly incomplete; omitting entirely the two doctrines through which alone all that they contain is of any use or interest to us as sinners, viz., justification by faith and the new birth.

Nor is either of the creeds immaculate in point of sentiment. The words 'he descended into hell,' are at best equivocal. There is no evidence of any such expression having been in the creed, *called* the apostles' creed, till about the year 400, and then the words used were these, 'descendit in inferna;' denoting, as Pearson admits, the burial of Christ.* The phrase, 'the life everlasting,' is used in a sense in which it is never employed in Scripture, and in which it ought not to be employed elsewhere. As contained in Scripture, it imports the perpetual happiness

* See Pearson in locis.

of the righteous: in the creed it denotes the endless duration of all men.* If it be thought that these are light matters, we grant that in an ordinary production they would be so, and that such minuteness of criticism would be unjustifiable; but we are warranted in being thus particular, when bringing to the test a book to *all* and *every thing* in which the authorised instructors of the people declare their unfeigned assent and consent. The Nicene creed contains not merely the avowal of belief in the Father and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but an explanation of the relationship subsisting between the Father and the Son, and between both and the Holy Ghost. It teaches that the Son, being divine, derives his existence from the Father by generation; and that the Holy Ghost, being divine, derives his existence from the Father and the Son, not by generation, but by procession. The reader not already conversant with the history and consequences of this latter tenet, will observe that two points are here introduced: first, that the Holy Spirit exists by procession; secondly, that that procession is from both the Father and the Son. The former of these two, is a tenet common to both the eastern and western churches, though it rests only on a dubious interpretation of this one passage of Scripture, 'when the Comforter is 'come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the 'Spirit of truth which *proceedeth* from the Father, he shall testify 'of me.' Now, our Lord repeatedly reminded his hearers that the works which he did were not his own only, but his Father's also: and in the passage just quoted, having promised his followers that he himself would send unto them the Spirit from the Father, he seems to have added the words 'who proceedeth from 'the Father,' to teach them that this great gift came both from him and his Father—that in bestowing it, he and the Father were one. The word 'proceedeth,' in all probability relates to the Spirit's mission to the sons of men, not to the origin of the Spirit's existence. Yet on this slender and doubtful basis has the Church (falsely so called) raised the doctrine of divine existence by procession, as distinguished from generation; a distinction utterly unintelligible and perfectly useless. Nor is this all. When first the dogma of procession was introduced into this creed, in the year 381, it read thus, 'I believe in the Holy 'Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father.' In the fifth and sixth centuries, the words καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ('and the Son') were added by the churches in Spain, without any authority; and were gradually introduced in the other parts of western Christendom. The Greek church would not admit of this addition to their faith, 'and so,' says Pearson, 'the schism between the Latin and

* See Pearson in locis.

'the Greek church began, and was continued, never to be ended 'till those words filioque (and the Son) are taken out of the 'creed;' which alteration he recommends. And on what does this tenet of the papacy and the Prayer-book (the procession of the Spirit from the Son) rest? It is assumed that the words 'proceedeth from the Father,' relate to the origin of the existence of the Holy Spirit; and then the argument runs thus. The Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father, because he proceedeth from the Father; but he is also called the Spirit of the Son, therefore he proceedeth from the Son. Again, the Spirit is said to be sent by the Father, and this, it is assumed, is because he proceedeth from the Father: the Father in virtue of his priority in the Godhead, sending the Spirit. But the Spirit is also sent by the Son: therefore he proceedeth from the Son. We shall not tarry for the purpose of exposing further this rickety logic, but with a smile at the logical divines who are every year pouring forth from the Universities, to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing which the creeds contain, pass on to the Quicunque vult. 'Whosoever will be saved before all 'things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith; and the 'catholic faith is this: the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, 'and of the Holy Ghost is all one: the glory equal. In this 'trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater or less than 'another; but the whole three persons are coequal. He, there-'fore, that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity. Fur-'thermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also 'believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is equal to the Father, as 'touching his Godhead; and inferior to the Father, as touching 'his manhood.' Surely the popular sense of these words, and that which they do and must convey to the multitude is this: that as to the divine nature there is a perfect equality between the Father and the Son; that if inequality, or inferiority, be affirmed of the Son, it is in relation to his human nature only. The Nicene creed, on the contrary, affirms, and the Apostles' creed implies, inequality in the divine nature. The orthodox belief unquestionably is, that the Father alone is self-existent, and that the Son is not self-existent, but God of God. A Churchman may, indeed, affirm in one breath, that the Son is equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and in the next breath, that the Son is not self-existent, but only the Father; and contend that the two affirmations are reconcilable. Leaving, however, to their delusions those who are resolved to see no faults in the object of their adulation and idolatry, we invite the attention of the more reasonable Episcopalians who may read these strictures, to some evidence that we have not misrepresented the meaning of the Nicene and Apostles' creed.

'In the very name of Father there is something of eminence which is not in that of Son; and some kind of priority we must ascribe unto him whom we call the first, in respect of him whom we call the second person; and as we cannot but ascribe it, so we must endeavor to preserve it.'—*Pearson*, p. 34.

'We must not, therefore, so far endeavor to involve ourselves in the darkness of this mystery, as to deny that glory which is clearly due unto the Father; whose pre-eminence undeniably consisteth in this, that he is God not of any other, but of himself, and that there is no other person who is God, but is God of him. It is no diminution to the Son to say he is from another, for his very name imports as much; but it were a diminution to the Father so to speak of him; and there must be some pre-eminence where there is place for derogation.'—p. 35.

'Now, this priority doth properly and naturally result from the divine paternity; so that the Son must necessarily be second unto the Father, from whom he receiveth his origination and the Holy Ghost unto the Son. Neither can we be thought to want a sufficient foundation for this priority of the first person of the Trinity, if we look upon the numerous testimonies of the ancient doctors of the church, who have not stuck to call the Father the origin, the cause, the author, the root, the fountain, and the head of the Son, or the whole divinity.'—p. 37.

'This is not to be denied, that there can be but one Essence properly divine, and so but one God of infinite wisdom, power, and majesty; that there can be but one person originally of himself subsisting in that infinite Being, because a plurality of more persons so subsisting would necessarily infer a multiplicity of Gods; that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is originally God, as not receiving his eternal being from any other. Wherefore it necessarily followeth that Jesus Christ, who is certainly not the Father, cannot be a person subsisting in the divine nature originally of himself, and consequently, as we have already proved, that he is truly and properly the eternal God, he must be understood to have the Godhead communicated to him by the Father, who is not only eternally, but originally, God. . . . In that perfect and absolute equality there is notwithstanding this disparity, that the Father hath the Godhead, not from the Son, nor from any other, whereas the Son hath it from the Father. . . . From whence he which was equal, even in that equality confesseth a priority, saying 'the Father is greater than I;' the Son equal in respect to his nature, the Father greater in reference to the communication of the Godhead.'—p. 134.

From Pearson's exposition of the Apostles' creed, we turn to a work of not less learning and authority, Bull's defence of the Nicene creed.

'The very words, son and generation, manifestly imply the subordination of the Son to the Father begetting him.'—p. 49. 'He who is God of God, cannot be said to be God of himself (a seipso) without

manifest contradiction.'—p. 440. 'Under this head we assert two things, first, that the ancients decided that God the Father is, even in respect to his divinity, greater than the Son; then, that they taught nevertheless that the Father is greater than the Son in respect to his original alone, but that in nature both are equal.'*—p. 444.

The able and petulant Waterland, writing on the subject before us, and resolved to maintain the absolute equality of the Father and the Son; yet far too well informed to overlook the fact, that the self-existence of the Son was, according to the creed of his own church, heresy; and too acute not to feel the difficulty, is driven to this confession: 'As to my own part, I never pretend 'that self-existence is an essential character of God.'† The patience of the reader will be taxed by the citation of but one additional witness, Dr. Burton, late Regius Professor at Oxford.

'What he (Origen) says of nothing being unproduced (ἀγέννητον) except the Father, is strictly orthodox, and has always been the doctrine of the catholic church. The Son and the Holy Ghost have always been said to be derived from the Father; the one by generation, the other by procession. Neither of them is self-existent, and therefore neither of them is unproduced. But this doctrine was never considered to be incompatible with the eternity of the Son or the Holy Ghost.'—*Testimony of the Anti-Nicene Fathers to the Trinity*, p. 101.

'The catholic church has always held that as a Son begotten by the Father, Christ is so far inferior to the Father.'—*Testimony of the Anti-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ*, p. xiv.

Can it be denied, after such evidence, even by those most disposed to acquiesce in the vain jangling of the Athanasian Creed, that the contrariety between it and the other creeds, has been proved? It affirms that the Son is equal to the Father as touching his Godhead; they teach that as a Son begotten by the Father, Christ is inferior to the Father. It declares that in the trinity none is greater nor less than other, but that the whole three persons are coequal. The apostles' creed teaches that there is a disparity. It pronounces that in the trinity none is afore or after other; by the apostles' creed we are taught that priority doth properly and necessarily result from the divine paternity, so that the Son must necessarily be second unto the Father, from whom he receiveth his origination, and the Holy Ghost unto the

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* Duo in hac thesi asserimus, primo statuisse priscos Deum patrem etiam secundum divinitatem Filio majorem esse: deinde docuisse nihilominus, Patrem sola origine Filio majorem esse; secundum naturam vero ambos esse æquales.

† P. 371.

Son. Finally, the Nicene symbol affirms that the Son of God is not self-existent, and that the Father is self-existent. The Athanasian creed declares that the glory of the Son who is not self-existent, is equal to the glory of the Father who is self-existent; that is to say, that no glory whatever attaches to the distinguishing attribute of God the Father.

It is no part of our present duty to determine where, amidst these contrarieties, truth lies. We are not inquiring what the Scripture teaches, but what saith the prayer-book; and have shown, that in its much-vaunted creeds, two doctrines are boldly affirmed, which can no more be reconciled, than two and two can become five. The pressure of the difficulty has been felt severely, by many of the wisest and best members of the English church. Tillotson's celebrated sentence, 'I wish we were well rid of it,' has found an echo in recent times, in the hearts of not a few of those, who are tied and bound in the chain of subscription. Jeremy Taylor muttered his discontent, and went on ordaining men, who declared their unfeigned assent and consent, to the vain and presumptuous words which he condemned.

'If it were considered concerning Athanasius's creed, how many people understand it not, how contrary to natural reason it seems, how little the Scripture saith of those curiosities of explication, and how tradition was not clear for the article itself, much less for those forms and minutes; it had not been amiss if the final judgment had been left to Jesus Christ: and, indeed, to me it seems very hard to put uncharitableness into the creed, and so to make it become as an article of faith.'—*Lib. of Pr. Sec.* 2. § 36.

The tricks by which ingenious men, caught in the net-work of these creeds, have sought to extricate themselves, are amusing enough.

'I shall show that in the use of the Athanasian creed, we do not declare that the belief of every proposition thereof is necessary to salvation. And this is very plain if it be considered that no man's words ought to be strained to an ill sense, when they are capable of a good one.'—*Dr. Bennett's Paraphrase on the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 280.

'What is more reasonable than to admit such candid interpretations of any public imposed form of words as have been delivered for true and genuine by the most approved authors of that body which uses the form? especially when those interpretations are so far from being publicly contradicted and disallowed by our governors, that the authors have been held in great esteem, and encouraged for those very books which contain and insist upon them. Now, this is our present case. To name no more, what greater authors has the Established Church ever had than Archbishop Laud, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Pearson, and Bishop Stillingfleet? Now all these have written their minds fully

and clearly as to this matter. For with respect to the procession of the Holy Ghost in particular, they have expressed themselves in a most satisfactory manner in defence of the Greek church, and abundantly declared that the belief of the procession from the Father and the Son, which is asserted in the Athanasian creed, is not necessary to salvation. Now this demonstrates that the belief of every proposition in the Athanasian creed is not thought by our Church to be necessary to salvation.'—*Ibid,* p. 273.

Is not thought by our church! Dr. Bennett might have spared himself the trouble of demonstrating what no one doubts; viz. that the members of the church do not believe the creeds of the church; or that the clergy do not believe the prayer-book. He should have explained what is said by 'our church,' and not what is 'thought by our church.' The attempt to show, that because Archbishop Laud and others disbelieved the doctrine of procession from the Son, therefore the Athanasian Creed does not affirm the necessity of believing it, is miserable trifling. But of all schemes for reconciling the consciences of churchmen to their *quicunque vult,* Dr. Cudworth's bears away the palm.

'As for that creed commonly called Athanasian, which was written a long time after by some other hand; since at first it derived all its authority either from the name of Athanasius, or else because it was supposed to be an epitome and abridgment of his doctrine; this (as we conceive) is therefore to be interpreted according to the tenor of the doctrines contained in the genuine writings of Athanasius.'

—*Cudworth's System,* p. 620.

What stronger evidence can be required, that the creeds in the Prayer-book clash with one another, than the disreputable juggling which the eminent men mentioned above practised, with the design of apologising for, rather than justifying, these popish formularies?

One other article of impeachment, must by no means be omitted. The doctrine of justification has often been represented, as the cardinal truth of the New Testament. But there is another near akin to it, and equalling it in importance; the doctrine of regeneration. 'Man (says the 9th article) is of his own nature inclined to evil,' and this inclination to evil is the obstacle, the only obstacle, between sinners and salvation. Every other which did exist, has been taken out of the way. The atonement has been offered and the path to heaven thus opened; and nothing is now requisite, but that the alienation of the human heart from God should be removed. Man's reconciliation to his Maker and to all holy creatures; his possession of heaven, and of all things, depends upon the heart of stone being exchanged for a heart of flesh; and no man till this change has passed upon him,

'shall see the Lord.' 'Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.' The doctrine therefore, which beyond all others, is of the most immediate and urgent importance, so far as all impenitent men are concerned, is the doctrine of the new birth. But this essential truth of the Christian religion, the church of England knows not. There is not a single sentence in the whole of the Prayer-book which teaches, or recognises, the scriptural idea of conversion. This indispensable article of belief is not only excluded, but everywhere is there substituted for it, the poisonous and deadly error of baptismal regeneration. The church of Rome is justly accused of setting aside the truth in respect to our justification before God, but the church of England more daringly sets aside the scriptural doctrine of the new-birth: for as this church does not teach that men are twice born again, even the quotations from the New Testament, in which regeneration is mentioned, must be referred by the disciples of the Prayer-book, to the only regeneration which it teaches.

Infants are required to be taken to the font. The minister then prays thus: 'We call upon thee for these infants, that they, 'coming to thy holy baptism, may receive remission of their sins 'by spiritual regeneration.' The ceremony is performed, and the minister then presumes to add, 'Seeing now, dearly beloved 'brethren, that these children are regenerate, and grafted into 'the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks to Almighty 'God.' The order for the baptism of adults is precisely to the same effect, containing first a prayer that they may be born again, then instructions for the ceremony, and afterwards a declaration that those baptized are regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church. The baptized members of the Church are as soon as possible to be taught the catechism; 'Who gave you your name?' 'My godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was 'made a member of Christ.' 'What is the inward and spiritual 'grace in baptism?' 'A death unto sin, and a new birth unto 'righteousness: for being by nature born in sin, and the children 'of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.' Having been duly instructed in the catechism, the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the commandments, the parties are next brought to the bishop, who gives thanks to Almighty God that he hath vouchsafed to 'regenerate them by water and the Holy Ghost.' They are then qualified for the communion, which is administered to them as Christians. If sick, they are to be visited by the priest, and addressed as Christians. The ordinary services of the Church, prepared for their use, all proceed upon the supposition of their being Christians; and when they die, they are in perfect and dreadful consistency, buried in the sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life. There is not (let it be repeated that it may not be forgotten), in the whole of the liturgy, the

occasional services, the catechism, or the articles, in one word, in the whole of the Prayer-book, a single sentence which can fairly be considered as teaching any other regeneration than that which is by baptism.* The horrible consequences may be stated in the language of others.

'*All* sponsors are believers; *all* the baptized are regenerate; *all* the confirmed forgiven! *all* catechumens elect; *all* kings religious; *all* the dead subjects of thankfulness; to the total oblivion of the present and everlasting distinction between the saved and the lost. The consequence glares and blazes in the feelings of self-satisfaction which our poor deluded victims enjoy, as supposing all their sins blotted out, not by having boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, but as obeying the demands of the Church; and in such demands seeing nothing to disturb a guilty nor to sooth a penitent mind: I mean, seeing nothing of this with such distinctness as would be the case if liturgical language were as clear, cautionary, and guarded as we adopt in protecting our worldly interests.'—*Riland*, p. vii.

'I do not much prize our Church catechism. It begins so very ill, calling baptism our new-birth, and making us thereby members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Mr. Stillingfleet should have spoken more fully and pointedly about this weighty matter, for all carnal Churchmen fancy they are new-born because baptized, and quote the catechism as a proof of it; and the carnal clergy preach accordingly, and quote the same authority. The acting as sponsors is now become a mere farce and a gossiping business, and the promising for infants what they cannot engage for themselves, may suit a covenant of works, but not a covenant of grace.'

—*Berridge's Works*, p. 447.

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* Barrow enumerates amongst the benefits of baptism, 'regeneration, implying our entrance into a new state and course of life; being endowed with new faculties . . . in short, becoming in relation and disposition of mind, the children of God.'—*Barrow on the Doctrine of the Sacraments.*

'There are but two periods of absolute cleansing: baptism and the day of judgment.'

'It is, indeed, not one of the least strange phenomena of our day, that a truth (baptismal regeneration) should be by newspapers and periodicals branded in members of the Church as a modern heresy, which eighty years past, it is acknowledged, was held by almost every minister of the Church; which is still held, probably, at all events by all her bishops.'

'I know, my lord, I have shrunk from stating fully the degree of evidence which there is, that baptismal regeneration is the doctrine of the Church of England, lest in these days when men hold so laxly by their Church, they should rather forsake her than embrace her doctrine. . . . Others may do it, who could do it with less invidiousness. Not as if I entertained any doubt, my lord, that we speak with our Church on this point, and that every syllable of her teaching and her services for baptism, confirmation, and the catechism goes the same way, and that her articles imply the same; but that it seems useless and injurious for us to press upon them that their Church holds the doctrine until their prejudices against it shall first be, as those of many are being softened.'—*Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, pp. 93, 118, 120.

There are other parts of the book we have been analysing which are open to severe condemnation, but their errors are so evident, and have been so often pointed out, that it will be sufficient barely to allude to them. Amongst these may be mentioned the cross in baptism; that profane and ineffable absurdity, baptismal sponsorship; the priestly arrogance, the indelicacy and nonsense of the matrimonial service; and the questions proposed at the visitation of the sick. Let those of our readers who are accustomed to the chamber of affliction, imagine themselves putting these queries to the afflicted, 'Dost thou believe that Jesus 'Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin 'Mary,' &c. What can be at a greater remove from all propriety than the intrusion of mere creeds at such a time? unless, indeed, it be the impious falsehood which is next palmed upon the 'victims.' 'By the authority of Jesus Christ, committed to 'me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, 'and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

If it be charged upon this article, that it is marked by more sarcasm and severity than would be augured from its commencement, the truth of the charge is admitted. Indignation kindled as we proceeded with the investigation, and discovered the wide contrast between the lofty pretensions with which the book is protruded upon the people, and its real character. To devout Episcopalians all ridicule directed against a work they have been taught to hold most sacred may be offensive, but let them remember that it has been directed against what has been proved to be ridiculous in a book 'spotted and wrinkled with sarcasm, 'resentment, and abuse, and assumption of its own excellencies.'* Some perhaps may be disposed to deprecate the severity with which the forms of prayer and divine service adopted by many sincere Christians have been treated. To such we have no expressions of penitence or apology to offer. Oh! for the pen of Milton, or Isaiah, to expose and denounce in words of fire that awful book, by which myriads of 'DELUDED VICTIMS' are blinded to their character and danger. By all the love which they feel to their neighbors, their country, their kind; by their appreciation of the soul's worth, and their jealousy for God's honor, we implore our readers to do what in them lies towards counteracting the influence, and destroying the reputation, of the most dangerous and injurious book which the English language contains.

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* Riland, p. vii.

Art. II. *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet. Johnes's Translation. A New Edition, with Notes and Illustrations. The Imperial Classics.* 2 vols. London: W. Smith. 1839.

WE are glad to announce the completion of this republication in the same style of elegance and cheapness as Mr. Smith's edition of Froissart's Chronicles, which we introduced to our readers in November last. The remarks which we then offered on the class of writings to which the work belongs supersede the necessity of further comment at present. Little is known of the personal history of Monstrelet; but the few incidents which have been rescued from oblivion serve to impress us with the conviction that he was a man of integrity and benevolence, highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and honorably discharged the duties of some important public offices which he held. He was a nobleman of Picardy, born about the close of the fourteenth century, and successively filled some public offices of considerable trust. His death occurred in July, 1453, as appears by the following record of the Abbot of St. Aubert. 'The 20th day 'of July, in the year 1453, that honorable and noble man En- 'guerrand de Monstrelet, esquire, governor of Cambray, and 'bailiff of Wallaincourt, departed this life, and was buried at the 'Cordeliers of Cambray, according to his desire. He was carried 'thither on a bier covered with a mat, clothed in the frock of a 'Cordelier friar, his face uncovered: six flambeaux and three 'chirons, each weighing three-quarters of a pound, were around 'the bier, whereon was *a sheet thrown over* the Cordelier frock. '*Il fut nez de bas*, and was a very honorable and *peaceable* man. 'He chronicled the wars which took place in his time in France, 'Artois, Picardy, England, Flanders, and those of the Gantois 'against their lord duke Philip. He died fifteen or sixteen days 'before peace was concluded, which took place toward the end of 'July, in the year 1453.'

He appears to have employed himself with considerable diligence during the greater portion of his public life in the preparation of materials for his history, and has been careful to verify his statements as far as was possible by the public records of his times. His history commences with the year 1400, when that of Froissart closed, and was continued to within a few years of his death. A third book was subsequently added, and has been printed under the name of Monstrelet, but is evidently the work of a different hand. We cannot better exhibit the scope and character of his history than in the following critique of M. Dacier, in the 'Memoires de l'Académie de Belles Lettres.'

'His work is called Chronicles; but we must not, however,

'consider this title in the sense commonly attached to it, which 'merely conveys the idea of simple annals. The Chronicles of 'Monstrelet are real history, wherein, notwithstanding its im-'perfections and omissions, are found all the characteristics of 'historical writing. He traces events to their source, develops 'the causes, and traces them with the minutest details; and what 'renders these chronicles infinitely precious is, his never-failing 'attention to report all edicts, declarations, summonses, letters, 'negociations, treaties, &c., as justificatory proofs of the truth of 'the facts he relates.

'After the example of Froissart, he does not confine himself to 'events that passed in France: he embraces, with almost equal 'detail, the most remarkable circumstances which happened 'during his time in Flanders, England, Scotland, and Ireland. 'He relates, but more succinctly, whatsoever he had been in-'formed of as having passed in Germany, Italy, Hungary, 'Poland: in short, in the different European states. Some 'events, particularly the war of the Saracens against the king of 'Cyprus, are treated at greater length than could have been ex-'pected in a general history.

'Although it appears that the principal object of Monstrelet in 'writing this history, was to preserve the memory of those wars 'which in his time desolated France and the adjoining countries, 'to bring into public notice such personages as distinguished 'themselves by actions of valor in battles, assaults, skirmishes, 'duels, and tournaments, and to show to posterity that his age had 'produced as many heroes as any of the preceding ones,—he does 'not fail to give an account of such great political or ecclesiastical 'events as took place during the period of which he seemed only 'inclined to write the military history. He relates many important 'details respecting the councils of Pisa, Constance, and of Basil, of 'which the authors who have written the history of these councils 'ought to have availed themselves, to compare them with the other 'materials of which they made use.

'An infinite number of traits throughout his work proves the 'fidelity of his narration. He marks the difference between facts 'of which he is perfectly sure and those of which he is doubtful: 'if he cannot produce his proof, he says so, and does not advance 'more. When he thinks that he has omitted some details which 'he ought to have known, he frankly owns that he has forgotten 'them. For instance, when speaking of the conversation between 'the duke of Burgundy and the Pucelle d'Orléans, at which 'he was present, he recollects that some circumstances have 'escaped his memory, and avows that he does not remember 'them.

'If the numerous imperfections of Monstrelet are not made 'amends for, as I have said, by the beauty of his style, we must

'allow that they are compensated by advantages of another kind. 'His narration is diffuse, but clear,—and his style heavy, but 'always equal. He rarely offers any reflections,—and they are 'always short and judicious. The temper of his mind is particu- 'larly manifested by the circumstance that we do not find in his 'work any ridiculous stories of sorcery, magic, astrology, or any 'of those absurd prodigies which disgrace the greater part of the 'historians of his time. The goodness of his heart also displays 'itself in the traits of sensibility which he discovers in his recitals 'of battles, seiges, and of towns won by storm: he seems then to 'rise superior to himself,—and his style acquires strength and 'warmth. When he relates the preparations for, and the com- 'mencement of, a war, his first sentiment is to deplore the evils 'by which he foresees that the poorer ranks will soon be over- 'whelmed. Whilst he paints the despair of the wretched inha- 'bitants of the country, pillaged and massacred by both sides, we 'perceive that he is really affected by his subject, and writes 'from his feelings. The writer of the cordelier register and the 'abbot of St. Aubert have not, therefore, said too much, when 'they called him 'a very honest and peaceable man.' It appears, 'in fact, that benevolence was the marked feature of his character, 'to which I am not afraid to add, the love of truth.'

We now proceed to lay before our readers a few specimens of Monstrelet's style, from which they will learn the nature and value of his history far more correctly than from any description we can furnish. At the period when Monstrelet's history commences, the French nobility were divided between the factions of the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, and John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy. The following passage gives an account of the assassination of the former by the emissaries of the latter nobleman; and but too faithfully pourtrays the brutal ferocity and recklessness of human life which characterised the period.

'This year there happened the most melancholy event in the town of Paris that had ever befallen the Christian kingdom of France by the death of a single man. It occasioned the utmost grief to the king and the princes of the blood, as well as to the kingdom in general, and was the cause of most disastrous quarrels between them, which lasted a very long time, insomuch that the kingdom was nearly ruined and overturned, as will more plainly be shown in the continuation of this history. This event was nothing less than the murder of the duke of Orleans, only brother to Charles the well-beloved, king of France.

'The duke was, on a Wednesday, the feast day of pope St. Clement, assassinated in Paris, about seven o'clock in the evening, on his return from dinner. This murder was committed by about eighteen men, who had lodged at an hotel having for sign the image of our Lady, near the Porte Barbette, and who, it was afterward discovered, had

for several days intended this assassination. On the Wednesday before mentioned, they sent one named Scas de Courteheuze, valet-de-chambre to the king, and one of their accomplices, to the duke of Orleans, who had gone to visit the queen of France at an hotel which she had lately purchased from Montagu, grand master of the king's household, situated very near the Porte Barbette. She had lain in there of a child, which had died shortly after its birth, and had not then accomplished the days of her purification.

'Scas, on seeing the duke, said, by way of deceiving him, 'My lord, the king sends for you, and you must instantly hasten to him, for he has business of great importance to you and him, which he must communicate to you.' The duke, on hearing this message, was eager to obey the king's orders, although the monarch knew nothing of the matter, and immediately mounted his mule, attended by two esquires on one horse, and four or five valets on foot, who followed behind bearing torches; but his other attendants made no haste to follow him. He had made this visit in a private manner, notwithstanding at this time he had within the city of Paris six hundred knights and esquires of his retinue, and at his expense. On his arrival at the Porte Barbette, the eighteen men, all well and secretly armed, were waiting for him, and were lying in ambush, under shelter of a pent-house. The night was pretty dark; and as they sallied out against him, one cried out, 'Put him to death!' and gave him such a blow on the wrist with his battle-axe as severed it from his arm. The duke, astonished at this attack, cried out, 'I am the duke of Orleans!' when the assassins, continuing their blows, answered, 'You are the person we were looking for.' So many rushed on him that he was struck off his mule, and his skull was split that his brains were dashed on the pavement. They turned him over and over, and massacred him that he was very soon completely dead. A young esquire, a German by birth, who had been his page, was murdered with him: seeing his master struck to the ground, he threw himself on his body to protect him, but in vain, and he suffered for his generous courage. The horse which carried the two esquires that preceded the duke, seeing so many armed men advance, began to snort, and when he had passed them set out on a gallop, so that it was some time before he could be checked.

'When the esquires had stopped their horse, they saw their lord's mule following them full gallop: having caught him, they fancied the duke must have fallen, and were bringing it back by the bridle; but on their arrival where their lord lay, they were menaced by the assassins, that if they did not instantly depart they should share his fate. Seeing their lord had been thus basely murdered, they hastened to the hotel of the queen, crying out, 'Murder!' Those who had killed the duke, in their turn bawled out, 'Fire!' and they had arranged their plan, that while some were assassinating the duke, others were to set fire to their lodgings. Some mounted on horseback, and the rest on foot, made off as fast as they could, throwing behind them broken glass and sharp points of iron to prevent their being pursued. Report said, that many of them went the back way to the hotel d'Artois to their master the duke of Burgundy, who had commanded them to do

this deed, as he afterward publicly confessed, to inform him of the success of their murder, when instantly afterward they withdrew to places of safety.

'The chief of these assassins, and the conductor of the business, was one called Rollet d'Auctonville, a Norman, whom the duke of Orleans had, a little before, deprived of his office of commissioner of taxes, which the king had given to him, at the request of the late duke of Burgundy. From that time the said Rollet had been considering how he could revenge himself on the duke of Orleans. His other accomplices were William Courteheuze and Seas Courteheuze, before mentioned, from the county of Guines, John de la Motte and others, to the amount of eighteen. Within half an hour, the household of the duke of Orleans, hearing of this horrid murder, made loud complaints; and with great crowds of nobles and others, hastened to the fatal spot, where they found him lying dead in the street. His knights and esquires, and in general all his dependants, made grievous lamentations, seeing him thus wounded and disfigured.

'With many groans, they raised the body and carried it to the hotel of the lord de Rieux, marshal of France, which was hard by; and shortly afterward the body was covered with a white pall, and conveyed most honorably to the church of the Guillemins, where it lay, as being the nearest church to where the murder had been committed. Soon afterward, the king of Sicily, and many other princes, knights, and esquires, having heard of this foul murder of the only brother of the king of France, came with many tears to visit the body. It was put into a leaden coffin, and the monks of the church, with all the late duke's household, watched it all night, saying prayers, and singing psalms over it. On the morrow, his servants found the hand which had been cut off, and collected much of the brains that had been scattered over the street, all of which were inclosed in a leaden case and placed by the coffin.

'The whole of the princes who were in Paris, except the king and his children, namely, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the marquis du Pont, the counts de Nevers, de Clermont, de Vendome, de St. Pol, de Dammartin, the constable of France, and several others, having assembled, with a large body of the clergy and nobles, and a multitude of the citizens of Paris, went in a body to the church of the Guillemins. Then the principal officers of the late duke's household took the body and bore it out of the church, with a great number of lighted torches carried by the esquires of the defunct. On each side of the body were, in due order, uttering groans and shedding tears, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon, each holding a corner of the pall. After the body followed the other princes, the clergy and barons, according to their rank, recommending his soul to his Creator, and thus they proceeded with it to the church of the Celestins. When a most solemn service had been performed, the body was interred in a beautiful chapel he himself had founded and built. After the service, all the princes, and others who had attended it, returned to their homes.'—Vol. i. pp. 53—55.

It is well known to the readers of ecclesiastical history that at

the beginning of the fourteenth century the whole of Christendom was distracted by the rival claims of Benedict the Thirteenth and Gregory the Twelfth, who contended for the chair of St. Peter with the greatest acrimony and fierceness. Monstrelet furnishes some valuable details of the proceedings of the council which was held at Pisa in 1409, for the purpose of terminating this disgraceful schism. There were present at the last meeting of this council, he informs us,

'Of cardinals, bishops, archbishops, and abbots, wearing mitres, one hundred and forty, without counting the non-mitred members. There were also ambassadors from the kings of France, England, Jerusalem, Sicily, Cyprus, and Poland; from the dukes of Brabant, Austria, Stephen of Bavaria, William of Bavaria; from the counts of Cleves and of Brandac; from the marquis of Brandenbourg and de Moraine; from the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, and Saltzbourg, and from the bishop of Maestricht; from the grand master of the Teutonic order; from the patriarch of Aquileia, and from many princes in Italy. Numbers of doctors in divinity, and in the canon and civil law, were present, as well from France as from other countries, and very many procurators from divers parts of the world, who, by the grace of God, have held instructive and charitable conversations together from the commencement of the council until this moment.'—Ib. p. 140.

The following accounts of the decisions of this council was transmitted by the ambassadors of the University of Paris to that learned body.

'Reverend fathers, lords, and masters, after offering you our humble recommendation, may it please you to know, that we write to inform you of the conclusions entered into by the council-general, which has held thirteen sittings. The two rival popes, having for some time been waited for in vain, notwithstanding the summons sent them, have been declared contumacious in respect to schism and the faith. Many decrees were passed against them for their contumacy, and commissioners were appointed to examine witnesses against them.

'Item, the council-general approved of the union of the colleges of cardinals, the citations served on the contending popes, and the place of meeting of the council, as being perfectly convenient and secure. The council declared, that it was supreme on earth to take cognizance and judge of the charges brought against the contenders for the papacy. It was also declared by the council, that it had been lawful for any one to quit his obedience to either of the popes, from the moment they had promised to abdicate the papacy; and that all suits and processes, carried on against such as had quitted their obedience to either, were annulled and of no weight. Public charges were then made against them, and an interlocutory sentence passed on the notorious sins of the two competitors. This day, doctor Peter Paoul declared, in full council, your opinions, and took for his text, 'Congregabuntur filii

Judæ et filii Israel et facient sibimet caput unum.' That is to say, Those who are come to this council, and such as shall hereafter come, will choose from among themselves a head to the church. A little before this, doctor Dominic le Petit had made a solemn harangue before all the cardinals, taking for his text, 'Principes populorum congregati sunt cum Deo Abraham.' The cardinals and prelates of the holy church are styled princes of the people. On this day also, the theologians, to the number of six score and three, delivered their opinions, and eighty of them are your friends and supporters.

'Item, this day it has been ordered that the two rival popes be summoned to appear at the doors of the church on Wednesday the 5th of July, to hear their definitive sentence. Gregory has sent a bull to the English to entreat they would be of his party, with Robert king of the Romans, to change the place of holding the council, and that they would please to be of his council; but he labors in vain, for the English, Germans, Bohemians, Polanders, French, those from Cyprus, Rhodes, and Italy, are all unanimous, excepting Robert, whose ambassadors have gone away. Few prelates have come to this council from the kingdom of Hungary. King Ladislaus wrote that he intended being here in person, but he is fully occupied in his war against the infidels.

'Pietro Mastin, called della Luna, has issued a most thundering bull, in which he admonishes the cardinals to return to their duty towards him; and should they refuse, he prohibits them from attempting to make another election, menacing them, in case of disobedience, with excommunication and other penalties against them and their supporters. Reverend fathers, and redoubted masters, we have nothing more for the present to write to you, except that all nations seem inclined to a reformation in the church, which the new pope, whom it shall please God to elect, will be forced to comply with. Should you have any orders to send us, we are ready to obey them to the utmost of our power. Beseeching you humbly to keep all our concerns in your consideration, may the Sovereign Lord have you under his guard.'—Ib. pp. 141, 142.

In our notice of Froissart we extracted that writer's account of the battle of Cressy. The following is Monstrelet's description of the equally signal triumph of the English under Henry the Fifth, on the plains of Agincourt. It will be seen that the historian, although a Frenchman, fully admits the great superiority of his countrymen in numbers, and affords a graphic description of the daring hardihood with which the wearied English advanced to the unequal conflict. After describing the position of the French forces, Monstrelet thus proceeds.

'When these battalions were all drawn up, it was a grand sight to view; and they were, on a hasty survey, estimated to be more than six times the number of the English. After they had been thus arranged, they seated themselves by companies as near to their own

banners as they could, to wait the coming of the enemy; and while they refreshed themselves with food, they made up all differences that might before have existed between any of them. In this state they remained until between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, no way doubting, from their numbers, but the English must fall an easy prey to them. Some, however, of the wisest of them had their fears, and dreaded the event of an open battle.

'The English on that morning, perceiving that the French made no advances to attack them, refreshed themselves with meat and drink. After calling on the Divine aid against the French, who seemed to despise them, they dislodged from Maisoncelles, and sent some of their light troops in the rear of the town of Azincourt, where, not finding any men-at-arms, in order to alarm the French they set fire to a barn and house belonging to the priory of St. George at Hesdin. On the other hand the king of England despatched about two hundred archers to the rear of his army, with orders to enter the village of Tramecourt secretly, and to post themselves in a field near the van of the French, there to remain quiet until it should be proper time for them to use their bows. The rest of the English remained with king Henry, and were shortly after drawn up in battle array by Sir Thomas Erpingham, a knight grown grey with age and honor, who placed the archers in front, and the men-at-arms behind them. He then formed two wings of men-at-arms and archers, and posted the horses with the baggage in the rear. Each archer planted before himself a stake sharpened at both ends.

'Sir Thomas, in the name of the king, exhorted them all most earnestly to defend their lives, and thus saying he rode along their ranks attended by two persons. When all was done to his satisfaction, he flung into the air a truncheon which he held in his hand, crying out, 'Nestrocque!' and then dismounted, as the king and the others had done. When the English saw Sir Thomas throw up his truncheon, the set up a loud shout, to the very great astonishment of the French. The English seeing the enemy not inclined to advance, marched toward them in handsome array, and with repeated huzzas, occasionally stopping to recover their breath. The archers, who were hidden in the field, re-echoed these shoutings, at the same time discharging their bows, while the English army kept advancing upon the French.

'Their archers, amounting to at least thirteen thousand, let off a shower of arrows with all their might, and as high as possible, so as not to lose their effect: they were, for the most part, without any armour, and in jackets, with their hose loose, and hatchets or swords hanging to their girdles; some indeed were bare-footed and without hats. The princes with the king of England were the duke of York, his uncle, the earls of Dorset, Oxford, Suffolk, the earl marshal, the earl of Kent, the lords Cambre, Beaumont, Willoughby, Sir John de Cornewall, and many other powerful barons of England.

'When the French observed the English thus advance, they drew up each under his banner, with his helmet on his head: they were, at the same time, admonished by the constable, and others of the princes,

to confess their sins with sincere contrition and to fight boldly against the enemy. The English loudly sounded their trumpets as they approached, and the French stooped to prevent the arrows hitting them on the vizors of their helmets; thus the distance was now but small between the two armies, although the French had retired some paces. Before, however, the general attack commenced, numbers of the French were slain and severely wounded by the English bowmen. At length the English gained on them so much, and were so close, that excepting the front line, and such as had shortened their lances, the enemy could not raise their hands against them. The division under Sir Cluguet de Brabant, of eight hundred men-at-arms, who were intended to break through the English archers, were reduced to seven score, who vainly attempted it. True it is, that Sir William de Saveuses, who had been also ordered on this service, quitted his troop, thinking they would follow him, to attack the English, but he was shot dead from off his horse. The others had their horses so severely handled by the archers, that, smarting from pain, they galloped on the van division and threw it into the utmost confusion, breaking the line in many places. The horses were become unmanageable, so that horses and riders were tumbling on the ground, and the whole army was thrown into disorder, and forced back on some lands that had been just sown with corn. Others, from fear of death, fled; and this caused so universal a panic in the army that great part followed the example.

'The English took instant advantage of the disorder in the van division, and, throwing down their bows, fought lustily with swords, hatchets, mallets, and bill-hooks, slaying all before them. Thus they came to the second battalion that had been posted in the rear of the first; and the archers followed close king Henry and his men-at-arms. Duke Anthony of Brabant, who had just arrived in obedience to the summons of the king of France, threw himself with a small company (for, to make greater haste, he had pushed forward, leaving the main body of his men behind) between the wreck of the van and the second division; but he was instantly killed by the English, who kept advancing and slaying, without mercy, all that opposed them, and thus destroyed the main battalion as they had done the first. They were, from time to time, relieved by their varlets, who carried off the prisoners; for the English were so intent on victory, that they never attended to making prisoners, nor pursuing such as fled. The whole rear division being on horseback, witnessing the defeat of the two others, began to fly, excepting some of its principal chiefs.

'During the heat of the combat, when the English had gained the upper hand and made several prisoners, news was brought to king Henry that the French were attacking his rear, and had already captured the greater part of his baggage and sumpter-horses. This was indeed true, for Robinet de Bournouville, Rifflart de Clamasse, Ysambart d'Azincourt, and some other men at arms, with about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon and taken great part of the king's baggage and a number of horses, while the guard was occupied in the battle. This distressed the king very much, for he saw that though the French army had been routed they were collecting on different parts of the

plain in large bodies, and he was afraid they would renew the battle. He therefore caused instant proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, that every one should put his prisoners to death, to prevent them from aiding the enemy, should the combat be renewed. This caused an instantaneous and general massacre of the French prisoners, occasioned by the disgraceful conduct of Robinet de Bournouville, Ysambart d'Azincourt, and the others, who were afterwards punished for it, and imprisoned a very long time by duke John of Burgundy, notwithstanding they had made a present to the count de Charolois of a most precious sword, ornamented with diamonds, that had belonged to the king of England. They had taken this sword, with other rich jewels, from king Henry's baggage,—and had made this present, that, in case they should at any time be called to an account for what they had done, the count might stand their friend.

'The count de Marle, the count de Fauquemberg, the lords de Louvroy and du Chin, had with some difficulty retained about six hundred men-at-arms, with whom they made a gallant charge on the English; but it availed nothing, for they were all killed or made prisoners. There were other small bodies of French on different parts of the plain; but they were soon routed, slain, or taken. The conclusion was a complete victory on the part of the king of England, who only lost about sixteen hundred men of all ranks; among the slain was the duke of York, uncle to the king. On the eve of this battle, and the following morning, before it began, there were upwards of five hundred knights made by the French.

'When the king of England found himself master of the field of battle, and that the French, excepting such as had been killed or taken, were flying in all directions, he made the circuit of the plain, attended by his princes; and while his men were employed in stripping the dead, he called to him the French herald, Montjoye, king-at-arms, and with him many other French and English heralds, and said to them, 'It is not we who have made this great slaughter, but the omnipotent God, and, as we believe, for a punishment of the sins of the French.' He then asked Montjoye, to whom the victory belonged; to him, or to the king of France? Montjoye replied, that the victory was his, and could not be claimed by the king of France. The king then asked the name of the castle he saw near him: he was told, it was called Azincourt. 'Well then,' added he, 'since all battles should bear the names of the fortress nearest to the spot where they were fought, this battle shall, from henceforth, bear the ever-durable name of Azincourt.'"—Ib. pp. 340—343.

The consequence of this victory, followed up by the daring heroism of the English monarch, was the complete humiliation of the French king. The power of the empire passed into the hands of Henry, whose regal pomp is thus mournfully contrasted by Monstrelet with the humble and deserted fortunes of his own sovereign.

'On the 21st day of May in this year 1422, Catharine queen of

England, who had been some time recovered of her lying-in of her first-born child Henry, arrived at Harfleur in grand state, attended by ladies without number, and escorted by a large fleet filled with men-at-arms and archers under the command of the duke of Bedford, brother to the king. On landing, she went to Rouen, and thence to the castle of Vincennes, to meet the king. Queen Catherine travelled in royal state, alway accompanied by the duke of Bedford and the men-at-arms.

'King Henry departed from Meaux with his princes to meet her, and she was received by them as if she had been an angel from heaven. Great rejoicings were made by the king and queen of France for the happy arrival of their son-in-law and their daughter; and on the 30th day of May, Whitsun-eve, the kings of France and of England, accompanied by their queens, left Vincennes, and entered Paris with much pomp. The king and queen of France were lodged at the hotel of St. Pol, and the king of England and his company at the Louvre. In each of these places, the two kings solemnly celebrated the feast of Pentecost, which fell on the day after their arrival.

'On this day, the king and queen of England were seated at table gorgeously apparelled, having crowns on their heads. The English princes, dukes, knights, and prelates, were partakers of the feast, each seated according to his rank, and the tables were covered with the rarest viands and choicest wines. The king and queen this day held a grand court, which was attended by all the English at Paris; and the Parisians went to the castle of the Louvre to see the king and queen at table crowned with their most precious diadems; but as no meat or drink was offered to the populace by the attendants, they went away much discontented; for in former times, when the kings of France kept open court, meat and drink was distributed abundantly to all comers by the king's servants.

'King Charles had indeed been as liberal and courteous as his predecessors, but he was now seated in his hotel of St. Pol at table with his queen, deserted by the grandees and others of his subjects, as if he had been quite forgotten. The government and power of the kingdom were now transferred from his hands into those of his son-in-law king Henry; and he had so little share, that he was managed as the king of England pleased, and no attention was paid him, which created much sorrow in the hearts of all loyal Frenchmen, and not without cause.'—Ib. pp. 477, 478.

The getting up of the work is, as we have already remarked, in the same style of elegance and cheapness as its predecessor Froissart. The pictorial excellence, and the accurate delineation of architecture and costume which distinguish the numerous wood-cuts, render them an invaluable addition to the work, and greatly facilitate an intelligent apprehension of the text to which they are attached. A copious index and tables of contents are also supplied. In every respect the work is entitled to the patronage of an intelligent public, and we shall be disappointed if that patronage is not liberally bestowed.

Art. III. *Sermons on the 'First Principles of the Oracles of God.'* Hebrews v. 12. By HENRY ERSKINE HEAD, M.A., Rector of Feniton, Devon, and Chaplain to his Majesty the King of Hanover. Sidmouth and London. 1840.

THE rector of Feniton has been too distinguished a victim of episcopal tyranny not to have engaged the sympathy, and has taken too noble a stand in defence of Christian liberty not to have awakened the admiration, of all friends to freedom of thought and the rights of conscience. By the applause which has greeted him as a confessor he has probably been led to present himself to the public as an author; not without an expectation, perhaps, that his reception in both characters might be equally gratifying. For our own part, we can truly say that it would have afforded us the most sincere satisfaction to have found in the volume before us materials for commendation. There are few men whom we would rather have praised than Mr. Head. And, wherein we cannot do this, we shall say as little, and that little as gently, as our critical duty will permit.

The rector of Feniton, we are sorry to say, has adopted the hyper-calvinistic divinity. We must not be understood as intimating hereby, either that he is a systematic divine, or that all the sentiments he expresses belong to the hyper-calvinistic system. The reverse of this is the case; and he gives utterance in the course of twenty-four sermons to many things which we think must be either altogether or almost peculiarities. Our meaning is that he adopts and broadly states the leading doctrines of the hyper-calvinistic school, as in manner following.

'We learn from other parts of Scripture, that man is condemned inasmuch as he inherits the corrupt nature of Adam; that to inherit condemnation it suffices that we are born of Adam; that in Adam, 1 Cor. xv., all die; that by one man sin entered into the world, and death passed upon all men; that by the offence of one man judgment came, Rom. v., upon all men to condemnation; that every human being is no better than a seed of sin deserving God's condemnation, and growing up into rebellion and enmity against God more and more every day, as surely as a viper's offspring grows up into a viper.'

—pp. 107, 108.

'The doctrine of Scripture is, that, as *all* men are made sinners by the transgression of Adam, and condemned by imputation of his guilt; so, all who apprehend it by faith (that is the spiritual seed of Abraham) are made righteous and delivered from condemnation by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ. Every child born into the world is a sinner and deserves eternal condemnation, although our actual guilt is that which makes the justice of our condemnation more apparent to our own view.'—pp. 265, 266.

'If we would guard against insipid interpretations of Scripture, we should remember that we are utterly unable to turn to God before regeneration; that our state before regeneration is utterly wretched, depraved, and at enmity with God, Rom. viii.; that God both claims and exercises the right of making some free, and suffering others to remain in bondage, Gal. iv. 24—31; that God does *not* deal alike with all men, Rom. ix. 11; that the mercy published in the gospel neither is, nor needs to be ratified, by the natural man, but that the boundless grace of the new covenant *makes* us willing to turn to God. As it is certain that none escape from eternal perdition but those to whom he extends the grace of the new covenant,—so it is also certain that he extends this grace *to* whom he will, and withholds it *from* whom he will. For he hath mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth, Rom. ix. What our Lord and his apostles tell us repeatedly and constantly with regard to the bulk of the Israelitish nation, holds good with regard to all mankind: namely, if you inquire as to the *immediate* cause of their perdition and rejection, it is their actual guilt:—if you inquire further, it was from the secret counsel of God, who had predetermined not to extend to *them* the grace of the new covenant (which it is *his* divine prerogative to give to some and to withhold from others), in other words, not to remove from *them* the *condemnation* in which all men are justly involved *already*.'

—pp. 112, 113.

These, we regret to say, are prominently brought forward by our author as exclusively 'the first principles of the oracles of 'God.' Whether we shall have the happiness of contributing at all to the modification of his views we know not, but we shall take the opportunity of making on them a few remarks, which we hope will not be altogether lost.

We would not, of course, be understood as calling in question *all* that is contained in the extracts we have given. There never was an error which did not ally itself with some portion of truth; and it is one of the most painful features of the errors which we conceive lie now before us, that they ally themselves closely with some of the most fundamental and glorious truths of the gospel. We are not going to place among erroneous tenets, either the federal relation between Adam and his posterity, or the covenant character of the work of redemption. Neither Mr. Head nor any other person can hold more strongly than ourselves, first, that mankind are sharing by equitable implication the consequences of their first father's crime; and, secondly, that all who will be recovered from the universal state of sin and misery, will be so by virtue of a well-ordered covenant in which they have been from eternity comprehended. The points to which we object are the following.

In the first place, we demur to the sentiment that mankind are, for the sin of Adam, under sentence of eternal wrath. We are not ignorant of the seemingly conclusive process by which this

notion is arrived at. The argument is this: Eternal wrath was one of the penal consequences attached to Adam's sin; and mankind participate in the penal consequences of Adam's sin; therefore they are by virtue of it liable to eternal wrath. It is only in appearance, however, that this argument is decisive. In bar of the conclusion it is to be observed, that the penal consequences of Adam's transgression actually descend to his posterity in a mitigated and modified form. We say this not as matter of theory, but as matter of fact; and it is of easy demonstration. The sentence on our first parent ran in the following terms, 'In 'the day that thou eatest thou shalt surely die;' and it denounced, as we conceive, an immediate infliction of the punishment declared. Punishment, however, was not immediately inflicted; a fact which of itself evinced a modification of the sentence, and of the system of which it had been the threatened consummation. We ask by what possibility, under the strict—which is the only admissible—interpretation of the covenant of Eden, Adam could have been permitted to live nearly a thousand years, and in the midst of so many benefits. Of *that* covenant it seems to us that every day of his life must be regarded as a palpable violation. This was not the fulfilment of the threatening, it was an exercise of mercy; and there is no conceivable ground on which mercy could have been exercised towards Adam on his transgression, but the interposition of a system of which mercy was an element, an alteration of the method in which his Maker had primarily dealt with him. In a word, immediately on Adam's fall, and as a matter necessary to the prolonging of his life for a single day, there must have come into operation that merciful system of which the death of Christ is the meritorious basis, and which was announced to the transgressors, even before they left the garden of Eden, as the dispensation under which they were henceforth to live. In this condition the threatened results of his transgression were modified to Adam himself. At least one of them was altogether done away; inasmuch as it cannot be supposed that he was placed in a state of prolonged exposure to eternal wrath for his primary offence. His state then, we conceive, will be admitted on all hands to have been one of probation for his conduct subsequently to his original trial. Death yet remained, but it was at an indefinite distance in prospect. And then were added to his condition some elements which the original sentence did not express, but of which, undoubtedly, the modification of that sentence warranted the introduction. We refer here to the curse upon the ground, and the necessity of labor. These were not, and evidently could not have been, parts of a sentence which ran in the terms, 'In the day that thou eatest *thou shalt die.*' They were elements superadded to the system of mercy, and originated for the purpose of it, as modifications of man's new condition

suited to the ends which were to be answered by it. These, therefore, cannot be said to be penal at all, since they never were threatened as part of the punishment of any act of transgression. They are rather benevolent and salutary, and original elements of the new and merciful dispensation. Neither do we look upon death, or any other remaining part of the punishment annexed to the first transgression, as retaining, after the exit from paradise, its penal character. The system to which it belonged is terminated and past; and a new system has been introduced, of which punishment in the present world forms no part. Punishment does belong to it, but not present punishment. It looks for this to a future state and a coming judgment. Whatever of suffering occurs in the present state is, therefore, in accordance with the entire character of the state itself, not penal but corrective; and if any sufferings included in the first threatening are to be found in our present condition, it is not because, as parts of that threatening, they adhere to the posterity of Adam, but because they have been adopted by the author of the change as congruous with his plans, and as capable of being made subservient to our good. The condition of our first parent, as spared after the fall, we take therefore to have been one in which there neither lay upon him, nor appeared in prospect before him, any result, in its penal character, of his primary transgression.

Now it seems clear that, by virtue of the federal relation, the children of Adam must be regarded as born into a condition similar to that of their parents at the time of their birth. It would be strange to say that the offspring were liable to punishment for an offence committed by the parent, when all liability to punishment for that offence had been removed from the parent himself. The dispensation of mercy which relieved him, was surely intended and effectual to relieve them also. If, in reply to this representation, we are told that this is reducing the liability of Adam's posterity to share the punishment of his sin to nothing, with joy and thankfulness we confess it. For it is to us one of the most beautiful circumstances in the transactions of Eden, that the arrangements were adapted, at once to extend without limit the beneficial consequences of our first father's conduct if he had been faithful, and to shut up the ill effects of it, should he be unfaithful, within the narrowest possible compass. In the former case he was to have posterity, all of whom should inherit the fruits of his obedience; in the latter case, he should immediately die, nor leave a single child to partake the punishment of his crime. He *could* leave no child, but by virtue of a system of mercy which should prolong his own life. It is under and by virtue of the dispensation of mercy, therefore, that the whole posterity of Adam are born—under a system, that is to say, in which all

liability to punishment for the first offence is absolutely done away.

We are not unmindful all this while of the important scripture, which instructs us that 'by the disobedience of one many were 'made sinners,' Rom. v. 19. The meaning of that passage we take to be, that, in consequence of one man's (Adam's) sin, all mankind have been treated as though they had been sinners. No doubt it is so. Mankind are universally treated by the Almighty as though they had been sinners before they were born; since they are brought by him into a state in which they are immediately subject to suffering, the appropriate consequence of sin. Since this cannot be in consequence of our own sin, it is a natural suggestion of common sense that it may be the result of sin committed by another; and the scripture expressly teaches that we are thus treated as sinners in virtue of the sin of our great progenitor, 'in whom all have sinned,' Rom. v. 13—that is to say, with whom all have been so identified as to become liable to the consequences of his sin. There is no inconsistency, we think, between these scriptures and the views we have stated above. Very much should we rejoice if we could attract to such views the candid attention of divines who, like our author, teach that men are condemned by the imputation of Adam's guilt, while our actual iniquities only 'make the justice of our condemnation more 'apparent.' Believing the sentiment to be utterly unscriptural, we may indulge ourselves in bewailing its mischievous tendency and effects; and most deeply do we deplore them. It directly instructs men that their condemnation is not their fault, but their misfortune—an act, not just but arbitrary, not equitable but despotic. As to condemnation on such a ground, it is impossible that men can either see righteousness in it, or feel humiliation for it; nor can they regard the great scheme of deliverance from it in any other light than as making them the subjects of a kind of game, in which their Maker (using his high prerogative of doing what he pleases) first plunges them into ruin with one hand, and then, with great ado, lifts them out of it with the other. It is a melancholy thing to see the momentous and glorious truths of the gospel reduced by its very ministers to such utter trivialities as these; and every thing separated from them by which the heart of a sinner is to be broken into contrition, or that of a saint kindled into love.

In the second place, we quite as strongly object to the language in which our author speaks of the depravity of mankind. Not that we doubt for a moment their actual depravity, or the existence in human beings universally, since the fall, and at their birth, of an element—call it the corruption of their nature if you will—from which iniquity directly and certainly springs. Our author, how-

ever, together with the school to which he belongs, and in harmony (we regret to say) with the ninth article of his church, deems men to be born wicked, 'a seed of sin, deserving God's 'condemnation.' We are aware of the language of David in the fifty-first Psalm, 'Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin 'did my mother conceive me;' but we do not feel ourselves shut up by it to so revolting a conclusion as that new born babes are in any such sense sinful as to 'deserve God's condemnation.' The terms *sin* and *ill desert* are too superficially regarded, if they are taken to be in all cases synonymous. In truth, no little confusion seems to have been thrown into the subject before us, by a disregard of the various senses in which the word *sin* has come to be employed. In the strict and primary import of it, there is essentially implied the existence of a rational being, by whom, in his voluntary agency, sin is committed, and to whom exclusively the quality of sinfulness pertains. Sin implies a sinner, a being who sins. And a rational being sins, precisely as his voluntary agency is out of conformity with the rule which prescribes his duty. Afterwards we come to use *sin* as an abstract term, as though it were, what in strictness it is not, an entity independent of an agent; and as denoting either an abstract idea, or a quality of some being or action, or a spring of action in some being. We would mention instances of this varied use of the term, but that they will so readily occur to the reader's mind. Now, as it is evident that the ideas conveyed by the single term sin in its various uses differ widely from one another, it must be evident also that no one set of epithets, or relative terms, can be appropriate to it on all occasions. Attributes belonging to sin in one sense of the word will be found not at all pertinent to it in another. This is the distinction which we wish to apply to the matter before us. There is no quality which we more directly or more tenaciously attach to sin than that of ill desert; and it may seem startling, perhaps, to say that sin may exist without it. Neither is this possible, if we use the word sin in a certain sense; but that word is commonly employed in several senses, with some of which the idea of ill desert clearly is not congruous. *Desert*, whether of praise or blame, is a property attributable solely to *an agent*—we might say, to an agent of a certain constitution and acting in certain circumstances, but this is not our present point; what we are concerned to make apparent is, that desert, whether of praise or blame, is a property of agents exclusively. A being who acts well or ill may deserve blame or praise; and he deserves them because he is the author of those voluntary exercises by which desert is generated, and of which praise and blame are respectively the recompense. We cannot say with propriety that actions deserve anything, or qualities, or impulses; or anything but an agent. It is in all cases he, who, by acting in a particular

manner, deserves praise or blame. Having stated this general principle of obvious justice, we go on to say that, with respect to sin, the party having ill desert is always exclusively the agent, or doer of evil. And if we use the term sin to denote anything but the quality of an action done, we use it in a sense in which ill desert cannot be predicated of it. Now we do use the word in such a sense when we speak of 'original or birth sin;' a phrase denoting a property of our being as it comes into existence, but no quality of actions done by us, since rational agency cannot have commenced. What is thus called sin, therefore, cannot possess ill desert. And yet the ninth article of the Church of England gravely asserts that 'IT [namely our 'original or birth 'sin'] deserveth God's wrath and damnation!' We wonder what would happen if IT were to be damned. A mistake similar to this is fallen into when we are said to possess a nature which is corrupt or sinful, in the sense of blameworthiness. We will not contend about the use of the terms, but we maintain that they are here used with a latitude which withdraws them from all appropriate relation to the idea of blameworthiness. In whatever sense there may be sin in a babe, there is not, there cannot be, in such a being any ill desert. Where there has been no rational action, there can have been no wrong action, and, therefore, no liability to blame.

We have scriptural authority, we think, for the views we have now laid down. To us it is clear that throughout the whole bible, and in the minds of all its inspired writers, the idea of sin, as a matter of ill desert, pertains essentially to the conduct of a voluntary agent. So, for example, one of the apostles (1 John 3, 4) expressly lays down the principle, that 'sin is the trans-'gression of the law;' and another of them exhibits the same principle by implication, when he says (Rom. iv. 15) 'where 'there is no law there is no transgression'—no cause of punishment, no ill desert. The scripture, we are satisfied, knows nothing through its whole compass of the annexation of ill desert to anything but the conduct of rational agents. The annexation of this idea to impulses, and qualities, and abstractions, has been left to divines of a subordinate class; it is one of the many figments of scholastic theology, and may be compared to the cobwebs which have come to occupy undisturbed many of the schools themselves.

The sentiment we have now been handling, we are constrained to add, is in our judgment, as mischievous as it is mistaken. To teach people that they were born under 'God's wrath and con-'demnation,' may afflict, or even terrify, but it can never humble them. It is to proclaim to them, not a crime, but a calamity. It is one of the accidents of their condition, by which, indeed, as by a thousand other accidents, they may suffer much, but for

which they have no responsibility. To tell them that they have a sinful nature, and so deserve the wrath of God, is only to add astonishment to terror, and to confound at once all notions of good and evil in hopeless perplexity. To such a statement it might well be replied, 'How can this be? That, since I became 'a rational agent, I have done much that deserves God's anger I 'can readily understand, and freely admit: but what had I done 'at the moment of my birth? How could I have offended my 'Maker then?' If it be answered, 'Your very nature was sinful, 'and a holy God abhorred you,' what results, but that the ideas of sin and ill desert are practically separated, that divine displeasure comes to be associated henceforward with things involuntary and accidental, and that men feel themselves in the hands of a being who, instead of weighing actions, as a righteous ruler ought to do, distributes his wrath in a method arbitrary and unintelligible? From this cause, no doubt, it has arisen, that to so great an extent people have acquired the habit of confessing themselves to be sinners without owning themselves to be criminals. They judge most correctly that, whatever might be wrong at their birth, it could be no fault of theirs; and being instructed that they grow up sinners, not only with as much certainty, but by the same sort of law as that which determines a viprous brood to become vipers, they conclude with equal justice that their actual sins are no more their fault than their birth sin—they are only the development of that which was born with them, and have no effect but to 'make the justice of their condemnation more 'apparent.' Such are the reasonings, we believe, of multitudes, and such is the result. The confession of sin is attended with no acknowledgment of criminality; and without this it is evident there can be no sense of shame, or any other salutary exercise of mind. To teach men that they *deserve* God's displeasure, let them well understand that he looks not at the condition in which they were born, but at the manner in which they have lived. 'The wrath of God is revealed from heaven,' not against babes and sucklings, not against abstractions and qualities, but 'against 'all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men,' Rom. i. 16: or (which is the thing intended) against men as committing unrighteousness and ungodliness.

The extracts we have made contain other matter—particularly the last—on which we had intended to remark; but our space admonishes us to be very brief. We would not have Mr. Head suppose that we undervalue the rich and sovereign grace of the new covenant, or that we hesitate to ascribe to its efficacy the salvation of all who will inherit eternal glory: but we repine to see him exalting one portion of evangelical truth at the expense of another. From the lips of the blessed Master whom he serves —and we have no doubt sincerely—we have heard that 'God so

'loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoso-'ever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting 'life.' It was his divine authority which enjoined the preaching of the gospel 'to every creature,' with a warrant and a command for every one to embrace it. For this the rector of Feniton finds no place among 'the first principles of the oracles of God;' but he instructs us rather that, while the apparent cause of a sinner's condemnation is his unbelief, the real cause of it is 'the secret 'counsel of God,' who had predetermined not to remove from him the condemnation under which he was born! We cannot trust ourselves to express our feelings respecting so melancholy a perversion of the truth as it is in Jesus, and we must repress the words we were about to write, and have done. Mr. Head will see that we take our leave of him with pain, but we hope he will feel that we have not treated him with unkindness; and we trust we shall not wound him by adding our sincere prayers for his growing insight into the gospel of Christ.

Art. IV. 1. *The Modern French Literature of France.* By G. W. M. Reynolds. London: 1839.

2. *Notre Dame de Paris,* par Victor Hugo. Paris.

3. *Le Livre de Cent et Un.* Paris.

THE time has long since passed away, and we are not sorry for it, when a blind and aimless hostility was expressed by both the middle and lower classes against all and every thing French, merely because, according to their own 'exquisite rea-'sons,' it was French; and when, just as 'the pope, the devil, 'and pretender,' formed the magic watchword of the Walpole administration, 'frogs, Frenchmen, and wooden shoes,' did the same good service in stirring up the populace to return some court candidate, or to burn down the house of some obnoxious foreigner. This time has long since passed away; and the danger is now rather on the opposite side. Still, it is curious to observe even through all this period, and, indeed, yet earlier, how in spite of our stubborn nationality, France managed to insinuate herself, even to our firesides. She dictated to our great-grandmothers the color of their mantuas, and the length of their stomachers: to our great-grandfathers, the pattern of their wigs, and the size of their ruffles; but more than that, she presented to the 'young gentlewomen' in the intervals of point and hemstitch, the pleasant fairy tales of Mademoiselle d'Aulnay, and the graceful *nouvelettes* of Madam la Fayette, and even provided in the

'Weekly Amusement,' that venerable periodical, an unexpected recreation in the admirable tales of Marmontel. It is perhaps to the last mentioned writer, and his greater contemporary, Le Sage, that we owe the eventual possession of a similar species of literature; but still, the English school of novels did not drive the French writers from the English bookcase, but down to the period of the French revolution, French and English popular literature took their places side by side.

During the horrors of that revolution, there was neither leisure nor scope for novel writing. 'Regenerated France' had only time in the short intervals of successive massacres to pronounce *éloges* on the goddess of reason and Anacharsis Cloots, and to hymn the praises of 'la sainte Guillotine;' but beneath the iron rule of Napoleon, her popular literature once more came forth,—no longer the light, airy, graceful thing that fluttered in the sunshine of Versailles, and made pleasant the gilded salons of the old *régime*, but well drilled, well appointed, decorous, in an unlooked for degree;—for the whole nation had become one vast barrack, and indecorum was proscribed by the army regulations. Still, this decorum, at which the French themselves scarcely knew whether to be pleased or displeased, suited well with the tastes of our more moral countrywomen. And gladly did they, wearied with the extravagancies of the Rosa Matilda romances, and the vapid inanities of the Minerva Library novels, turn to the admirable tales of 'Caroline de Lichfeldt' and 'Mathilde,' or to the splendid 'Corinne;' while the boarding-school young ladies, who had worn out Madame de Genlis's 'Contes du Chateau,' and who had sufficiently gaped over the wearisome pages of 'Telemaque,' rejoiced in Madame Campan's pretty 'Contes à ma Fille;' and all readers, from the caustic reviewer of the Edinburgh, to the elderly governess whose library consisted of duodecimos, joined in hailing that simple and beautiful tale of a daughter's heroic self-devotion, 'Elizabeth.'

But Madame Cottin died, and left no literary successor; Madame de Stael directed her powerful mind to didactic works, and for more than twenty years, France presents almost a blank, as to popular literature. But to the English reader the loss was little, if any; there were the works of Maria Edgeworth, of the Miss Porters, Mrs. Opie, Miss Austin, and others, and when Sir Walter Scott, in himself a host, arose to strike out a new path in the historical novel, England no longer asked, or indeed heeded, a supply of foreign popular literature.

After a long interval of inaction, just about the period of the revolution of 1830, the French literary world was startled by the appearance, we might almost say, the simultaneous appearance, of a number of novels written with a force and fervor, to which her language had hitherto been a stranger, all devoted (so said

the writers) to the purpose of exhibiting human nature, not in the false colors of poetry and sentiment, but in its unmitigated truth; and each devoted to some strange theory of political or religious principles. The sober critics of the French metropolis were quite astounded at this sudden insurrection in the realms of fiction;—it seemed, to use the forcible figure of Jules Janin, as though from the torn-up pavements and shattered buildings of the revolution of July, 'the stones themselves, like Deucalion's 'children, hard, unyielding, endowed with full vigor, and armed 'at all points, had arisen, earnest and passionate spirits of revolu-'tion, prepared to subject to perpetual questioning the renewed 'frame-work of society.' And earnestly and passionately did they labor; and the number of these works, the rapidity with which they came forth, and the identity of moral character (we use the word solely in its metaphysical sense) impressed on them all, were peculiarities sufficient to have attracted the notice of a philosophical writer, even of another land. Still, until the Quarterly Review, between three and four years since, indignantly directed public attention to them, their existence was almost unknown to the mass of English readers. The castigation of that review, judging from the anger of the writer whose work stands first on our list, was not without its effect, and as a last effort to vindicate the popular literature of 'la jeune France' from the aspersions which have been cast on it, he has compiled these two volumes.

'The Modern Literature of France,' consists of extracts from the novels and tales of the most celebrated French writers, preceded by a short notice of each, and of his other works. To this plan we have nothing to object; we must however remark, that extracts may easily be made to speak a very different language to that of the whole book, and that when it is asserted in the preface that, 'in a few instances expunged' (expurgated, we suppose) 'translations are given,' these translations can scarcely be called *faithful* transcripts of French literature. However, we will proceed to give our readers a few extracts to enable them to judge what, in spite of careful selection, and expurgation, modern French literature really is.

The first writer brought before our notice is Georges Sand, that celebrated novelist and politician who is considered to stand at the head of this school,—the unhappy woman, who in exchanging her own name for that of her paramour, cast off with it every womanly virtue. Mr. Reynolds, however, does not think so, for this is part of the eulogy with which he heralds the extract from her works.

'The revolution of July made the Baroness Dudevant a writer. A little more than eight years ago she began to contemplate that terrible ebullition of an outraged people's feelings; and in studying the spirit

of the heroes of the barricades, she imperceptibly inhaled the generous fervor of enthusiasm herself. Her mind expanded as she contemplated the progressive march of liberty; and she determined that the course of intelligence should move at an equal pace and in a parallel line. Her ideas were thus formed by a great political event which could not fail to render the writings of its disciple striking and peculiar.'

—Vol. i. pp. 2, 3.

'This woman of a million passions, when she first entered upon the marriage state with the nobleman whose name she bears, found that the endearments of her domestic circle were few; and hers was a disposition, which, feeling a perpetual want of something to love and cherish with a pure and unvarying affection, was easily led astray so soon as those ties of attachment were, as it is reported—but how truly, we know not—wantonly broken by him who ought to have been proud of the woman whose incipient genius he could not but have perceived. Hence—in an age and a city of pleasure and temptation—exposed to all those dangers which are ever to be encountered by beauty and talent—and gifted with a soul as full of poesy and love as her imagination was of richness and originality, did the baroness *yield to the exigencies of her nature and of her position*, and seek that consolation with another which she could not find in him who was her legal protector. She became an authoress in due time; and aware that prejudice might attach unpopularity to her writings, if issued under the auspices of her real name, she adopted that of Georges Sand, and, as we before stated, experienced the most complete success ever attained by any female in modern times.'—Ib. 9, 10.

The specimen which Mr. Reynolds gives, is certainly a very inadequate specimen of her style; the mischievous doctrines which she delights to inculcate make, however, their appearance here, though less offensively than in her larger works. The Lady *Metella* Mowbray (what a Christian name for an Englishwoman!) is an elderly lady of quality residing in Switzerland, who possessing, like the writer, 'a million passions,' has taken a young lady, Sarah her neice, as a friend, and a young gentleman, Oliver by name, as her paramour. Poor innocent Sarah, who imagines that Oliver is her aunt's adopted son, very foolishly falls in love with him, and is driven almost to despair by his assertion that he has taken a vow never to marry. This she communicates to her aunt, who at first rejoices that her 'adopted son!' is more willing to continue as her paramour than marry her niece.

'But this cruelty was only of an instant's duration: *the passion of Lady Mowbray for Oliver existed in a mind capable of experiencing all those tender sentiments which form such splendid embellishments to the female sex.* She loved Sarah almost as much as she doted upon Oliver—but loved her as a mother loves her daughter. The sight of that fair creature's sorrow lacerated the heart of Metella: she had a thousand things with which to reproach herself; she ought to have

perceived from the first the consequences that might ensue from the continued intimacy between the two young people. Already had the neighbours hinted to her the impropriety of such conduct: she had disregarded the suggestion; and now the happiness of Sarah was compromised even more than her reputation.

'Metella pressed her niece to her bosom with a convulsive sob; and in the first moments of her compassion and her tenderness, she meditated the sacrifice of her own love for Oliver to the felicity of Sarah.

''No,' cries she, *led astray by a sentiment of the most exalted generosity;* 'Oliver has made no such desperate vow: he is free—he can marry you! Oh let him love you—let him insure your happiness; and I will bless you both! It shall not be I who will oppose any obstacles to the union of the individuals who are dearer to me than any others in the world!'

''O I believe you,—I believe you, my dear aunt,' cried Sarah, throwing herself once more into Metella's arms: 'but it is he who does not love me! O what can I do?'

''He did not tell you that he does not love you, Sarah? Did he tell you so? Speak!'

''No—but he says that he is engaged! O perhaps he is engaged in reality! There is some reason, with which you are not acquainted —he loves another—haply he is married in secret!'

''I will interrogate him—I will ascertain what the real state of his sentiments may be,' answered Metella.'—Ib. pp. 14, 15.

Oliver, when he first finds out that both the ladies are in love with him, scarcely knows what to do.

'He could no longer blind himself to the certainty of Sarah's love for him:—he had always rejected the idea up to that moment: but now every thing on her part indicated her attachment—and every look of Metella only served to corroborate his opinion relative to the situation of her niece's heart. Oliver was in reality so fond of Lady Mowbray—he had experienced in her society the charms of so sweet, so tranquil, and so peaceful a passion—that he had fancied himself incapable of entertaining a more ardent flame: he had therefore given himself up in all imagined security to the danger of having so angelic a being as Sarah for his adopted sister. In proportion as his sentiments with regard to Sarah became more lively, he succeeded in pacifying his own scrupulous conscience by the idea that Metella was still dear to him: and in this he did not deceive himself;—only, that in the one instance love had usurped the place of friendship—and in the other, friendship the place of love. The soul of that young man was so ardent and yet so pure, that he did not know how to render an account of *himself* to *himself*.'—Ib. 20, 21.

This the reader will doubtless think strange morality, but whoever reads the modern French novels must be prepared for no morality at all. The story ends by Oliver going away and never returning, and the ladies drying their tears, and doing as well as

they can. This 'sacrifice,' as it is entitled, is indeed so silly as almost to neutralize the wickedness; but in another novel of Madame Dudevant, the folly and wickedness are greater. This is 'Jacques,' on which Mr. Reynolds remarks, that it is 'a 'striking and affecting description of the sacrifice which a mag- 'nanimous mind is capable of making to the felicity of others.' The story is this: Fernande, a young beauty of eighteen, marries a very respectable person, Jacques, whose only fault is that he has seen thirty-five years. This, however, it appears, is an insuperable objection, and the young lady becomes very miserable. Jacques, to amuse her, invites a fascinating young man named Octave to his house;—as a necessary consequence they fall violently in love, and as they become pleased, Jacques in his turn becomes miserable. His 'noble nature,' however, points him to one method of reconciling all difficulties (we think it would puzzle an Englishman to find it out), it is this; Jacques kindly puts a pistol to his head, and ends his life, and the guilty pair, shedding a few tears over the remembrance of his many virtues, live happy ever after! Would the reader believe that there are even worse novels than this, written by Georges Sand, but there are, works which we rejoice not to have seen, works which even Mr. Reynolds characterizes as 'a hellish compound of poisonous drugs.' Hellish, indeed, is the speech which she puts into the mouth of one of her heroines: 'there is one refuge from man, it is suicide; 'there is one refuge from God, it is annihilation!' Such are the openly expressed sentiments of the leading writer of 'la jeune 'France.'

De Balzac is considered as the next writer; and of his talents none can be ignorant who have read even detached passages of his 'Le Père Goriot,' and his 'Eugenie Grandet.' These are far less immoral works than those which the French press generally sends forth; they are valuable too, as giving what his very eulogists declare to be a faithful picture of life among the middle and lower classes. If that be the case, the hardworking, psalm-singing, sunday-school-teaching mechanic of England enjoys far more of the blessings even of 'the life that now is,' than the small tradesman of France who spends his evening on the boulevards, and his Sabbaths in the dancing-booths. 'Le Père Goriot' is a man arisen from the lower classes, and become, by dint of hard earning and hard savings, a 'Millionaire;' and all this fortune is lavished on two unnatural daughters, who strip him of his last franc, and leave him to die half of sorrow, half of actual starvation, in a miserable 'pension.' This story has been called the Lear of private life, and the title is not inappropriate; but the gloom is here unrelieved by a single gleam of kindly feeling. There is no Cordelia to soothe the heart-broken old man, and to teach the important lesson, that those who from conscientious feeling are

fearful of promising too much, are those who most strictly fulfil their duties. But the Lear of French society meets not even with sympathy from the starving objects around him, while the moral callousness which he displays in paying the gaming-table debts of his daughters, and more,—coolly supplying money to be lavished on their paramours (and they are both married women), makes us lay down the book with scarcely a feeling of pity for his sufferings. In De Balzac's other novels, the worst faults of the worst French writers abound, and from the testimony, not of 'prudish' Englishmen, but of the Parisian critics, we learn, that there are many of his works 'which ought never to have seen the 'light.'

Eugene Sué, the novelist who has been termed the 'Cooper' of France (most unjustly to the fame of that great American novelist, 'the hollow oak whose palace is, whose heritage the sea),' comes next; but certainly it is only because Sué has written what are called maritime novels, that any resemblance can be traced. In Sué a ferocious spirit is observable even throughout his lightest scenes, while a vein of blasphemous irony runs through all his remarks: the reader must endure a short specimen, lest we should be accused of bringing charges which we cannot substantiate.

'Two days after, the tempest was entirely calmed. The sky was blue—the air pure—and the sun rose gorgeously from his palace in the eastern main.

'The wine was all gone—the biscuit crushed under foot or spoilt by the salt water—and the miserable creatures upon the raft were fain to crunch hats, shoes, and ropes. Some had, in their ebriate madness, drank the salt water with avidity. Others put nails and little pieces of lead into their mouths, with the hope that the metallic moisture would abrogate a portion of their thirst. A sailor was slain in a dispute relative to a leathern waistband which each wanted to possess. The old Doctor Garnier was killed to supply food for the famished crew: he died in cursing those whom he used to call his children.

''A sail! a sail!' was the feeble cry that suddenly issued from the lips of those wretched men.

'For a moment grief was dumb—hunger appeased—and thirst quenched! Hope eradicated every sentiment of hatred; and all unkind feelings were banished by the thought that succour was at hand. And, then, those men lately so fierce—so cruel—so terrible, rushed into each other's arms, shook each other's hands, and gave vent to the most unfeigned joy.

''You never will be able to climb on board without the help of the accommodation ladder,' said Paul to his father, with a cunning smile.

''My dear child,' returned the fond parent, 'I know not what secret voice told me that we should not be separated yet awhile. And in sooth! heaven could not part us; for I implored its aid often enough for thee, my boy—oh! I prayed for thy safety night and day! And

heaven never abandons those who pray with sincerity ; as this unlooked-for aid must prove to you.'.....

' 'Heavens!' cried Szaffie at this moment, in a tone of deep emotion and alarm ; 'what does that mean?' he added—as he pointed out the frigate to a sailor who was occupied in preparations for a speedy departure from the raft.

' 'She can't bear down upon us, sir,' replied the man ; 'but as the tide will—oh!—no—no—'

'And the man screamed like an infant disappointed in its desire to possess some toy.

' 'What is the matter?' demanded Pierre Huet.

' 'She has not seen us,' returned Szaffie, in a voice of thunder, his eyes flashing fire, and his teeth grinding against each other. 'Ah! ha! my fine singers of psalms—heaven never deserts those who pray—eh?'—and the irony of that man pierced like a dagger to every heart.

' 'Oh! it is impossible!' cried the lieutenant.

'It was, however, too true. The frigate luffed, and was speedily out of sight. So long as even the faintest outline of its sails was perceptible upon the horizon, the occupants of the raft would not give up all hope: they could not—dared not believe that destiny, or fate, or heaven could have prepared for them so atrocious a mockery!'

—Ib. pp. 97—102.

'Destiny, fate, or heaven!' and in this manner are all this writer's tales related.

The next writer, like all the foregoing, enjoying a wide popularity, is Frederic Soulié, an author who may have become known to some of our readers by his romance, so full of murders and every other horror, but which professes to give a *correct* (*!*) picture of the middle ages, 'Le Vicomte de Bezieres.' His 'finest work,' in the estimation of Mr. Reynolds, is, however, 'Les Deux Cadavres,' and as the scene is laid in England, and in the time of Cromwell, we give his account of the story.

'The work commences with the execution of Charles the First, which is described with painful accuracy. This is the first horror. Then come the desecration of a grave in Westminster Abbey—the parade of a corpse through the streets of London—the hideous ceremony of presenting a jug of beer to the motionless lips of the dead thing, as the procession moves up the Poultry—the visit of two adventurous men to the chapel in Windsor Castle at midnight—the exhuming of a coffin—the circumstance of one of those men putting his hand to the dead body which that coffin contained, and finding by the dissevered head that it was the corse of the late king—the journey through dark and dismal roads with that coffin upon a sledge drawn by dogs—the rape of a beautiful girl by her lover in an hour of madness—the progress of the plague—murders, duels, riots, and deaths—and then the horrid agonies endured by that young girl, who lingered

through all the stages of starvation, tied to a tree, till she wasted away, expired, and was found a fleshless skeleton some time afterwards! This is the brief analysis of *Les Deux Cadavres*: this is the framework of the book upon which was built the reputation of M. Frederic Soulié.'—Ib. p. 114.

What a book, and what a reputation! and what gross violation of historical truth to represent Puritan soldiers holding a can of beer to the lip of a corpse! But however these writers abuse kings and priests, we can assure our readers that Puritans and Methodists are the objects of even fiercer hate. Cromwell, especially, is a favorite subject, both in novel and drama; but how is that wonderful man represented by writers who consider regicide the noblest of duties?—as the vilest hypocrite, the most bloodthirsty wretch that ever disgraced humanity. And why is he thus represented? because French nationality is hurt at the recollection of a man who threatened to plant his cannon at the very gates of Paris; and French infidelity scandalized at a general who, after his greatest victory, could write 'this is the Lord's doing, 'and it is marvellous in our eyes.'

In their love for all that is horrible and revolting we lament to say there are many French writers as eminent as Frederic Soulié. Even those few who have escaped the graver faults of their contemporaries, exhibit a strange seeking after what cannot be dwelt upon without pain and loathing. These stories, too, abound in misfortunes. The remark of Froissart so many centuries ago, that the English 'divert themselves very mournfully' (*moult tristement*), may, we are sure, be applied to the French in the present day. Even the more moral, instead of emulating the healthful spirit of the English writers (we exclude the Byron school, for that is scarcely English in character), and summoning the aids of poetry and imagination to throw a pleasant sunshine over life, delight to dwell on its miseries, and add touch after touch to their picture of wretchedness, until it rivals the graphic force of some of Crabbe's most appalling scenes,—while, unlike him, they teach no stern but wholesome moral.

The following extract is from a paper by Jules Janin, one of the most eloquent, as well as moral of the modern French novelists; it will, we think, exemplify the foregoing remarks. The young girl is an orphan, and she goes to an old woman to obtain the means of subsistence.

'The aged woman remained for a space of time shrunk up in her contemplations, cowering, as it were, at the bottom of her own filthy soul. Then lifting up her eyes, she looked on that fair thin face, whose roundness it were easy to restore—those little hands that might be made so white—that blue eye with its long lashes; and the witch breathed from her foul breast a tainted sigh. That sweet face had

brought before her the memory of happier times. In better days, how would she have rejoiced to adorn that body, whose rich forms the tattered garments failed to hide—to enhance with the whitest lace that small head so delicately turned—to cover with fine tissues those shoulders so fresh and polished—to put snowy gloves upon those snow-cold hands—to imprison with a narrow shoe that little foot, playing so prettily, and at large, within its coarse and worn-out covering! What a master-piece could the vile hag have made of that starving girl! She would have wrought a miracle upon her, like that of Pygmalion. And when her master-piece *was* created—when it stood in beauty, erect on its pedestal, warmed by the sun, and sparkling at once in the light from within, and the light from on high, then would the wrinkled and dirty-petticoated Phidias have summoned around her handy-work all the *connoisseurs* from city and from court. Then would this hag-Pygmalion have put her statue up for public sale, and prostituted her Galatea for gold; for such had been amongst the pleasant and profitable occupations of the witch in her better days!

'"My child,' said she to the poor girl, 'I can do nothing for you, my child! I am dying with hunger myself, while I speak to you.'

'And the young girl sate herself hopelessly down on the ground before the old hag's fire. That fire was the earthen-pot, filled with ashes, but nigh exhausted, and sending forth an odour like the foul breath of one in a fever. And as she thus sate, she was face to face with the hag; and the old woman, with a look of regret, and almost of pity, passed her withered fingers through the orphan's long fair hair—an unpremeditated act, which brought vaguely back into her mind the cares she had long ago bestowed upon the fleeces of her flock.

'Pliant, and silky, and thick, and free from all corrupting essences, were those bright tresses. They were the beautiful tresses of a poor and unoccupied girl, who has nothing better to do than adorn herself with the sole adornment which is left her. The rich curls floated down about her white and slender neck, and clustered in ringlets around her ivory forehead. The aged hag played with their shining masses. A breath of wind disturbed the ashes in the earthen pot, and the small white flakes fell upon the long fair hair; and when they descended, you could not have shown the spots on which they rested—so bright were the colors of those flaxen tresses.

'Suddenly a thought struck the hag!

'"Wilt thou sell thy long hair?" said she to the poor young girl.

'The old woman, with the cool unconcern of a shop-woman about to give false measure, and holding the rich tresses by the roots, set about comparing their length with the length of her arm; and the bright and silken hair, matched against the stringy tendons which stretched beneath her own yellow skin, took from the contrast a hue yet more tender. The hag herself, unconsciously struck by the contrast, sate long, with out-stretched arm, gazing by turns upon the glossy ringlets and the withered arm. While yet she gazed—a thin, grey fibre of hair straggled out from beneath the dirty cap of the withered crone;

—it was as if the dry and meagre lock had looked forth, to gaze with envy upon the flowing ringlets of the fair young girl!

'Wilt thou sell thy hair?' asked the hag. 'It is a good ell in length; and, if thou wilt, I will bring thee fifteen francs.'

'The young girl, tossing her rich tresses, first on one side, and then to the other, and parting, with her wasted fingers, the ringlets that clustered round her forehead, lifted up her large moist eyes, and answered with a sad smile. But she was hungry; and the strife of hunger against her innocent and enfeebled vanity was too unequal. For fifteen francs she sold the treasure of her beautiful hair.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 105—110.

But the price of her hair lasts not long, and she once more goes to the old woman, who purchases one of her front teeth. This part of the story is so powerfully, as to be most painfully, told; but still, for what purpose, for we can discover no aim, no moral at all, unless these strange remarks are intended for it.

'When she heard echo through her soul that dreary word, 'Ugly! thou art ugly!'—then did the poor and half-naked girl feel herself poorer and more naked than she had ever done before! and she sate down and sobbed—though her eyes gave no tears. And then, in the bitterness of her sorrow, she bowed her head upon her hands, and that brought fresh grief; and, as she felt its nakedness, in this hour of her shaken spirit and deep desolation, her hands recoiled from the touch, as if they had met with red-hot iron!

'Twenty days longer she lived upon her tooth—twenty sad and cheerless days—twenty days that heard no word of friendship, and saw no smile. She had lost the sole protectors that nature had given, and fortune left her—her sweet smile, and her fair hair! She had sold the two friends of her youth! She had parted with the rich ornaments that cost nothing, and yet were so precious, and that nothing would replace. She had lain hands upon herself;—more wretched, and *more to be pitied, a thousand times, for this suicide in detail, than all the young girls* who perish entirely and at once, the victims of a wronged and slighted love!'—Ib. pp. 116, 117.

The sketches of Jules Janin, with all their affectation, and yet graver faults, have however, both eloquence and feeling; but what shall be said to the 'Deathbed,' by Jules Lacroix? the most disgusting picture of mental and bodily torture we ever read. We dare not inflict upon our readers more than a short specimen. Delfosse has been thrown out of window by his own son! and is now lying with fractured limbs, while his mistress Julia, watches beside him, not to sooth his sufferings, but to kill the dying man by slow tortures: the catastrophe is all that we dare give.

'"O God, come to my aid!' cried M. Delfosse, in the midst of the most horrible convulsions: 'O God! hear my prayer!'

'"*Your* God!' echoed the Italian, in a tone of joyful raillery; 'I thought you had none! How long have you believed in God? From the moment when your tortures commenced? But, oh! far more horrible will be your sufferings in hell—and then, indeed, you may well cry, 'My God! my God!'

'"O Julia! let me live. I am repentant—remorse has reached me at last. Give me time to expiate my sins, and reconcile myself to God!'

'"No—no,' returned the Italian, 'you must not live to repent—you must die to suffer eternal misery! I shall be the avenging demon hereafter charged to torment you in hell.'

'"Julia,' said he, in a voice so feeble it was scarcely audible, 'do not torture me more. Leave me to die in peace, and I will bequeath to you all my fortune.'

'"Agreed!' cried the Italian, a ray of delight illuminating her eyes. 'But I must have it *all*—none must share it with me—it shall be a dowry for my daughter.'

'"You shall have it, Julia,' said the dying man. 'Bring me writing materials—and loosen my hands.'

'Madame Alvare hastened to untie the handkerchief, and then proceeded to fetch the ink and paper.

'In the meantime M. Delfosse stretched out one of his hands, and opened a little cupboard concealed in the wall of the alcove.

'"Here are writing materials,' said Madame Alvare, bending over the couch.

'At that moment the dying man, inspired by rage and a hope of vengeance, seized the Italian with one hand by the hair of her head, and with the other he blew her brains out. It was a pistol which he had sought in the little cupboard!

'When his servants entered the room they found M. Delfosse a corpse in his bed, his countenance distorted, and his teeth clenched together. In one of his hands he held a quantity of long jetty hair, to which hung a portion of a human skull black and bleeding.'

—Ib. pp. 91—94.

With this extract we fling these disgusting volumes away; indignant that France should have produced so much moral poison, but yet more indignant that an Englishman should be found to translate and publish ribaldry and blasphemy which a few years since would have rendered him obnoxious to a prosecution.*

In thus directing the attention of our readers to modern French literature, we have performed what has been far from a pleasant

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* In this we allude particularly to his translations of Berenger. Mr. Reynolds is now editor of the 'Teetotaller,'—are the members of that body aware of his opinions?

task, and what we should have shrunk from but for a paramount sense of duty. But even as the charnel-house may afford a more striking lesson than the blossoming field, the atrocities (we cannot use a milder term) of this school may supply us with valuable instruction. We find all its writers not merely rejecting revelation, but scoffing at the very existence of one great overruling intelligence;—now what picture of man do their works present? Is he the noble, far-sighted creature, pressing onward in the fulness of his intellectual strength, untrammeled by any opposing power toward perfection? No; he is the veriest sport of destiny, the merest bond-slave of that stern, unyielding, withering abstraction which they call necessity. The finest work of this school, one which in the outset we intended to review, 'Notre 'Dame de Paris,' is a prose epic consecrated to this very subject. 'All are involved in the inextricable mazes of destiny,' says its author, 'even as the gilded fly in the spider's web;' and how in that dark and fearful story is one after the other swept along,—Claude Frollo, with his stern will and lofty imaginings, even as Esmeralda, that light, weak creature; and Quasimodo, and young Jehan, and Sœur Gudule,—all, inevitably involved in ruin! Is this a philosophy to regenerate the world?

The fears of a future judgment we have been told has a tendency to make men gloomy. Now, here is a literature that ceaselessly cries 'let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;' but what is its effect? are the characters in these novels gay, light-hearted beings? No, indeed; a more lugubrious company can scarcely be imagined. Plague, pestilence, famine, murder, stalk through every page; the heroes and heroines are alike 'hateful and hating one another;' and human life is painted as one long pilgrimage of woe and disappointment. Never were spirits, by their own confession, more 'weary and heavy laden' than Georges Sand and Victor Hugo, and what wonder, since they have rejected Him who alone can give them rest. Never were such demon characters exhibited in fiction as those which Eugene Sué, and Soulié, and Michel Raymond present, and what wonder, since they declare that all morality is priestcraft, and that no man is answerable for his actions.

A wholesome lesson may be gained from all this, a lesson which rightly learnt may teach us to prize more highly our English morals, our English institutions, our English religious privileges; and casting our eyes along the noble range of English literature, we may rejoice with an unblameable nationality, that such works as these we have reviewed, have not been the production of English writers. And how important is the duty which the English writer of fiction has now to fulfil. Our noble language is not confined to one kingdom,—not even to European courts; it has gone forth wherever our vessels have sailed, wherever the

spirit of English enterprise has penetrated. Mighty empires are rising, and in all of these English is the mother tongue of the people; and to England will they look for their popular literature. An overwhelming thought is this—the solitary writer in his obscure study may awaken feelings to which millions of hearts shall respond,—may give the impulse to that movement which shall be felt at the uttermost parts of the earth.

Art. V. 1. *Report of the Homerton College Examination.*
2. *Report of the Stepney College Examination.*
3. *Report of the Highbury College Examination, &c.*

MANY of the remarks in the present article will be found substantially the same with those contained in an article (though from a different pen) in the January number of the present year. We offer no apology for such repetitions, not only because the subject is sufficiently important to justify frequent discussion, but because they are not a mere echo of the same voice; they must be considered as the concurring judgment of different minds independently exercised on the same important subject.—But it will be also found that the present article is not a mere repetition of the opinions contained in the one above adverted to; the views there insisted on are extended, and many related topics, then omitted for want of space, or cursorily touched, are discussed at length.

If it be true that the religious character of our population is, and must ever be moulded by the men to whom they look for instruction, and if we regard the purity of the church to be intimately connected with the growth of the principles of Protestant Nonconformity, it is assuredly of the very first moment that our own colleges should, as far as possible, avail themselves of all the improvements which modern education can afford. However well adapted they may have been to the spirit of the age, when first established, it is obvious that unless they keep pace with the growing intelligence of the present day, and unless the ministers of our churches attain a degree of mental culture and intellectual power, as much beyond the great body of the population as they did in former years, it is impossible but that their influence both secular and religious should rapidly diminish. From hints which we have not unfrequently heard thrown out, we feel convinced that a stirring and thorough reformation is looked for, in this department, amongst the more enlightened part of the Protestant Dissenting community. We do not intend the slightest

disrespect to the exertions which have been made in the institution and the management of our dissenting colleges throughout the country. So far from that, we believe that *on the present system of instruction*, the course of training adopted has been generally the very best that could have been devised for answering the end; while the exertions of the tutors, and the frequent laudable zeal of the students have in many cases done much to supply the defects which this system involves. The time, however, is now coming when the demand for a far, very far more extensive course of education will be imperatively made by the growing intelligence of the country.

It will not be consistent with our time or space to descant much (however strongly we feel inclined to do so) on the absolute necessity, in addition to the claims of theology, of a thorough classical, and to a far greater extent than has as yet been imparted, scientific course of instruction; especially as the attention of the public has already been directed to this topic in a former number of this journal. Our present purpose is simply to point out what we consider to be some of the defects in the system of college education now in vogue, and to give some hints towards its improvement.

In alluding to the defects of the present system, it is very far from our intention to expose to the public view any minor and local abuses which it is possible may find a temporary lodgment in the very best institutions of an educational nature. Our object is a far more necessary one than this, aiming at a much more general view of the question, and pointing at *principles* rather than *details*.

One of the chief of these defects, then, we regard to be the extreme shortness of the period of study for conveying anything like an extended and thorough acquaintance with science, literature, and theology. There is no profession in which the time of preparation is one half so disproportioned to the necessary acquisitions that pertain to it, as in the most weighty of all professions, that of the minister of 'truth and righteousness.' Seven years are thought little enough to gain a complete acquaintance with any branch of mercantile business. Few students of medicine think of taking upon themselves all the weight and responsibility of a practice before they have gone through a long course of preparatory discipline. The labor required for the study of the law, in any of its departments, to be successful, is equally long and severe. In theology alone, to say nothing of all the concomitants necessary for its proper pursuit, a few short years are thought sufficient to fit the aspirant to the ministerial office for all the arduous obligations it involves. Six years is the very longest term that has ever been proposed at any of our theological institutions, and,

we believe we are correct when we say, that where this length of time is permitted, not one in twenty, owing to the whole system of the education adopted, is found to stay it out. Five years may be regarded as considerably *above the average length* of a student's course, and the last of these is far more frequently than not, quite unavailable for the steady pursuit of any branch of important knowledge. A great number are contented with four sessions, as sufficient to lay the foundations for the whole of their ministerial course, and not a few anxious, often with a laudable zeal, to engage in their great and delightful employment, accept invitations that are, we must say, thoughtlessly given them by destitute congregations at the end of the third.

Now let us consider for a moment what has to be accomplished in this brief period. The *majority* of the candidates, we should premise, instead of coming from the most influential and best educated classes of the dissenting community, belong to a station in which either the claims of business or other causes have prevented them from making any but a very slender proficiency in learning. The Latin, the Greek, and the Hebrew languages, then, have for the most part to be acquired, a task in itself more than sufficient to employ all the time allotted to their college career; civil and ecclesiastical history must be carefully investigated; mental and moral philosophy, so absolutely essential to a mind that pretends to think largely and vigorously, and to weigh great principles, must be cultivated; the mathematics, and as much as possible of their application to physics must be edged in; and then the whole range of biblical science and divinity which, whatever else be neglected, are of the very first moment in a minister's education, must summon the most vigorous energies of the mind. If any of these branches be totally neglected in the education of those who have to direct and to lead on the age (and we might mention some other things almost equally necessary), there will be a lack which must be severely felt through the whole of their life, and which it will be extremely difficult, with all the weight of ministerial engagements, ever to supply.

The bare idea of all these subjects being entered into with anything like spirit and success, in the short period we have alluded to, is obviously absurd; and yet, unless they *are* entered into, we must be content to let our own ministers lag behind both the superior cultivation of those of the Establishment and the advancing spirit of the age; while our principles must gradually suffer the detriment and contraction which such a deficiency will of necessity entail. To show that we are not singular or unreasonable in pleading earnestly for a more lengthened course of training for the most important and difficult of all employments,

we might bring forward the fact, that the necessity of it has been felt in almost every other community of Christians possessing an educated ministry. In the Establishment of our own country, it is needless to mention the literary advantages which the Universities afford, and the extensive acquirements which a portion of the clergy make in literature and science. If their theological course has been proportionably less complete, they have reaped the evil fruits of it, and, we believe, are now preparing to correct the error. In Scotland, the full course of a student for the ministry *ostensibly* extends to eight or nine years. The first two are usually given almost exclusively to the study of the Latin and Greek languages; the third to logic; the fourth to moral philosophy; while the mathematics are generally included in the spare time of some one or two of these first four sessions, as a preparation for the physic class of the fifth year. After this, the student advances with all the aid of a mind strengthened and disciplined by both mathematical and metaphysical reasoning to his four years' course of Hebrew literature, church history, and theology. Such, at least, is the theory of the Scottish Establishment, though wofully departed from in practice.

It is true, that our own students have access to these colleges, and the benefit of this is seen from the fact that both our yearly classical examiners, and the men who fill the classical chairs at our English institutions, as well as the most eminent of our ministers, are many of them, either natives of Scotland, or Englishmen who have attended some one or more of the northern Universities. Still, although we *may* avail ourselves of these advantages, the reflection is by no means flattering that out of the large body of English theological students and ministers who have attended merely our own institutions, so few comparatively should be found, who, by the aid of the instruction and stimulus there afforded, have qualified themselves for the office of tutors. In Germany, again, the education of the clergy is even more severe and complete. The youth, before he quits the gymnasium, has to declare his intention as to the profession he wishes to follow in after life; and then the course of his education is so adapted as to draw out those powers of mind and impart those branches of learning which are more peculiarly fitted for the office he has to sustain. 'No greater or more needful favor,' said the great philosophical poet of that country, 'can be conferred upon any one 'than *early* to initiate him into the chief destiny of his life.'

The consequence of the brief course of preparation now commonly recommended in our own communities is, that the student, anxious to get an insight into as many branches of knowledge as possible, does not, in the majority of cases, follow out any one of them to a sufficient extent. Four or five years of hard study

are generally necessary for clearing away from the mind the various 'idols of the tribe, the cave, the forum, and the theatre,' that more or less pre-occupy the mind; and it is only when once these are set aside, and the mind is invigorated and informed by this very process, that it can begin to reap the vintage which such labors have been preparing. A student's course, if his mind be not previously educated, and enlarged by close thought, is at first a species of drudgery. If principles are then brought before him they are not half appreciated, or incorporated into his intellectual being; so that the same course of philosophy or theology does not convey one twentieth part of the instruction to a person but just forming the habits of analysis, that it does to those whose minds are previously well disciplined.

If the student were to *begin* a course of moral philosophy and theology at about that period of his mental development, where he now *finishes* his term of study, it would be *all gain*, and instead of being but just followed out and barely comprehended, would be instantly grasped by the mind, and, by the aid of the then acquired habits of generalisation, made the starting point for original thought or further investigation. We feel convinced, from a personal acquaintance with several of our academical institutions, that any intelligent student belonging to them, so far from accusing us of injustice in making these remarks, would fully bear them out, and enter warmly into any plan that might be adopted for supplying the defect.

But we proceed to state what we consider another defect in the present system of college education and that is the almost total want of external stimulus in the pursuit of knowledge. We are fully aware that there are minds which will continue their pursuit of knowledge under all circumstances, and to this fact we owe many of the brightest ornaments of the Protestant dissenting ministry of the present day. But when we consider that there are between three and four hundred constantly engaged in preparation for the dissenting ministry in our country, it is not reasonable to suppose, that a twentieth part should rise so far above the common level as to dispense entirely with what has always been found necessary to urge onward the mind in the arduous course of learning. We know of no school of education whatever, except our own collegiate institutions, in which some reward or honorary distinction is not attached to superior diligence or uncommon acquirements. We are well aware that the importance of the work in which the student of theology is engaged is often held up as being itself a sufficient incitement to industry and activity; but we have now to do with the question of *fact*, rather than of theory; and the fact unquestionably is, that the mind, even although impressed with all the weight of the motive just mentioned, will be carried on by emulation when the absence

of this stimulant will often leave it dull and inactive. We have known the very same students, when transferred from the literary ease of an English college to the excitement and emulation of one of the northern Universities, putting on a completely different intellectual character; and we believe that it is impossible for those who have themselves experienced such a change to deny the bracing influence which the excitement thus administered affords. It is true that the public examinations of our theological students, in some respects, supply this deficiency; but the influence of these is for the most part temporary, operating for a short period immediately preceding the examination The very constitution of our colleges, besides, renders the application of some outward stimulus peculiarly needful. The intimate connexion which of necessity subsists between all the occupants of the same dwelling, and the constant access that each one may have to the society of others of the same age and pursuits as himself, renders the temptation of indulging in these social enjoyments almost irresistible. We do not state this as a serious evil in our present institutions, but only as a circumstance which unquestionably heightens the necessity of an external influence for inducing application, to counteract this other external influence which is apt to occasion a too frequent and too lengthened relaxation. More than once has it been mooted by the metropolitan students whether they should not themselves raise a fund for a yearly prize for the best essay on some given subject, to be competed for by their whole body; and more recently has a somewhat similar notion been thrown out by some of the lay directors of our academies; all which are indications, both from students themselves, and from those who are quietly looking on, that there is a certain lethargy brooding over them that requires to be dispelled, and that a species of excitement is demanded to render the system more extensively efficient than at present it can be.

With regard to one of our institutions now in connexion with University College, London, the evil which we are considering certainly does not exist; and many of the alumni have followed out, with great honor and benefit to themselves, the advantages there afforded. This shows that there is a spirit for large and varied acquirement amongst our youth, which if properly fostered and granted time to develope itself, would form some of the most vigorous and unfettered minds of the present age. There is much in our ecclesiastical system, unhampered as it is by creeds, articles, and confessions, to cherish an inquiring spirit, while our attachment to the Scriptures as the only rule of faith, and, indeed, the very dependence which the minister has upon the common sense of the multitude of which his flock consists, curbs that tendency to extravagance which a too enthusiastic mind

will often labor under. Let this spirit be cherished, let it be directed by knowledge and truth, and we need not fear to have able and ardent supporters of those principles of Christianity and Christian discipline which we believe to be intimately connected with the welfare of the world.

The want of excitement and sympathy in the pursuit of learning is partly owing to the limited numbers that compose the different classes at our various colleges. Whoever has attended a full class-room, and felt the influence which a number of minds all intent on the same objects exerts, can appreciate the difference in the progress he is likely to make under such circumstances compared with what he could make in a class of ten or a dozen, all perhaps somewhat on a level in capacity and attainment. Not but that such classes are often conducted by the learned occupants of our academic chairs with great skill and vigor; but we speak from experience when we affirm, that the private study necessary for keeping up with them is not by many degrees so severe as that which in any active mind will be produced by a class of forty or fifty, where the desire for distinction will stimulate the more advanced, and the fear of lagging behind urge forward those who are apt to be tardy and lethargic.

On this point, however, we shall not insist at any length, but proceed to what we consider a far more serious deficiency in the education pursued at the dissenting colleges, namely, the paucity both of the topics which are included under the regular curriculum and of the teachers employed in imparting instruction.

In all institutions where instruction is carried on to any extent, it has ever been considered necessary to engage the assistance of several professors, each one eminently qualified in his peculiar department. The reasonableness of this is evident. Not only does a tutor attain a minuteness of knowledge, and a facility and simplicity in communicating it, on any subject to which with peculiar interest and delight he devotes his mind, but he likewise invests it with a beauty, and casts about it the brightness of a certain enthusiasm, which more than any thing else carries forward the pupil in his labors, and lightens the difficulty of his task. Very few minds can take up a great variety of topics, and excel equally in all. The rays of the intellect must be concentrated into one focus to shine with an intense lustre; and it is from the focus of such minds that those warm and lucid exhibitions of knowledge in its various branches are to be looked for, which give an energy and delight to the student in conquering the difficulties which lie in the road to a high and commanding position in sound learning.

Now, that the whole of our college education should be committed into the hands of two, or, as in some instances is the case,

of three tutors, is certainly not giving either the teachers or the taught a fair opportunity, the one of doing half that he feels necessary to be done, the other of receiving a due course of instruction in the many departments that are inviting his attention. The result is that what are considered the most necessary branches are taken up and pursued as far as the short time and other engagements will allow, that other branches almost equally necessary are left very nearly untouched, and that few are completely mastered. Few of our institutions, we believe, have any regular course of instruction in mental and moral philosophy and logic; equally few pursue to any available extent, as an instrument of mental culture, the study of mathematics; and not any, as far as we have heard, pay any attention to science beyond a very occasional course of some eight or ten popular lectures from a professional gentleman employed for the occasion.

That such a system should be able to send out any large number of men thoroughly furnished for the station they have to hold in the eyes of the public, and capable of being placed in comparison with those who have received the more extensive training which the literary institutions of our country now afford, is on all the principles of human nature impossible. We do not mean but that the theological student may have entered pretty fully into the chief truths of the science which has been his main study; and the error of many is to suppose that this is all that is requisite for a minister of the gospel. Far different is the case. We have, in estimating the effects of education, to look at the mind *as such;* to see whether it be taught to think, to weigh, to investigate, to reason; whether it can take enlarged views of truth, and grasp firmly great principles; whether it can persuade and convince. To form such minds, and send them in any numbers from our seats of learning to enlighten our churches, and teach the truths we profess, it is absolutely necessary that, in addition to a sufficient time for and inducements to patient study, there be a complete and separate course of instruction on each important branch. In this way the student will have no chance of overlooking anything that is essential to the training of the intellect, or of carrying narrow and partial opinions on any topic amongst the people whom he is to guide and instruct. Such is the aim, and often the successful aim of other denominations of Christians. In America, the descendants of our forefathers have far transcended in their schools of learning anything which we their English descendants have accomplished at home. There we find colleges which command the energies of the most able men in all departments, men who add the stores of learning derived from the old world, culled from the libraries both of England and Germany, to the youthful vigor of the new. It is needless to mention the varied instructions in the

different departments of science and literature to which the theological students of the Episcopal and Presbyterian bodies have access in our own country.

These, then, we regard to be some of the deficiences of our present method of college discipline. We feel it to be a somewhat ungracious and difficult task to descant on the faults of those institutions which do unquestionably contain so much that is valuable and beneficial to our country. The immense importance, however, of the question, demands that we speak with plainness and decision; neither in doing so do we cast the slightest slur upon those who have been with so much diligence, and often self-denial, instrumental in raising our colleges to their present degree of efficiency. At the time of their establishment they were moulded to the state of the dissenting body as it then was, and to the spirit of the age; but it does not follow that they are *now* altogether adapted to meet the exigencies which the advancement of knowledge brings with it. If education rapidly increases amongst other portions of the community, we must see to it that it increases amongst ourselves also; and if superior advantages are put into the hands of other sections of Christians, it is demanded of those, who believe the principles we profess, to be in conformity with the truth of God, to place their own ministry upon an equal footing in the acquisition of sound learning.

In pointing out the defects above mentioned, we have conveyed by implication what we consider to be necessary to obviate them. If longer time, greater inducements, a more extensive field of learning, and a greater number of tutors were granted to our students of theology, all our causes of complaint would be removed. We are aware, however, that so long as we keep to these general statements, very little effect will be produced by way of amending the evils under which we labor. The object now to be aimed at is to find out and suggest some feasible plan, by which the present system can be rendered more completely efficient, and the defects we have pointed out removed. The hints already given, in a former article, we of course consider important, and well worthy of the attention of the public; still, we confess, even *they* do not go far enough to meet our own cravings or anticipations. We are looking for a change far more extensive. The burden of the question must not be thrown upon the shoulders of the committees who regulate our college affairs. They can do little more than direct the vessel committed to their skill; the force which impels it forward must be supplied by the spirit and the contributions of the public at large. It is lamentable to see how little the claims of education are considered and responded to by the great body of the dissenting community. Home and Foreign Missions, Tract Societies, Bible Societies, even educational societies for

certain classes of our population, are absorbing the public attention, and throwing almost entirely into the back ground the claims of those colleges from which we must look for the very men who are to keep alive this spirit of enterprise and beneficence. We are far, very far from casting the slightest imputation upon the zeal and benevolence of Christians as directed to the circulation of truth in foreign countries, but we do think it a short-sighted policy to throw all our energies and all our sympathies abroad, and neglect the very sources at home from which the flame of Christian charity will have to be fed in future years. The welfare of all societies of a benevolent nature depends entirely on the flourishing state of religion at home; and unless our churches are directed by wisdom as well as piety, enlightened by knowledge, made to feel the demands of the world upon them, on enlarged principles of reason and conscience as well as excitement and impulse, we cannot depend upon those very supplies whether of men or money, by which we are to evangelize the nations. On all grounds the education of those who are to be the future ministers of the gospel at home, and of those who are to take the word of life abroad, demands a far greater degree of attention and support from the Christian public than it has as yet attained. We believe that this must be the *first step* in the improvement for which we are anxiously looking, and if this step be gained, and the enlightened part of the dissenting community respond to the arguments and appeals which we hope will still be made on this subject, there is little to fear but that every thing else that can be desired will speedily follow.

Now let us make, for a moment, the supposition that the five metropolitan colleges were all united, that proper accommodations for such a union were supplied by the public, that all the teachers now employed in them were retained, and each one directed his chief attention to some particular branch of sacred or secular learning with which he is more peculiarly conversant, would not such an arrangement remove much of the deficiency that is now felt to belong to them? What would be likely to be the effect of the increased numbers, and the consequently increased spirit that would be awakened, the more university-like aspect that the whole would assume, and the more complete courses of study in each department which such a disposition of the tutors would naturally call forth? Why should not fifty as well as ten have the advantage of a course of doctrinal theology such as is furnished by the learning of the venerated Tutor of Homerton? Why should not the other colleges, as well as Highbury, reap the fruits of the long exegetical labors of its Theological President? And were such the case, how efficiently could the other instructors now engaged devote their energies each to his own department? We have stated the case thus hypothetically

because we can easily estimate the difficulties which would stand in the way of such a union, in the novel application thus made of the property belonging to each institution, and the private feelings with which in some instances it would probably clash. And yet we think hardly any one would refuse to acknowledge that such a plan, if properly carried out, would infuse a fresh spirit into our college system, would of itself lead almost necessarily to a longer term of study, and would not be deficient even in the point of economy.

Leaving, therefore, this supposition, which still we should delight to see realized, let us make another that might perhaps equally well supply the exigencies of the case now under consideration.

Suppose, then, that while our present seminaries remain as they are, a more general institution were established to impart instruction on all subjects of general literature, preparatory to the student's entering on his theological course. This would in some measure be a transcript of the plan now followed in Scotland, both by the Established Church and some of the different bodies of Dissenters; where the student graduates or at least attends at the University, and then after that enters the Divinity Hall. We believe, too, that it has recently been mooted by the Secession church, whether it be not desirable to found such a literary institution, or, if we may so term it, Dissenting University, specifically for their own use and that of other adherents to the voluntary principle in that country. We confess that we see not the slightest reason why the Congregationalist and Baptist churches should not combine to form a similar university in England. The numbers, the influence, the property belonging to them, are amply sufficient to render such a scheme, if once set on foot, completely successful; and if it should be so managed as to co-operate with all the theological institutions which belong to them in various parts of the country, and either attendance or examination at this university required for admittance into any one of them, a sufficient number of students might be immediately secured for bringing the plan at once into operation. Of course, nothing but the most general outline of such an institution can be here suggested, but we might add that it would in all probability, if judiciously thrown open to general students, increase the amount of knowledge and learning among the youthful laity of our own community, and benefit even the more enlightened portion of the Methodist Connexions. Such a proposition, we know, will be met with many objections on the score of the expense of its first establishment, and the funds required by each student to enable him to attend such a preliminary course of study. But again we appeal with confidence to an increasingly educated Christian public, and believe that the same liberality

which has established and hitherto supported our institutions would soon extend itself still further, not only in setting on foot some general scheme of the nature we have indicated, but in founding such a number of scholarships as would secure a body of students imbued with the most valuable knowledge, and ready prepared to enter with the greatest advantage on their various theological classes. We can see nothing extravagant, nothing Utopian in making a proposition of this nature; the thing has already been accomplished with far less means in other places, and we are certain that not a few amongst our own body have been indulging the same idea, and are ready to enter into it with all the spirit which the importance of the end to be secured demands.

On no grounds, however, should we feel inclined to advocate the consolidation of all our theological schools throughout the country. The loss and inconvenience which must result from such a step in the neighbourhoods where they are situated, would in all probability far outweigh the benefits of another nature that might perhaps be secured. Many are the ignorant villages that are enlightened, many the destitute congregations that are supplied with temporary assistance, and, if we mistake not, many the flourishing churches that are formed by the well-timed aid and the warm-hearted exertions of our theological students in various parts of the country. Yet we do not see that these reasons would at all operate against such a consolidation, as we first hinted at in the metropolis, where no loss of this nature would be felt, and where there might be above a hundred students always engaged in that extended course of study which would fit them for the most commanding and responsible stations in the church. Such an arrangement would in spirit harmonize with the suggestions thrown out in a former article, since the metropolitan college might be carrying its students through a long and complete course of education to the higher branches of literature and science; while those of a more advanced age, or who had enjoyed less previous opportunity of improvement, might be taking a shorter course of study in some of the provincial institutions. On the other scheme, however, which we have suggested, no present arrangements would be materially interfered with, no private interests or feelings disturbed. On the other hand, all the presidents of our seminaries, we believe, would rejoice in the prospect of having a supply of students who could at once avail themselves of all their instructions, and make that rapid and efficient progress which nothing but previous habits of continued mental application can possibly secure. All that is required to bring such a plan into effectual operation is for the dissenting public to feel the necessity of it, and urge it onward with that spirit which they have shown in many other enterprises of a different nature. A mere fraction of the property that is annually raised for other benevolent purposes

would be sufficient to give it a start, while it would be but a small tax upon the wealth of many of the members of Nonconformist churches and congregations to found some one or two scholarships, to support, during their academical career, those students who might not be able to command the means of going on their own foundation.

It is true that we might be supposed, in the preceding pages, to have overlooked the fact that there is in London a university already established of the most efficient character, and sufficiently liberal in its principles to admit all, of whatever creed, to the literary advantages it holds out to them. We are fully aware however, of the superior excellency of that institution as a school of general learning, neither should we have kept it so little in view had we not felt many doubts whether its very *universality* would not be rather detrimental to our *particular* object, that of so adapting the whole course of instruction as to bear especially upon the elucidation of religious truth. We fear, too, that the whole stamp of the University College would be, as it at present exists, of far too expensive a character to meet the immediate necessities of instruction to so large a number of candidates as we should hope and expect to see soon enjoying the advantages of the system we have pointed out; while the impossibility of any co-operation between it and the various theological seminaries of our country would counterbalance many features of literary superiority it might present. All we are anxious however to do, is to suggest some plans by which an extended system of instruction might be most easily brought into *practical* operation, convinced as we feel that the time is now come when, if we are to stand our ground or advance our principles as Protestant Dissenters, the question of *education for the ministry* must be made one of prime importance and interest.

We know that it is quite possible that many may object to all this as though we were holding up *education* as able to do every thing, and losing sight of the fact that it is religious truth applied by the Spirit of God that is alone sufficient to make men think and feel aright on all subjects which are properly of a spiritual nature. In advocating the claims of *education*, however, we designedly forbear to insist upon the necessity of warm evangelical piety in the Christian ministry, because this is taken for granted as absolutely and equally needful in all cases. The ignorant man has just as much need of divine assistance as the learned, and the learned as the ignorant; but the fact that this aid from above is essential in *all instances* is far from putting all men on a level as to their natural capacity for the duty of spiritual teaching, or from preventing the use of those qualifications which are to be gained by our own exertion and industry. Neither learning alone, nor

piety alone, will fit any man for the discharge of the pastoral office; and it is nought but presumption to suppose that if he neglect either the means that are put into his own hands for influencing religiously his fellow men, or the assistance that comes directly from God, he is making himself an able minister of the new covenant. It is a delightful fact that God will bless the efforts of any sincere Christian, whoever he may be; but it is no less true that those always *have* met with the greatest success, and always *will*, who have most diligently adapted the agency they employ to the end they design to answer. No less certain is it in the physical world that the application of force will exert an influence over matter in the exact proportion of its intensity, than it is in the moral world, that intellectual power will exert an analogous influence over minds.

It is a notion sometimes entertained, that learning is a kind of thing only adapted to certain minds, and standing in a sort of opposition to that plain common sense which is to influence the multitude. The truth is, that learning *is* common sense; it is all resolvable into a knowledge of facts, and the want of it into an ignorance of them; and that an ignorance of facts, especially of those which relate to God, to nature, and to man, whether physical, metaphysical, historical, or revealed, should produce the effects and exert the influence which an extensive knowledge of them always does, is contrary to the plainest evidence of our daily experience.

In all the efforts made for the furtherance of education, in all the attempts put forth to make proselytes to our own communion, in all endeavors used to increase our influence in society at large, the great and ultimate end is to make men Christians. Unless we believed that the education of the ministry and the diffusion of our own principles as Protestant Dissenters would tend to this end, neither would be worth a moment's attention; but believing, as we profess to do, that they both have this tendency, there is no ground whatever on which we can excuse carelessness and apathy on the subject.

We call upon those who may read these remarks to look round upon the spirit of the age, and upon the efforts making amongst other bodies of Christians to extend their principles by all the aids of learning and education, and to see whether there is not a pressing necessity that something should be done, and that immediately, to foster the growth of polite and sacred literature amongst ourselves. Have we yet a sufficiency of men adapted to the chief and most prominent stations in our churches; or is there not rather a great deficiency of such? Out of the thirty or forty students that it may be supposed yearly proceed from our academical institutions, is there any thing approaching to a majority of them that have any chance of being eminent for

sound learning, or prepared for all the exigences which the age may require at their hands, long before their race is half completed? We do think that it is high time that the public attention should be directed to this subject, so intimately connected as it is with the welfare of that section of the church which we regard, even amidst all the adverse claims of the age, as the most truly apostolical. We hope that the subject will not be suffered to rest, but that others may be induced to press it with more effect than we have been able to do upon the judgment and conscience of the churches.

Art. VI. *The Sidereal Heavens, and other Subjects connected with Astronomy, as illustrative of the Character of the Deity and of an infinity of Worlds.* By Thomas Dick, LL.D.

AMIDST the bustle and debates of the present times—needful bustle and needful debates, however—it is pleasant to turn aside for a little into the paths of science. Here lie before us the ample fields of knowledge, inviting our steps and repaying our curiosity. But, alas, how short the distances we can travel in one transient life; even though we possess the aids of successive discoveries during preceding ages! It is but, as it were, the corner of each splendid field of nature that man has yet been able to explore; a humiliating and yet a stimulating fact; inasmuch as however disproportionate to the mighty whole may be our present attainments, our possible discoveries are indefinitely numerous, and will ever prove sources of the highest satisfaction. The mind formed for making accumulations of truth and wisdom finds, as it puts forth its energies, that it is capable of stretching itself in some proportion to the magnitude of the universe, as the objects of research enlarge and multiply upon it; and thus in the very acquisition of knowledge it comes to a lively consciousness of its powers and its immortality.

Wonderful as are the facts relating to the 'Sidereal Heavens,' scarcely less wonderful is it that we should be able to explore them to such an extent. But as by means of the telescope the power of the organ of sight is wonderfully increased, so as to bring into view suns and systems otherwise entirely imperceptible, it is not difficult to believe, as our author has ingeniously argued, that there may exist in other worlds certain configurations of the organ of vision by which a more extensive effect is produced than by the human eye. The difference between the eye of an insect,

which sees only an inch or two around it, and the eye of a man, which can grasp the landscape, and survey the outspread heavens, is obvious; and may furnish an analogy by which to calculate the possible capacities of the inhabitants of the starry spheres. It is conceivable, therefore, that the eye might be so formed as to penetrate to vastly greater distances. Various modifications of vision, possible to the universal Creator, may capacitate the inhabitants of the planets or the stars, by means of that light which is spread through the universe, to familiarise themselves with scenes of inconceivable glory which adorn other firmaments and vaster regions of the skies than those with which we are conversant, and may furnish matter for sublime thought and grateful adoration to other intelligent beings in the higher walks of creation, and to us in a future state, when endowed with new or more enlarged modes of perception than those which we at present possess.

But waving these points, we shall at once proceed to fulfil the purpose for which more especially we notice this interesting volume, namely to give a few extracts for the entertainment and instruction of those of our readers to whom science may be most acceptable in the popular form. The distances and magnitudes of the stars surpass all ordinary conception, and in general philosophers have been able only to determine that they must be greater than a certain calculable amount, in relation to the planetary orbs which have been ascertained. Recently, however, Professor Bessel of Konigsberg appears to have made discoveries of distance, by means of a double star in the constellation of the Swan, which has been found to have a great proper motion.

'The result is, that the annual parallax of the star 61 *Cygni* is 0".3136; that is, somewhat less than *one-third of a second.* It follows that the distance of this star from the sun is 657,700 times the mean distance of the earth from the sun; and as the distance of the sun from the earth is 95,000,000 of miles, this number multiplied by the former produces 62,481,500,000,000, or *sixty-two* BILLIONS, *four hundred and eighty-one thousand five hundred* MILLIONS of miles, which is the distance of the star 61 *Cygni* from the sun, and which of course is nearly about the same distance from the earth; the earth being in one part of its course ninety-five millions of miles nearer the star than this distance, and in the opposite part of it ninety-five millions of miles beyond it. This, I have no doubt, will be considered as one of the most interesting and splendid discoveries which have been made in astronomy for a century past. It lays a foundation for precise and definite conceptions of the distances of some of the starry orbs, of the amplitude of the celestial regions, and of the magnitude and grandeur of those countless orbs which diversify the spaces of immensity. It likewise proves to a demonstration the annual motion of the earth

round the sun, and all the principles and phenomena with which it is connected, as well as corroborates the general views of former astronomers respecting the immense distance of the fixed stars.

'Professor Bessel concludes his communication in these words:—'As the annual proper motion of *a Cygni* amounts to 5″.123 of a great circle, the *relative* motion of this star and the sun must be considered more than sixteen semi-diameters of the earth's orbit [that is, one thousand, five hundred and twenty millions of miles], and the star must have a constant aberration of more than 52″. When we shall have succeeded in determining the elements of the motion of both the stars forming the double star, round their common centre of gravity, we shall be able to determine the sum of their masses. I have attentively considered the preceding observations of their relative positions, but I consider them as yet very inadequate to afford the elements of the orbit. I consider them as sufficient only to show that the annual angular motion is somewhere about two-thirds of a degree, and that the distance at the beginning of this century had a minimum of about 15″. We are enabled hence to conclude that the time of a revolution is more than 540 years, and that the semi-major axis of the orbit is seen under an angle of more than 15″. If, however, we proceed from these numbers, which are merely *limits*, we find the sum of the masses of both stars less than half the sun's mass. But this point, which is deserving of attention, cannot be established till the observations shall be sufficient to determine the elements accurately. When long-continued observations of the places which the double star occupies amongst the small stars which surround it shall have led to the knowledge of its centre of gravity, we shall be enabled to determine the two masses separately; but we cannot anticipate the time of these further researches. I have here troubled you with many particulars; but I trust it is not necessary to offer any excuse for this, since a correct opinion, as to whether the investigation of the parallax of 61 *Cygni* has already led to an approximate result, or must still be carried further before this can be affirmed of them, can only be formed from a knowledge of these particulars. Had I merely communicated to you the result, I could not have expected that you would attribute to it that *certainty* which, according to my own judgment, it possessed.'

'The distance inferred from the parallax ascertained by Bessel is more than three times greater than what was formerly considered the *least distance* of any of the fixed stars. In order to acquire some rude conceptions of this distance, it may not be inexpedient to illustrate it by the times which certain moving bodies would require to move along such a space. *Light* is the swiftest moving body with which we are acquainted; it flies from the sun to the earth, a distance of ninety-five millions of miles, in about eight minutes, or at the rate of 192,000 miles every moment of time; yet light, incomprehensively swift as its motion is, would require 10 years and 114 days to fly across this mighty interval; so that if the star 61 *Cygni* were supposed to be only just now launched into existence, it would be more than ten years before its light could reach the distant globe on which we dwell, so as to appear like a small star twinkling in our sky. Suppose a cannon

ball to move 500 miles every hour without intermission, it would require fourteen millions, two hundred and fifty-five thousand, four hundred and eighteen years before it could move across the same interval. But to come to motions with which we are more familiar: suppose a steam carriage to set out from the earth with a velocity of twenty miles an hour, or 480 miles a day; at this rate of motion, continued without intermission, it would require 356,385,466, or three hundred and fifty-six millions, three hundred and eighty-five thousand, four hundred and sixty-six years before it could pass from our globe to the star alluded to above—a number of years sixty-one thousand times greater than the whole period which has elapsed since the Mosaic creation.'—pp. 80—83.

Persons unaccustomed to scientific research are apt to pronounce at once that there must be some error in the computation, and that it is altogether improbable, if not impossible, to measure such spaces. For their sakes it may not be amiss for once to explain this matter in the simplest terms; by which they may easily perceive that there can be no great mistake, for all is accomplished by surveys conducted on the strictest principles of mathematics, the most exact of all sciences. Let an observer remark the position of any distant object from his point of observation. As he walks along he will see that it appears to shift its place, as viewed against any other object depicted on the sky. Let him walk, say 100 yards, and the object has changed its place fifty, or any number of feet. It is clear that his path of a hundred yards has a certain relation to the apparent distance the object has traversed and the length of his journey, and the seeming movement of the object he contemplates must always have a similar proportion. This will depend on the distance he is from it; and, therefore, that distance may be measured by these proportions, that is, as mathematically expressed, by the angles made. The greater the distance the less the angle—till it is conceivable that his distance is such that the object may not seem to move at all; then its distance would be lost. Thus the magnitudes and distances of the heavenly bodies may be traced by the telescope if there be any angle. Now annual parallax is the angle made between the positions of the star as seen from one extremity of the earth's orbit, and then from the other. The distance across, or the diameter of the space in which the earth is at one part of the year and then at the opposite part, having traversed half its orbit, is 190 millions of miles. Stars, were they within a certain distance, will have appeared to move over a small space. This gives an angle, that is, a part of a circle of three hundred and sixty degrees, which may be measured. But when there is no sensible change of place in the star though we have travelled 190 millions of miles, the distance must exceed all that is measurable. If the distance of apparent motion were only

a *second*, the object would be 212,000 times further from the earth than the sun, that is, *twenty billions* of miles. But none of the fixed stars have this parallax; consequently even the nearest must be further off than even this immense remove. But at this distance a cannon ball flying 500 miles an hour, would require four millions, and five hundred and ninety-five thousand years before it could reach the star.

'Such distances are amazing, and almost terrifying to the human imagination. The mind is bewildered, confounded, and almost overwhelmed, when attempting to form a conception of such portions of immensity, and feels its own littleness, the limited nature of its powers, and its utter incapacity for grasping the amplitudes of creation; but although it were possible for us to wing our flight to such a distant orb as that to which we have referred, we should still find ourselves standing only on the extreme verge of the starry firmament, where ten thousands of other orbs, a thousand times more distant, would meet our view. We have reason to believe that a space nearly equal to that which we are now considering intervenes between most of the stars which diversify our nocturnal sky. The stars appear of different magnitudes; but we have the strongest reason to conclude that in the majority of instances this is owing, not to the difference of their real magnitudes, but to the different distances at which they are placed from our globe. If, then, the distance of a star of the first or second magnitude, or those which are nearest us, be so immensely great, what must be the distance of stars of the sixteenth or twentieth magnitudes, which can be distinguished only by the most powerful telescopes? Some of these must be several thousands of times more distant than the star 61 Cygni, whose distance now appears to be determined. And what shall we think of the distance of those which lie beyond the reach of the most powerful telescopes that have yet been constructed, stretching beyond the utmost limits of mortal vision, within the unexplored regions of immensity? Here even the most vigorous imagination drops its wing, and feels itself utterly unable to penetrate this mysterious and boundless unknown.'—pp. 83, 84.

We could willingly indulge in extracts from the different chapters of this work which treat of new stars, variable stars, double stars, and binary systems, treble, quadruple, and multiple stars, groups, nebula, and other topics; but we will confine ourselves to a passage or two on the milky way.

'The following contains a brief summary of Sir W. Herschel's observations on this region of the heavens, made with a Newtonian reflecting telescope of twenty feet focal length and an aperture of eighteen inches. He found that this instrument completely resolved all the whitish appearances into stars, which the telescopes he formerly used had not light enough to do. The portion he first observed was that about the hand and club of Orion, and he found in this space an

astonishing number of stars, whose number he endeavored to estimate by counting many *fields;* that is, the apparent space in the heavens he could see at once through his telescope, and computing from a mean of these how many may be contained in a given portion of the milky way. In the most vacant place he met with in that neighbourhood he found 63 stars; other six fields contained 110, 60, 70, 90, 70, 74 stars, a mean of all which gave 79 for the number of stars to each field; and then he found that, by allowing fifteen minutes for the diameter of his field of view, a belt of fifteen degrees long and two broad, which he had often seen pass through his telescope in an hour's time, could not contain less than 50,000 stars, large enough to be distinctly numbered; besides which he suspected twice as many more, which could be seen only now and then, by faint glimpses, for want of sufficient light. The reader may acquire some conceptions of this immense number of stars occupying so small a space, if he consider that it is fifty times more than all the stars which the naked eye can discern at one time throughout the whole heavens, and that the space they occupy is only the $\frac{1}{1873}$th part of the visible canopy of the heavens; so that if every part of the firmament were equally rich in stars, there would be within the reach of such a telescope as Herschel's no less than 68,750,000, or sixty-eight millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand stars. And we are farther to consider that it was only in the comparatively 'vacant places' of this zone that the number of stars above stated were perceived.'—pp. 189, 190.

'Supposing the Milky Way to be, on an average, twelve degrees broad, the whole of it will contain an area of 4320 degrees $= 12 \times 360$. Now, if the space examined by Herschel between *Beta* and *Gamma* of the Swan be about fourteen degrees in length and five degrees in breadth, it will contain an area of seventy degrees, which is somewhat less than the $\frac{1}{61}$st part of the space occupied by the Milky Way. Were we to suppose every part of this zone equally rich in stars as the space now referred to, it will contain no less than 20,191,000 stars, or more than twenty thousand times the number of those which are visible to the naked eye. The whole visible heavens, considered as a spherical plane, contains an area of 41,253 degrees. Now, could we suppose every portion of the firmament to be equally well replenished with stars as the milky zone, there would be more than 195,000,000 of stars in the heavens discernible by such a telescope as Herschel's; but as there are comparatively few other regions of the heavens so densely crowded with stars as the Milky Way, we must take a certain abatement from this estimate, though it is probable there are more than one hundred millions of stars within the reach of our best instruments were all the spaces of our firmament thoroughly explored; and future generations, with more powerful telescopes, may add indefinitely to the number. Had we taken the most crowded field of stars which Herschel perceived through his telescope (namely, 588) as our standard for estimating their number, the amount of stars in the Milky Way would have been forty millions, and in the whole heavens, 388 millions. In short, to use the words of Sir John Herschel, 'This remarkable belt, when examined through powerful telescopes, is found

(wonderful to relate!) to *consist entirely of stars scattered by millions,* like glittering dust, on the black ground of the general heavens.'

'In regard to the *distances* of some of these stars, we may easily conceive that they are immense, and consequently far removed from our distinct comprehension. Sir W. Herschel, in endeavoring to determine a '*sounding line,*' as he calls it, to fathom the depth of the stratum of stars in the Milky Way, endeavors to prove, by pretty conclusive reasoning, that his twenty feet telescope penetrated to a distance in the profundity of space not less than 497 times the distance of Sirius; so that a stratum of stars amounting to 497 in thickness, each of them as far distant beyond another as the star Sirius is distant from our sun, was within the reach of his vision when looking through that telescope. Now, the least distance at which we can conceive Sirius to be from the earth or the sun is 20,000,000,000,000, or twenty billions of miles; and consequently the most distant stars visible in his telescope must be four hundred and ninety-seven times this distance, that is, 9,940,000,000,000,000, or nearly ten thousand *billions* of miles! Of such immense distances it is evident we can form nothing approaching to a distinct conception. We can only approximate to a rude and imperfect idea by estimating the time in which the swiftest bodies in nature would move over such vast spaces. Light, which is endowed with the swiftest degree of motion yet known, and which flies at the rate of nearly twelve millions of miles every minute, would require one thousand six hundred and forty years before it could traverse the mighty interval stated above; and a cannon ball, flying at the rate of 500 miles an hour, would occupy more than 2,267,855,068, or two thousand, two hundred and sixty-seven millions, eight hundred thousand years, in passing through the same space!—a period of years before which all the duration that has passed since man was placed on this globe appears only like a few fleeting hours, or 'as an handbreadth or a span.'

'On our first excursions into the celestial regions we are almost frightened at the idea of the distance of such a body as Saturn, which a cannon ball projected from the earth, and flying with its utmost velocity, would not reach in 180 years. We are astonished at the size of such a planet as Jupiter, which could contain within its circumference more than a thousand globes as large as the earth. We are justly amazed at the stupendous magnitude of the sun, which is a thousand times the size of Jupiter, and which illuminates with its splendor a sphere of more than five thousand millions of miles in circumference. But what are all such distances and dimensions, vast and amazing as they are, compared with the astonishing grandeur of the scene before us? They sink into comparative insignificance, and are almost lost sight of amidst the myriads of splendid suns which occupy the profundities of the Milky Way. What is *one* sun and *one* planetary system in the presence of *ten millions* of suns perhaps far more resplendent, and of a hundred times this number of spacious worlds which doubtless revolve around them? Yet this scene, stupendous as it is, is not the universe. It is perhaps, as we shall see, only a comparatively small corner of creation, which beings at an immensely greater

distance will behold as an obscure and scarcely discernible speck on tho outskirts of their firmament; so that amidst this vast assemblage of material existence we may say, in the language of the inspired prophet, when speaking of the Almighty, that *even here* is but 'the hiding of his power.' What then must the whole of creation be? and what must be the ineffable splendor and majesty of Him who laid the plan of the mighty fabric, whose breath kindled so many millions of suns, whose hands set in motion so many myriads of rolling worlds, who supports them in their ample and diversified courses, and whose moral government extends over all? And what is man, and the globe on which he dwells, amidst this scene of immensity and magnificence? —an atom in the infinity of space—a particle of vapor compared to the ocean—a being who, in respect to the magnificence of creation and the grandeur of his Creator, is 'as nothing, and is counted to him as less than nothing and vanity.'

'Notwithstanding the size of the Milky Way, and the immense number of stars of which it is composed, it is now considered as nothing more than *one of the nebulæ,* or starry systems, which appear to be dispersed throughout the universe. It is supposed, and with some reason, that it is the nebula, or assemblage of stars, in which our sun is placed. Its situation in this nebula is reckoned to be, not in the centre of its thickness, but rather towards one of its sides, near the point where it diverges into two branches. According to this hypothesis, the Milky Way is to be considered as the projection of the nebula upon the concave surface of the sky, as seen from a point within it. 'We gather this,' says Sir W. Herschel, 'from the appearance of the galaxy, which seems to encompass the whole heavens, as it certainly must do if the sun is within the same; for suppose a number of stars are ranged between two parallel planes indefinitely extended every way, but at a given considerable distance from one another, and calling this a sidereal stratum, an eye placed somewhere within it will see all the stars in the direction of the planes of the stratum projected into a great circle, which will appear lucid on account of the accumulation of the stars, while the rest of the heavens at the sides will only seem to be scattered over with constellations, more or less crowded, according to the distance of the planes or number of stars contained in the thickness or sides of the stratum.'—pp. 192—198.

One of the most curious subjects of astronomical investigation relates to the appearance of new stars in the celestial hemisphere. These entirely elude the unphilosophic observer of the heavens, but reward the diligent research of those who with the revealing telescope watch with persevering care the sidereal changes. Hipparchus was the first to discover a new star about 120 years before the Christian era, which induced him to begin the formation of a catalogue of the stars. In the year 389, a new star appeared in the constellation of the Eagle, which was seen for about three weeks emitting the splendor of Venus, and then vanished. In the ninth century a new star became visible in the

fifteenth degree of Scorpio, which emitted the light of one quarter of the moon. Others were seen in successive ages; but the most remarkable was that of November 1572, in Cassiopeia, forming nearly a rhombus with the three largest stars of that constellation. Its brilliancy surpassed that of Lyra and Sirius; and it was even thought by some to be of superior lustre to Venus. It shone with equal splendor for about three weeks, and then gradually diminished; but was visible during the period of sixteen months, namely from November 1572, to March 1574. Its light when largest was white, afterwards yellow, then of the color of Mars, then of a pale livid white and sparkling. In 1604, another new star appeared in the foot of Serpentarius, and was distinctly observed by several astronomers for a year, passing through changes similar to those already mentioned. None of the new stars have ever re-appeared in the celestial spaces they occupied.

These singular phenomena naturally excited the inquiries of those who devoted themselves to physical science, and many conjectures have been hazarded with regard to their causes. La Place, in his 'System of the World,' says, 'As to those stars 'which suddenly shine forth with a very vivid light and then 'vanish, it may be supposed, with probability, that great conflagrations, occasioned by extraordinary causes, take place on their 'surfaces, and this supposition is confirmed by their change of 'color, analogous to that which is presented to us on the earth 'by bodies which are consumed by fire.' But our author justly remarks, that the greatest conflagration that was ever witnessed on earth cannot bear the smallest proportion or similitude to an object which must have occupied a space more than ten hundred thousand times the solid contents of our globe. The late Professor Vince remarks that 'the disappearance of some stars may 'be the destruction of that system at the time appointed by the 'Deity for the probation of its inhabitants, and the appearance of 'new stars may be the formation of new systems for new races of 'beings then called into existence to adore the works of their 'Creator.' Other distinguished individuals, as Professor Robinson and Mason Good, have adopted similar notions, evidently suggested to them by the scriptural annunciation of the manner in which the present constitution of this earth will terminate. The former in particular observes that 'such appearances in the 'heavens make it evident that, notwithstanding the wise provision 'made for maintaining that order and utility which we behold in 'our system, the day may come when the heavens shall fall away 'like a scroll that is folded up, when the stars in heaven shall fall, 'and the sun shall cease to give his light.' These conclusions are scarcely philosophical, or accordant with the principles of a rational theology; nor could we adopt them but in the very

despair of conjecture. The idea of a mass of blazing matter equal for instance to the whole orbit of the earth or of Saturn, filled up with combustibles, is in our apprehension a monstrous supposition; and to imagine that so many worlds and systems are appointed to destruction, either for no assignable reason or because their inhabitants, being all placed in circumstances of similar probation with ourselves, have similarly forfeited their allegiance and incurred punishment, is not only to travel beyond the records of inspiration, which contain no hint of the kind, but to presume upon the introduction of a degree of disorder in the moral system which is alike without evidence and without probability. The whole of revelation seems to imply a peculiarity in the case of man which, while it presents to our view an *exception* to the moral harmony of the universe, affords a display of a peculiar character of divine mercy in relation to intelligent but fallen beings, which superior spirits now and for ever contemplate with adoring wonder and praise.

Our author inquires, 'What should hinder us from concluding 'that the extraordinary phenomena of the star of 1572 was owing 'to a luminous orb of immense magnitude, accompanied with a 'retinue of worlds, moving with inconceivable velocity in an im-'mense elliptical orbit, the longer side of which was nearly in a 'direction to our eye?' We answer, nothing need hinder such a supposition: indeed, it is highly probable, and had the telescope been earlier discovered or more improved, might have been absolutely demonstrable. The magnitude of such a world, and the rapidity of motion which must necessarily have been incident to it, are easily admissible by the astronomer who is acquainted with the wonders in these respects of the sidereal heavens. The gradual diminution of size from a star of the first magnitude to that of the second, third, and so on to its total withdrawment, corroborates the supposition that it was the *motion in an orbit* that produced the approach and the disappearance. The star of 1572, might have come up from the depths of space, within the limits of our range of view, and descended, slowly to the terrestial observer, but most rapidly in fact, into those immeasurable profundities. If the star in question were twenty billions of miles from the earth at its nearest approach, that is, about the distance of Sirius, when it diminished to the size of a star of the second magnitude it must have moved, that is, from December 1572, to April 1573, four times that distance, or eighty billions of miles. This is at the rate of six hundred thousand millions of miles a day, and four hundred and sixty-two millions a minute. This is a velocity, indeed, beyond our conception; and yet when we have ascertained many kindred velocities by the aid of fixed mathematical principles, almost every one of which distances imagination, and when we consider the known insigni-

ficance of our globe, and our whole system in comparison with the measureless regions and whirling worlds around, the possibility, if not probability, of the statement may be admitted. After all, what is finite thought to infinite operations!

Here we are compelled by our space to stop; and we must be content to recommend this, as we have done previous publications of Dr. Dick, to all who wish to consult a valuable collection of scientific discoveries, stated in an intelligible manner, and enlivened by just and pious remarks. No one, we should imagine, can retire from the perusal without having his mind refreshed and to a degree expanded; and however familiar with many of the facts before, the vastness of the universe and its wonderful arrangements can never cease at every renewed contemplation to inspire renewed delight.

Art. VII. *Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Genesis, designed as a General Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction.* By George Bush, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature, New York City University. In two volumes. Vol. I. [containing Gen. i.—xxi.] New York. 1838.

2. *Notes on Joshua and Judges.* By the Same. Reprinted from the American edition of 1838. [Ward's Library of Standard Divinity, No. 17.] London: 1840.

IT will on every ground be better that the author of these volumes should describe his own plan than that we should attempt to do it for him. His main object, he informs us in the preface to his Notes on Genesis, has been 'to afford facilities for 'the correct understanding of the sacred text—to aid the student 'of the Bible in ascertaining, with the utmost practicable exact-'ness, the genuine sense of the original. With such an object in 'view it was perhaps impossible to avoid giving the work an 'aspect predominantly critical. But an apology on this score can 'scarcely be requisite at the present day, when the claims of 'sacred philology are beginning to be so highly appreciated; 'when it is so generally admitted that the grand aim of the 'Scriptural expositor should be to fix with the most absolute pre-'cision 'the mind of the Spirit' in his own word; and when it is 'so well understood that this end can be attained only by means 'of a familiar acquaintance with the original in its verbal and 'idiomatic peculiarities, its parallel usages, and its archæological 'illustrations. Besides, unless I have come wholly short of my 'aim, there will be found such a union of the practical with the 'critical, as to adapt the present and ensuing volumes somewhat

'happily to popular use. Should this prove not to be the case, I 'shall feel that the failure has been rather in the execution than 'the plan; for I know no reason to suppose the two departments 'intrinsically incompatible, or that the two-fold functions of the '*exegetical* and the *ethical* expositor may not be united in the 'same person.' To the same effect, and indeed in the very same words, the author has spoken in the preface to his 'Notes on the books of Joshua and Judges,' concerning the plan of that work.

It is only necessary to glance over the pages of these two publications, especially the former of them, to see that Professor Bush has derived his illustrations from a great variety of sources. The works of both earlier and later commentators have been consulted, and a very considerable use has been made of those most valuable aids to exegesis, the publications of recent travellers in the East. Consulting utility, as he informs us in both his prefaces, rather than originality, our author gives us here a note from Bishop Hall's 'Contemplations,' there a line or two from Bishop Horsley's 'Biblical Criticism,' in a third place an extract from Maimonides, in a fourth from Matthew Henry, in a fifth from Roberts's 'Oriental Illustrations,' and in a sixth from Stephens' 'Incidents of Travel,' while—lighting up his pages, just as to a traveller upon the ridge of Drachenfels the Rhine appears and re-appears in spots of light along its winding valley—we have ever and anon the Pictorial Bible. But our author has carefully indicated the various authorities he has employed, and in this respect has entitled himself to the respect and confidence of his readers. In reference to the Pictorial Bible, having stated that it is a repository from which he has enriched his pages with many of their choicest contents, he honorably and justly adds: 'It is an 'invaluable treasury of materials for elucidating the topography, 'the manners and customs, the rites, ceremonies, monuments, and 'customs of the East.'

Considering the popular object which the author had in view these works may be regarded as valuable. Though adapted in some measure to the use of students for the sacred ministry, particularly in the connexion which the notes frequently have with the terms of the original text, we do not consider them as meeting, in all points, the expectations or the wants of such students in our age and country. The author seems to have prescribed a certain reserve to himself on some topics in order that his volumes might be generally acceptable and useful. Owing to this feature, which however is only occasional, while they are perhaps precisely the publications of which the Sunday-school teacher will avail himself, a thorough student will want something more. If we were surprised at any thing in these volumes, it was probably this expression in the preface to the Notes on

Genesis, that with the object the author had in view 'it was 'perhaps impossible to avoid giving the work an aspect predo- 'minantly critical.' We cannot say that we consider the publication predominantly critical. It is a good book, well adapted, as we have said, for Sabbath-school teachers, and even for theological students to some extent, but predominantly critical it is not, except in that loose signification of the epithet in which it is opposed to what is merely practical.

Our readers will be interested in the following notes on Gen. iv. 3, 4, which are a fair specimen of the combined critical and practical character of the work.

Ver. 3. *In process of time,* Heb. מִקֵּץ יָמִים, *at the end of days.* That is, probably, *at the end of the year,* the time at which the feast of the in-gatherings was afterwards kept, Exod. xxiii. 16. The expression, however, is of itself indefinite, and may denote, the end of the year, the end of the week, or the expiration of any set period when this service was to be performed. Adam had taught his sons the duty of religious worship as well as that of industrious toil in some useful occupation.

Brought—that is either to the place appointed for the special worship of God, where the shekinah or visible glory was displayed, or to Adam as the officiating priest of the family, or, which is perhaps still more probable, *brought* is here to be understood as synonymous with *offered,* a usage of very frequent occurrence.

'*Of the fruit of the ground an offering,* Heb. מִנְחָה, *mincha, an oblation,* usually rendered *meat-offering,* Lev. ii. 1, 4, 7. Although, as it consisted of flour, cakes, wafers, &c., a more correct version would be *meal-offering, or wheat-offering.* But the English word *meat,* at the time when the present translation was made, was applied to farinaceous as well as animal substances. Thus, Prov. xxiii. 3: 'Be not desirous of his dainties, for they are *deceitful meat* (Heb. bread of lies).' 1 Sam. xx. 34: 'And Jonathan did eat no *meat* (Heb. bread of food) on the second day of the month.' The Mincha, when given by one man to another, denotes some peculiar dignity in the receiver, of which such a gift is the acknowledgment, and is a token of subjection, or at least submission, on the part of the giver. But when a *Mincha* is presented by man to God, it usually, though not invariably, signifies a *bloodless oblation,* in contradistinction from the זֶבַח, *zeba,* or *bloody sacrifice,* which constituted Abel's offering, though the *Mincha* was for the most part joined with the Zeba in the sacred oblations.

'Ver. 4. *Brought of the firstlings of his flock.* Either the first-born, which God afterwards, by an express law, appropriated to himself, or the choicest and best of the flock; as the *chief* of anything is often called the *first-born,* Job xviii. 13; Jer. xxxi. 19; Heb. xii. 23.

'*The fat thereof.* Heb. 'the fatnesses of them.' A similar remark to the above is applicable to this also. The *fat* of anything is equivalent to the *best part* of it. Thus, Num. xviii. 2: 'All the *best* (Heb.

the fat) of the oil, and all the *best* (Heb. the fat) of the wine,' &c. Gen. xlv. 18: 'I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat of the *fat* of the land.' Psalm cxlvii. 14: 'He filleth thee with the *finest* (Heb. the fat) of the wheat.' The offerings of Abel, however, we suppose to be holocausts.

'*The Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering*—that is, kindly and favorably regarded, had complacence in; Chal. 'He accepted with good will Abel and his gifts.' As the apostle informs us Heb. xi. 4, that God *testified* his approbation of Abel's offering, it is reasonable to suppose that this was done by the visible token of fire from heaven consuming it upon the altar. The Hebrew word denotes *to look with a rapid and keen glance of the eye,* indicating special earnestness. It is apparently with great propriety, therefore, that Theodotion renders it ἐνεπυρισεν, *kindled* or *set on fire;* upon which Jerome remarks, 'How could Cain know that God accepted his brother's offering and rejected his own unless the translation that Theodotion has given is the true one?' If it were not by this particular token that Abel understood that God was propitious to him, it must have been by one equally indubitable. Comp. Lev. ix. 24; Judg. vi. 21; 1 Kings xiii. 38; 2 Chron. vii. 1. For a correct view of the *reason* of the more favorable acceptance of Abel's offering, we must have recourse to the words of the apostle, Heb. xi. 14, who tells us that 'by *faith* Abel offered to God a more excellent sacrifice (Gr. πλειονα θυσιαν) than Cain, or as Wickliff's translation with more literal exactness renders it, 'a much more sacrifice,' i. e., a more full or complete sacrifice. Here, by declaring the offering of Abel to have been made by faith, the writer teaches by necessary implication, that Cain's offering was not made by faith, and hence undoubtedly it is, that the sacrifice of Abel is said to have been more *full*, *complete*, and *excellent* than Cain's. It was distinguished by a principle which the other lacked. Cain undoubtedly had a general belief or persuasion that God would accept his oblation, for the very act of offering a sacrifice involves the persuasion of the sacrificer that it would be acceptable. But the faith here spoken of is of a more particular kind. It is evident from the context that the faith which the apostle celebrates is *a prospective faith in Christ.* Faith then in Christ was the faith of Abel, and this faith was that which Cain wanted. *His* offering was a mere acknowledgment of God as a benefactor. It was just what a self-righteous heart would offer. It plainly evinced that he recognised no material breach between him and his Creator, nor any need of confession of sin or dependence on an atonement. He had, indeed, so far a sense of religion as to thank God for the benefits of his providence, but he evidently thought it sufficient to trust solely to the divine mercy and his own good works for acceptance. But as this was virtually denying the only revealed plan of grace and pardon to sinners, his offering was rejected. His conduct showed that he preferred the conclusions of his own reason to the express appointment of his Creator. The two brothers, therefore, may be considered as representatives of two great classes of men found in all ages, one of whom serve God merely according to the light of natural reason, which instead of dic-

tating the propriety of animal sacrifices, would simply require the expression of thanksgiving and homage, while the other have a single eye to the divine precept as to the true mode of seeking God, and always recognise the principle laid down by the apostle Heb. vii. 22, that 'without the shedding of blood there is no remission.'

—*Notes on Genesis,* vol. i. pp. 96—98.

We could refer to many other notes as being both valuable and judicious, and the spirit of the whole work is excellent. A sound judgment and a truly evangelical spirituality and seriousness pervade its practical parts. We should have been gratified had we room for the note on the sanctification of the Sabbath, Gen. ii. 3. The practical notes are occasionally drawn out to some length under a series of general observations, as is the case with that on Gen. xviii. 3, in which the narrative of Abraham's intercession for Sodom is applied to the threefold purpose of showing, '(1) How highly God esteems the righteous, and what 'blessings they are to the places in which they live.' (2) 'The 'humility which ought to characterize our addresses to God.' (3) 'The astonishing efficacy of intercessory prayer, and the duty 'which rests upon us of offering it.' We must observe, before quitting the volume on Genesis, that it contains a very useful introduction, pages vii.—xxxvi., 'on the SACRED WRITINGS generally; their titles, divisions, languages, mode of preservation, incorrupt integrity, and ancient and modern versions: on the PENTATEUCH, its title, divisions, author, and authenticity: and on the book of GENESIS, its title, scope, date, composition, and commentators. This introduction is concluded with a very useful list of works, justly characterised by Professor Bush as 'the 'nucleus of a tolerably extensive apparatus for the study and ex-'position of the sacred volume, but more especially of the Pen-'tateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament.' In that part of the introduction which refers to the ancient versions, there is some very interesting matter, but it is bare justice to say that we have never seen the characteristics of our English version, and its relation to the Hebrew so well exhibited before as in pages xviii.—xxx.

Mr. Ward's reprint of the Notes on Joshua and Judges has all the neatness belonging to the other publications in his 'Library 'of Standard Divinity.' It forms a volume of 254 beautifully printed pages, particularly reasonable in price, and additionally worthy of recommendation because it is but seldom that we can obtain a commentary on these books without purchasing one on the whole Bible.

Art. VIII. *Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean, including a Visit to Algiers, Egypt, Palestine, Tyre, Rhodes, Telmessus, Cyprus, and Greece, with Observations on the Present State and Prospects of Egypt and Palestine, and on the Climate, Natural History, Antiquities, &c., of the Countries visited.* By W. R. Wilde, M.R.I.A. In two vols. Dublin: 1840.

FAMILIAR as most readers are, and as reviewers especially are bound to be, with all the names of places enumerated in this title-page, there is always a certain charm and even freshness about them at every distinct enunciation. We may know almost every thing respecting them—what has been written and what has been said—and yet curiosity seems never satisfied, and even repetition does not weary. One thing is, there are always points of geography or history connected with them, which repeated investigation has not fully and permanently settled; and another thing is, nature and art are both found in such varied forms of magnificence—in the cloud-capped mountains, the outspread desert, the stupendous pyramid, the awful catacomb, that fancy will still have room to expatiate and philosophy to moralize in spite of all previous descriptions. Besides which, classic associations start up at every turn in some of these places, and over others religion extends its sway, in the solemn modes of prophecy, and the recollections of moral and miraculous power. Who can plant his foot, or listen to him who has done so, in Greece, in Tyre, in Palestine, without a thrill? The thrice told tale is worn out; but the scenes of nature, above all, the associations of religion cannot fail.

The volumes before us, however, are not to be understood as possessing any very grave or profound character. They neither abound with antiquarian research nor deep philosophical sentiment. Nor on the other hand are they at all of the light and frivolous cast. They are not only in general worth any one's reading, but in addition to narrative sufficiently perspicuous and amusing, they furnish some information and contain some valuable scriptural illustrations, drawn from topography or oriental customs.

The author, in his brief preface, bespeaks public attention, and with good reason, from the fact that he travelled in a different capacity from many of the able tourists who have before described the interesting scenes he visited; for he travelled as the medical attendant of a gentleman who went on a voyage in search of health. Mr. Wilde undertook to collect information relative to the climate of the places they might visit, and to keep a register of their temperature. He also, at the solicitation of others, took

daily notes of the objects which struck him as worthy of attention; and moreover they had the advantage of unfettered freedom and perfect accommodation, by going where they pleased, in a commodious yacht. All this spares us the trouble of perusing official details and accounts of the ordinary annoyances of worse provided travellers.

We willingly stop at Corunna to hear the story of 'Russian 'George.'

'On the morning of the 2nd of October, we set forward to view the memorable field of Corunna, accompanied by old George Daboish as our guide. Before we proceed further, we must introduce this personage to our readers. His history is remarkable—by birth a Russian —an Italian by descent—married to a Spaniard—and, although naturalised in Spain, claiming England for his country. Few men in his condition have seen more of what is termed *life*. He has with truth 'braved many a rough sea's storm' in his day—the very sport of the element he made his home. At an early age he was bound to the master of an English merchantman trading to the Black Sea; out of which he was, shortly after, pressed on board a British man-of-war. From this he took *French leave* at Cork, and having travelled across the country for some days, alone and penniless, he found himself at what he not inaptly calls the *mutiny* of Vinegar Hill He re-entered the merchant service, and some years afterwards was wrecked returning from the West Indies as mate, having suffered unspeakable hardships in an open boat for three weeks, during which time they were reduced to the horrible alternative—

> 'When out they spoke of lots for flesh and blood,
> And who should die to be his fellow's food.'

'From this state of misery and privation they were providentially rescued by one of our Kinsale hookers—to the inhabitants of which place he still retains feelings of the utmost gratitude. He again entered the navy, and immediately after served at the Nile; was wounded at Trafalgar, on board the Bellerophon; boasts the honor of an acquaintance with Nelson, and was present when Parker suffered at the yard-arm, after the mutiny at the Nore. He served in one of the transports in this bay at the time of the retreat, and seems perfectly acquainted with all the transactions concerning it. After this he betook himself to the merchant service; soon rose to be a master, and had acquired some wealth, but was again shipwrecked, and he alone of all his crew saved. He was thrown ashore, and beside him lay his ship's compass, the sole remnant of all his earthly possessions. He still preserves it with the greatest veneration, and exhibits it with delight to strangers.

'The ocean's greedy wave had robbed him of his home; the rocks and sands had spoliated his wealth; the drenching spray had damped, but could not quench, the fire of his enthusiasm, so characteristic of his calling, till love, all powerful, induced him to resign the ocean for

one of the dark-eyed maids of Corunna. He married, and here, by years of industry and perseverance, he rose to comfort, if not to wealth.

'Short-lived was his day of happiness. In the year 1823, when the French bombarded this town, his house, which stands outside the the walls, was struck by a random ball, and in the very spot* where he had concealed all his treasure (some thousands of dollars), which the French soldiers soon pounced upon, and fearing their vengeance for concealing his *own* property, he had actually to swim to one of the Spanish vessels in the harbour. Still he has weathered the storm, and supports himself in some comfort by the proceeds of a small posada sacrata, or lodging-house. He is now a stout old man of seventy-six—a fine honest tar of the olden days of long queues and wide trowsers. He has seen much of the world, and, what is rare in his profession, profited by it; to use his own expression, 'a man who travels much seldom dies a fool.' He is master of most of the European languages, and speaks English well. His long yarns of the days of Nelson, and the various scenes he had been partaker in, were highly amusing. He is universally known in Corunna as 'old Russian George.'—pp. 15—18.

We have been sorely tempted to quote the interesting reference to the tomb of Moore at Corunna, but must pass on to other and more important places. The next stage of the traveller's progress was to Lisbon, which however is comparatively so near and so well known, that we need not be detained by its harbour, churches, tombs, dogs, or costumes. Our author intimates that he was disappointed both with the city and the climate, owing to the great transition from the heat in the sunshine to cold in the shade. There is a suffocating feeling in the air, which is distressing to a person in health; how much more so must it be to one in a state of illness. Few diseases he thinks are relievable by the air of Lisbon, principally on account of its variability. Madeira, the third point of advance and the first on the title-page, demands more attention. The question of its adaptation to particular classes of invalids, is important to thousands, and a good medical opinion on its salubrity is worthy of great regard. At the latter end of October they arrived at Funchal, which far surpassed in beauty all their anticipations. The town runs along the edge of an open roadstead, embosomed in limes and orange-trees, coffee plantations, bananas, and the rarest plants. The hills ascend in terraces behind clothed with vines and luxuriant vegetation; and these are studded with the lovely quintas of the inhabitants to the height of some hundred feet. The Mount Church stands at an immense elevation, surrounded with venaticos and chesnut-trees. The mountains then rise still higher, clothed with verdure, and

* It is still to be seen, and this account is verified by the British consul.

beautified by waterfalls; and above all, the bald tops of the Turhenias spring up several thousand feet from the borders of the Coural.

'The town of Funchal is clean and well paved, with an air of bustle and business, and has a fine cathedral and handsome public walks. The wine landed from boats is carried in barrels to the shore on a rude and narrow piece of wood, which acts as a sleigh, drawn by bullocks. Both here and at Teneriffe, a small carved horn of bone is hung on the forehead of the bullocks to preserve them from the influence of the evil eye. The men run before with wet cloths, which they throw in its path, to facilitate its slipping over the smooth pavement. The wine from the interior is carried in skins, which look, when slung over the backs of the men, as if they were the carcasses of so many dead dogs, pigs, calves, &c, the legs, necks, and heads sticking out in an extraordinary manner.

'But we must turn to objects of greater beauty, and admire the lovely scene in the midst of which we have taken up our residence. Never was a spot more formed to cheer the sufferings of an invalid, to heal the wounded spirit, or reanimate the sinking frame. The dry and balmy air which produces this never-ending spring, makes the step buoyant, and raises the hopes of the sufferer, who a few days before left the choking fogs, the rains and chilly damps of the Thames or the Medway. Here all is sunshine; the green bananas, with their beautiful feathery tops, tell him he has bid farewell to Europe; the orange-trees hold out to him their branches laden with golden fruit—

> 'Green all the year, and fruits and blossoms blush
> In social sweetness on the self-same bough.'

Plantations of coffee-trees fill the spaces between the houses; the splendid coral-tree hangs over his head; and the snowy bells of the tulip-tree mingle with the scarlet hibiscus. If he wishes for exercise he has the most inviting walks, and the most tempting shades to shelter him; wide-spreading plane-trees, and willows of gigantic growth, blend their slender arms over the streams that murmur from the hills. If he leave the town, and begins to ascend, the beauty increases, and the sea-view opens to his sight. The roads, though steep are well paved, and the horses trained to an easy pace. On one side of the road, and sometimes both, is a little channel a foot broad; and Levada by which the water is conducted to the different plantations from the hills, murmuring gently as it ripples by his side. He rides through a perfect vineyard, where, in many places, the vines are carried on trellises over the road, and the large bunches of grapes hang within his reach. Hedges of geraniums, fuschias, and heliotropes, border those narrow paths, and shade him from the sun; myriads of insects with golden wings sip the nectar from those delicate flowers, and add the music of their tiny wings to the melody of the surrounding woodlands. The *ficus indicus* clothes the cottages, which are shaded by the most magnificent chesnuts and venaticas; the *solvia*

fulgens and the Guernsey lily sprinkle the vineyards; the beautiful *capillus veneris* creeps through the walls, and the *camellia Japonica*, now in full bloom, adorns every quinta.'—pp. 88—90.

Again:

'The value of Madeira as a climate suitable to invalids, is daily more appreciated, because becoming better known; and the numbers this year can hardly find accommodation. Besides hotels and boarding-houses, families (many of whom are now resident here) can purchase houses for the winter season, although at rather a dear rate. These can be had either in the town itself or in some of the beautiful suburban retreats, which, if not situated at too great an elevation, will be found very advantageous. Unless for those who go early in the season, it will be necessary to write beforehand, in order to procure good accommodation. So great was the demand last year, that the Portuguese, as might be expected, took advantage of it to raise the prices of their houses. It is much to be regretted that some enterprising merchant has not erected a number of small comfortable dwellings in the different sheltered spots near the town, or in the valley of the Cama de Lobos, for the reception of invalids, who amounted, with their friends, last year, to upwards of two hundred; and they with very few exceptions, were all English. Various opinions have been expressed regarding the comparative merits of this island; but I think both medical men and those who have tried it themselves, must now acknowledge that we have no European climate that can in any way be compared with it, or that affords the same advantages that it does as a winter residence for invalids, more especially since steam has brought it within a few days' voyage of England. Even for those who can well afford the expense, it is a serious thing for invalids, especially for females, to resign their home and friends in search of a milder atmosphere, and few places that we are acquainted with will compensate, by the benefits they afford, for the comforts of the one, or the endearments of the other. But if such there be, I am constrained to say, that place is Madeira.

'It may be well to mention, that a steamer goes out from Falmouth in September, solely for the use of invalids, and returns for them in May. The sea voyage of itself, which is so generally found beneficial, is not prolonged to the extent it was in sailing vessels, and the accommodation is said to be much superior.

'Far be it from me to say that the climate of Madeira *can cure consumption;* but this I will say, that, independent of its acknowledged efficacy in chronic affections, it is one that will do more to ward off threatened diseases of the chest, or even to arrest them in their incipient stages, than any I am acquainted with. A dry, warm climate, with a healthy and equable state of the atmosphere, are, no doubt, the most powerful remedial agents we are acquainted with, more especially for parts where only such agents can be brought in contact. It is a remedy for which, in many cases, we have no adequate substitute, and the discredit into which its sanative efficacy has been brought, is 'to be

sought for, not in the remedy, but in the manner in which it has been prescribed.'* And the hearsay evidence, often received from doubtful authority, on which professional men recommend particular localities as applicable to certain diseases and peculiarities of constitution, is highly reprehensible. To some, however, the heat of a Madeira summer will be too relaxing, and they will be improved not only by a removal to a lower temperature, but materially benefited by the voyage —always remembering, that from the middle to the end of *June* will be the *earliest* period that an invalid, who has spent the winter at Funchal, can arrive with safety in this country. The spring is the season of trial, and as Funchal and the south side of the island are much exposed, a circumstance which adds to the favorable state at the other seasons, I feel assured that then the sheltered vale of Oratava in Teneriffe, would be found preferable in many respects, besides being five degrees warmer than Funchal this time of the year.

'Although I believe that a person with healthy lungs will exist anywhere, yet it is generally acknowledged that vegetable is in some degree necessary to animal life, arising from the elimination, the absorption, and exhalation of certain gases, which constitute our atmosphere, the equilibrium of which is kept up by the mutual assistance of the animal and vegetable. If, then, leaves be a respiratory apparatus, and that trees hybernate when they fall off, independent of the cold of our winter, we lose also the advantage derivable from a continued activity in vegetable life, beneficially modifying the qualities of our atmosphere; whereas, in more tropical countries, the extensive evergreen Flora, continuing to flourish throughout the whole year, contributes in no small degree to purify the air, and increase the salubrity of the climate, and, consequently, the healthy condition of animal life—although a *superabundance* of vegetation is by no means conducive to health. It is the great *equability* of temperature that makes Madeira so justly celebrated; an equability that continues, not only throughout the seasons, but also through the range of the diurnal revolution.'

—pp. 109—113.

After visiting Teneriffe, our voyagers went to Gibraltar, to Algiers, to Sicily, and to Egypt, where we are fairly landed in the eleventh chapter. At Alexandria the author was immediately struck with the number of blind people at every turn. Most of them had but one eye, but many others were groping their way through the streets in perfect darkness. Squinting is a very common affection among them, and most of the lower order are what would be termed 'blear-eyed.' Everywhere the most lamentable traces of ophthalmia were to be seen. It is rather a sudden transition from the contemplation of such a calamity of our nature, to the laughable incident which follows, but our author is answerable for it. We proceed to insert it for the amusement of those who delight in the ludicrous.

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* Clark.

'During our walk through the city, we happened to light upon one of the donkey stations, when a scene ensued that beggars all description. The whole body of donkey boys, with their animals, rushed upon us with one accord the moment we made our appearance, pushing, jostling, and abusing each other, in most unintelligible jargon; and half-a-dozen laying hold of each of us at once, attempted to place us, 'nolens volens,' on their donkeys. I was literally lifted off and on three of them, before I could employ my stick to my advantage, to deter others from *plucking* me off the one on which I had at last secured a seat. The whole scene is really so ludicrous, that it is worth witnessing for *once*, after which I would advise all travellers to provide themselves with a good, stout koorbag,* which is made of the hide of the hippopotamus, and forms a staple article of commerce with the inhabitants of Upper Nubia, and on the Blue River; it is the only remedy for an Alexandrian ass-boy. As soon as we were fairly seated, the boys set the animals off at a most dashing pace, through the narrow streets, over bread stalls, old women, and all the various merchandise that strew the floor of an eastern bazaar. The boys kept goading the donkeys with a sharp stick, and shouting to the people, 'Riglac, riglac, darick'—'Get out of the way,'—and cursing in tolerable plain *English*. It was quite impossible to stop or hold up against the 'vis a tergo.' I nearly came in collision with several enormous camels; ran foul of various Egyptian officers, naval and military; and narrowly escaped upsetting numerous blind people at every turn; besides our trampling over whole hosts of half starved dogs, that are always lurking about the bazaars. To attempt to reason with our drivers was out of the question: the more we attempted to pull up, the more they shouted and urged on the animals; and to turn in the narrow crowded streets was impossible. The boys laughed, and seemed to enjoy it of all things, beating the unfortunate dogs most unmercifully whenever they came across them. After many hair-breadth escapes of camels, old women, and buffaloes, we arrived safe at our boat, and were heartily glad to get ourselves on board again, after the noise and bustle we had just left.'—pp. 247, 248.

Among the first objects of attention to a traveller, on his arrival at Alexandria, are Cleopatra's needle and Pompey's pillar. These magnificent obelisks are situated outside of the town, near the shore, amidst heaps of rubbish, drifted sands, and pitfalls; the debris of the former city, which extends to a great distance round, including the part on which Pompey's pillar stands, and as far as the shores of the lake Mareotis. These immense blocks of stone are generally supposed to have decorated the entrance to the palace of the Ptolemies in the days of Egyptian grandeur, for which purpose they were carried down the Nile from the quarries of Upper Egypt. The one nearest the town has fallen, and is

* Generally pronounced by Europeans dorbatch.

imbedded half its depth in sand and rubbish. Its extreme measurement is seventy feet in length, by six and a half in breadth at the base. Its hieroglyphics are in better preservation than those which cover its still erect companion. Both stood on pedestals, and are composed of the most beautiful rose-colored granite. We confess we very much sympathise with the following humorous and reproving reference to the nautical hieroglyphics on Pompey's pillar.

'A general mistake exists in supposing that there are no hieroglyphics upon the shaft of Pompey's pillar. I regret to say that it is now nearly covered with them, and although the greater number are as unintelligible as those of Cleopatra's needle, yet the frequent repetition of the H. M. S. attests the scientific research of the mids and reefers touching at Alexandria. Young gentlemen of the royal navy, let me ask in sober earnestness, in what consists the honor and glory of having your names emblazoned upon every post and pillar, in characters such as those in which Morrison's pills or Warren's blacking is set forth upon a dead wall in the neighbourhood of London? In England, I am sure you would not, even if you dared, deface with black paint, in letters a foot long, any of our national monuments. It is not your calling; leave it to the sign-painters or some of the travelling agents of Leeds or Manchester. The long tried worth—the unflinching courage—the gallantry and noble daring of those proud bulwarks of Britain's liberties, whose names you have bedaubed upon this and other objects of antiquity throughout the Mediterranean, require no such homage to their greatness. In one of the efforts to place a name higher up the pillar, the paint-pot upset, and has disfigured it very much. A few Greeks had clambered to the top, by means of a rickety grass rope ladder, and had a small blue flag flying at the top. They had fastened up a dirty bit of paper stating that gentlemen travellers would be insured a perfectly safe ascent for the sum of half a dollar. It was an amusement that none of our party were inclined to indulge in.'

Poor Pompey! His name might almost as well be attached, as is common, to a dog, as to an obelisk. Such is human glory! Stat nominis umbra!

The name of Egypt always calls up, as by a magic touch, the image of the Nile, the pyramids, and catacombs, which the most accurate research and the most frequent description, producing. though they may the utmost degree of familiarity, are never likely to reduce below the scale of stupendous wonders. Every traveller must of course describe them in his own way, yet will they remain in a sense indescribable, for neither pen nor pencil can ever fully unravel their mysterious grandeur. We have ourselves found, in attempting to describe what we have seen, or to comprehend what others have described, that after all we must be on the spot itself—we must be eye-witnesses to understand the

reality. We must see the river in its course, the mountain in its elevation, the pyramid in its desert solitude, to judge of the impression such objects are calculated to produce; while we are unfeignedly thankful for all the aid rendered to our flagging fancy by the traveller. Want of space forbids our attempting to conduct the reader to these scenes of magnificence. If he wishes to revisit them he must procure these volumes for himself, and he will assuredly find that it is no profitless journey to traverse these regions o'er and o'er again.

The second volume concludes the account of Egypt and introduces us to Asia Minor: but before closing the first volume we must refer to the story of Mohammed Alee. The present political movements in the East will tend to impart to it an additional interest. At the commencement of the present century Egypt became the theatre of war between France and England. In 1803, upon the removal of the armies, the Albanians and Memlooks formed a combination against the Turkish power, which is supposed to have been fomented by the emissaries of Buonaparte to pave the way to British India. Anarchy and confusion ensued, and a country which was capable of being the granary of Africa, became incompetent to its own support. At that moment a poor Albanian soldier conceived the idea of restoring a settled government, and renovating it by means hitherto unknown and prohibited by the tenets of Mohammedanism, namely, the introduction of commerce and manufactures, the arts and sciences, and the whole paraphernalia of European civilization. It was then, as the author remarks, the buoyant spirit of this man raised him to the surface of this troubled sea, and the talents, courage, and daring of Mohammed Alee shone forth as the rescuer of a country in one of whose markets (if report speaks true) he himself had been sold as a slave. The defects of that policy which he has pursued have, indeed, been in some respects glaring, dictated as it has been by an intense spirit of ambition, which has led to severe and unjust taxation, and to an attempt to make Egypt a warlike country; but with all this, incalculable benefits have been conferred, and, as is truly remarked, it can never retnrn to its former degenerate state.

'That men like Mohammed Alee have, for a particular purpose, been raised up, have flourished, conquered, and were conquered, decayed and fell, Scripture warrants, and experience proves; and on that warrant it is for the thinking mind to say whether he has been allowed the power he now possesses, but

'To point a moral, or adorn a tale;'

or that he is the instrument employed to hasten that glorious day when Egypt shall be 'sent a Saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver

them. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land; whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of mine hands, and Israel, mine inheritance.'—Isa. xix. 24, 25.'

The citation of the above passage reminds us of a characteristic feature of these volumes, on which we take the present opportunity of remarking, namely, the numerous Scripture references and illustrations with which it abounds. The value of these is twofold; first the ordinary reader becomes imbued, unaware to himself, with the knowledge of the great facts of Scripture history and prophecy with which perhaps he would be unacquainted by the process, so unwelcome to many minds, of reading the sacred volume in which they are recorded. And we may hope that multitudes whose habits of thought are foreign to the whole current of revelation, may thus be allured, or in a sense compelled, to familiarise themselves with those evidences which are so important to be known, and those truths so essential to be felt. Amusement is thus advantageously made the channel of instruction; and like the insect that is arrested by some friendly entanglement in its flight to the destructive splendor of the evening's taper, the very flutterer on the wings of fashion, who is simply attracted by the glare of light reading, may be, and we may hope often is, stayed and turned aside to higher and better thoughts, by valuable Scripture illustrations. Then, there is another end to be answered by these incorporations of prophetic intimations and historical verifications in the traveller's narratives; they furnish an ever increasing storehouse of truth and wisdom for the Biblical reader, the scholar, and the commentator. The name of Harmer, as the originator of collectanea of this description, can never cease to be held in venerated remembrance; and their eminent utility to every student of the sacred volume has been tested alike by recorded declarations of the fact, and by the demand which has since existed for repeated publications of a similar kind. The ruins of Egypt and the customs of Syria and Palestine have been made tributary to the best species of instruction; and thus even amidst scenes of dearth and desolation have the fruits of Paradise been found.

We wish we could stop a little at Rhodes, at Macri, and the ancient Gulph of Glaucus, at the tombs of Telmessus, and other places; but we must hasten on. We must not even stay to weep over Tyre, though in absolute desolation. A few ruins, a few scattered houses, a couple of waving palms, are almost all that time has snatched from destiny. In all this we see a most exact accomplishment of some of the most remarkable prophecies of the Old Testament.

Palestine was examined, as it ever should be, with the Bible

in hand. The approach to Jerusalem excited emotions such as a Christian might naturally feel when first viewing a spot which concentrates more important events than any other upon earth. The general features of the country are wild and barren, and the steeps more rugged and precipitous than were seen during their previous journey. An analogy is suggested which has some ingenuity as well as piety in it, between the journey to Jerusalem and that of the spiritual pilgrim. Tossed and buffeted by the tempestuous waves of the Mediterranean; endangered when on the very entrance to the promised inheritance, by the rocks, the shoals, the quicksands, and unsafe anchorage at the town of Jaffa —the plain of Sharon for a while cheers his onward course, and strews his path with flowers—then intervenes the ascents, the difficulties, the fatigues, and the dangers of the hilly country of Judea, to check his pride, to try his faith, and to prepare him for the glories of Jerusalem, the long sought object of his fond desires.

The Holy Sepulchre and all the sacred places were of course objects of intense interest and careful examination. The result has been, we think, the detection of considerable errors in the accounts of previous visitors, and some travellers of great celebrity. The author makes good use of Josephus, in connexion with his own observations, to illustrate the topography of the city. He traces with care the ancient city, or rather the several cities, that *have been,* from Salem, occupying mount Acra alone, then mount Sion added, afterwards Moriah, the site of the Temple, Bezetha, included in later times as the population increased, and finally the walls of the present city. There is, he says, a remarkable appearance in those parts of the ground where the ancient city stood; and when viewed from mount Olivet or any adjacent elevation, its probable extent may be seen. This is a peculiar blackness of the ground, quite different from the reddish yellow color of the neighbouring fields; and throughout this ground are seen a great quantity of the remains of tesselated pavement, with bits of white and yellow marble. The modern town occupies nearly two-thirds of the ancient, and is two miles and a half in circumference. The author furnishes very strong objections against the accounts both of Clarke and Buckingham as to the site of the crucifixion and other points of topography, and then proceeds to combat some 'vulgar errors.' The general idea is, that Calvary or Golgotha was a considerable hill, whereas, he says, it could only at most have been a mound of perhaps fifteen feet high, placed in the natural valley that surrounded the outer wall. Golgotha has been supposed to have been a place of public execution and a common grave-yard; but the author refers it to a curious tradition respecting the skull of Adam being discovered there at the time of the crucifixion. The place, however,

had an earlier date than the tradition of the monks; but if this tradition existed from an early date, it would be a reason for its not being included in the city. This spot in the trench, or natural fosse without the city, was called the place of the skull—or as Luke writes, 'when they were come to a place called *skull*;' a proper name, not of a burial ground or place of execution, but that to which a particular tradition was attached. Here the Jews crucified Christ, and the tomb of Joseph was in a garden near it. Thus, though no person can positively state that what are now pointed out as Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, are the actual places, yet no sufficient proof has been adduced to the contrary; and, as the author remarks, until there has, we are bound even as a matter of antiquarian research, to receive the tradition of nearly sixteen centuries, especially where no improbability appears against its validity.

'But we hasten to a spot that few can visit without emotion—Gethsemane—situated nearly opposite St. Stephen's gate, and looking down upon the valley of Jehoshaphat. It is a plot of ground forty-seven paces square, sown with corn, and enclosed by a low, rude wall. Eight aged olive-trees still exist within the enclosure, and are pointed out as those beneath whose shade the Man of sorrows experienced the bitter foretaste of that death he was about to suffer—the 'pangs—the throes—the agonizing struggle, when soul and body part;' and hardened indeed must be the heart that can coldly contemplate this sacred spot where the Lord of life and glory drank that bitter cup of superhuman suffering for sinful man's redemption, and not partake of some such kindred feelings.

'Perhaps the readers of these pages may ask me what authority there is for supposing this place to be the garden mentioned by the evangelists, and how the olives within the enclosure could possibly have survived through nineteen centuries; and those learned in history or in works of travel may say, did not Titus cut down all the timber around the city; and did not the tenth legion of his army encamp on this very hill? True, gentle readers, but I answer that the locality assigned to this garden renders its identity very probable; especially when we consider the circumstances that are detailed in the gospels of the route taken by our Lord and his disciples when they went forth from the city after having observed the passover, and instituted the supper. On that memorable night they crossed the brook Kedron, in all probability opposite St. Stephen's, or the Sheep-gate: and from thence proceeded by the nearest route to the garden on the side of the mount; which corresponds exactly with the present locality of Gethsemane. It is also true that the Romans cut down the wood about Jerusalem; but the timber of an olive-tree would be of little value indeed, in constructing engines, towers, and battering-rams, to be used against Cyclopian walls such as I have described; and these trees in particular must then have been so slender that the besiegers would have considered them unfit for any such purpose. They are undoubtedly the largest, and I may add with safety, the most ancient olive-trees in the

world. The largest is twenty-four feet in girth above its roots, though its topmost branch is not thirty feet from the ground. The trunks of most of them are hollow in the centre, and built up with stones, like to their aged brother of Oratava (Madeira).

'There is nothing unnatural in assigning an age of nineteen centuries to these patriarchs of the vegetable kingdom, whose growth is perhaps the slowest of any in existence. They have not borne fruit for some years past; but though their trunks are greatly decayed, yet, from the hardness of the wood, and each part being so retentive of life, there is still a considerable head to each, whose light-colored, silky leaves hang like so many silver locks over their time-worn and aged stems that now, in the evening of life, are fast tottering to decay. But having witnessed scenes of suffering, and the long dark night of gloom, and fearful retribution that has sunk the pride and prostrated the glory of Jerusalem, they seem yet to linger for the morning twilight of that bright era that will shortly dawn upon the land of Judah.'

—Vol. ii. pp. 313—315.

We willingly concede to the author what he claims for himself, but with sufficient modesty of manner in the preface, the credit of considerable labor in searching into the topographies of ancient Tyre and Jerusalem. These will prove useful to the biblical student, and add to those accumulations of knowledge which can never be too much appreciated. We are especially thankful for the correction of former inaccuracies, and for the examination of many tombs and monuments on the coast of Asia Minor, which have been heretofore but slightly regarded. All these things constitute the best literature of the country; the most valuable books which future generations may read, and by reading become learned in the transactions of bygone times. They are unsophisticated records, and beam forth with a stern rebuking aspect upon the perversions of prejudice and the distortions of vanity. The dryness, as perhaps most persons conceive of it, of antiquarian research, is surely compensated by the valuable character of the facts brought to light; besides that whatever links us with the past has romance in it. We seem to live amidst the bustle of now desolated cities, to join in the conflict with now prostrated and buried armies, and to catch the glow and inspiration of great movements of mind which, though stilled in death, have impressed their character upon succeeding ages. The very names of the mighty dead are a charm, and the antiquarian seems to have the privilege of living as it were in two worlds—in the past while its tombs and monuments recite to him its history, and in the present while he details his discoveries to the living generation. We envy the man who has leisure and heart to visit as they ought to be visited, Egypt, and Tyre, and Jerusalem!

Art. IX. *The approaching Coalition, an Article in Fraser's Magazine, October* 1840.

THE project of forming a coalition-ministry has recently been put before the public. The subject has been delicately unveiled by some journals; by others it has been openly espoused; and by another section of the press it has rather been adjourned than dismissed. A certain party are anxious to feel how the public pulse beats with regard to the question; it therefore becomes a duty to place our opinions on record.

We at once enter our protest against the formation of a coalition-ministry. We are opposed to all 'coalitions' as unprincipled and selfish combinations,—as compacts entered into between men who are anxious to divide the honors and emoluments of office, without regard to the interests of the nation. A coalition must necessarily be formed on the wreck of principle; and as long as truth and consistency are valued by the people it will always be the object of public contempt. A rope of sand,—it will always balk the object of its constructors; who, hoping to bring their respective strength together, will find themselves left helpless and despicable.—Like the scorpion a coalition stings itself to death.

If, then, coalitions are invariably objects of distrust and general disgust, why, it will be asked, is the question now agitated? why does *any* party propose it? We shall endeavor to answer these questions; but before we do so, it is necessary that we should discover by *what party* the proposition has been put forward.

Fraser's Magazine, a publication in high favor among the Tory party, and a violent assailant of liberal principles, has openly advocated the project!—the Times has given a conspicuous place in its columns to an article favoring it, and a programme of a coalition-ministry, originally set a going by a work devoted to colonial politics, which is conducted by a Tory writer of some note, has been widely circulated in the Conservative newspapers. It is quite true that the Standard and some other influential Tory prints have denounced the notion; but there can be no question that the proposal to form a coalition-ministry has proceeded from the Tory party, or, more correctly speaking, a section of it.

The motives for making such a proposal we infer from the following facts:—

Ist. A coalition would immediately admit a portion of the Tories to a participation of the sweets of office;—a consummation devoutly wished for!

IInd. A coalition between the Whigs and Tories would *ruin the Whigs in the estimation of the people*, who would regard it as a mutual sacrifice of principle by two opposite parties for the attainment of power;—an excellent stroke of policy for the Tories!

IIIrdly. A coalition-ministry must be short-lived.

Thus the Tories, now too feeble to hold the reins of office,—too weak to stand for a month against an organized opposition, would as a matter of course be called to power,—having caught the Whigs in the trap laid for them, and having deprived them of their influence with the people, in which their strength must ever lie. As long as the Whigs remain true to the people the Tories must be kept from the government; the moment they coalesce with their enemies their downfall is certain, and the triumph of Toryism is complete. Give Sir Robert Peel and Lord Lyndhurst the seals of office at this moment, and what will be the result? They will be chased from office;—attacked by a powerful opposition, who can expose their misdeeds and condemn their policy, they cannot possibly maintain their position. But let a coalition take place, and *after its failure* place Sir Robert at the helm of affairs:—who can assail him then? *No one who has consented to the previous league.* The Whigs cannot with effect do so, for they have associated and acted with him, and have in part consented to his policy. The Tories would thus, not only be rid of their rivals, but be secure from their efficient opposition in parliament: from all which it is evident that the Tories would materially *gain* by such a temporary union.

The proposal is accordingly put forward with great affectation of moderation, and with the most attractive lures that the case will admit of. Those who make it are compassing nothing less than the degradation and utter destruction of the Whig party, by placing them in a position in which they would forfeit public confidence, and with it that moral power without which they could not carry on a government,—a position moreover from which there can be *no retreat:* we must not be surprised, therefore, to find them—after the fashion of the seducer—engaged in gentle persuasion, and beginning the process of corrupting by *flattering* those they design to overreach. They hold out to the members of the Whig government prospects of a permanent possession of office in undisturbed tranquillity; and offer fresh dignities to many. Fraser's Magazine declares that the only men on the Whig side objectionable personally, are Lords Normanby and Palmerston; but even these noblemen are included in the list to which we have referred, as our readers will perceive:—

Premier	Sir Robert Peel, Bart.,
President of the Council	Lord Melbourne (with a marquisate),
Home Department	Lord John Russell (with a peerage),
Foreign Department	Earl of Aberdeen,
Colonial Department	Lord Stanley,
Exchequer	Mr. F. T. Baring,
Board of Trade	Mr. Goulbourn,
India Board	Lord Ellenborough,
Admiralty	Lord Palmerston (with a peerage),
Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Ebrington,
Privy Seal	The Marquis of Normanby,
Lord Chancellor (in the Lords)	Lord Lyndhurst,
Court of Chancery	Lord Cottenham,
Land Revenue	Lord Duncannon,
Secretary at War	Mr. T. B. Macauley,
Vice President of the Board of Trade	Lord Sandon,
Commissioners of the India Board	Mr. M. O'Ferrall, Mr. Emmerson Tennant, Mr. Colquhoun, Mr. D'Israeli,
Secretaries to the India Board	Lord Seymour Mr. Clay,
Under Secretaries of State for the Colonies	Mr. Vernon Smith, Mr. Gladstone,
Secretary to the Admiralty	Sir Thomas Cochrane,
Judge Advocate General	Sir George Grey, Bart.
Attorney General	Sir John Campbell (with reversion to Sir W. Follett on Sir John's accession to the bench),
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Earl Minto,
Secretary for Ireland	Lord Morpeth,
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	Sir E. Sugden,
Solicitor or Attorney General of Ireland	Mr. Shiel (to be knighted),
Governor-General of India	Sir James Graham (with a peerage),
Governor of Madras	Lord Elliott or Mr. Charles Wood (with a baronetcy),
Minister to France	Lord Clarendon,
Minister to Constantinople	Sir S. Canning.

'ALL THE OTHER POSTS TO REMAIN AS AT PRESENT: Sir John Cam Hobhouse and Mr. Labouchere to receive peerages.'

The above list, it will be observed, includes the whole of her majesty's present ministers, with the exception of Lord Holland

and the Marquis of Lansdowne. The object of its framers appears to have been to decoy the Whig party into the false position we have described; and although Fraser's Magazine hints that Lords Normanby and Palmerston are to be excluded from the coalition treaty, we entertain no doubt that the Tories would joyfully hail a ministry formed of these incongruous materials. Lord Melbourne is offered a marquisate, Lord John Russell a peerage, Lord Palmerston a seat in the upper house; Sir John Campbell is tempted with a hope of the ermine; Mr. Shiel is to be a created 'the Right Hon. Sir Richard;' and Mr. Charles Wood is promised a baronetcy; while Sir John Hobhouse and Mr. Labouchere are to be consoled with coronets! All this betrays intense anxiety to gain over the Whig ministers and their supporters to the proposed arrangement. The modesty of offering, as bribes to the ministers, the honors in their own gift, reminds us of the dialogue between the farmer and the fox that had robbed his poultry yard:--

> ' 'Good morrow, fox;' 'good morrow, sir.'
> 'Pray on what are you feasting?'
> 'A fine fat goose I stole from you;
> Pray will you come and taste it?' '

Fraser's Magazine commences its article on 'the approaching 'coalition' with the admission that the title of the paper is one which at first sight will disgust all honest men. It feels that honest men of all parties are ready to protest against the monstrous union; and takes pains to disarm their antipathies by averring, that having looked behind and before, and on every side, it has been forced to the conclusion that whether men like it or not, to this point we are now drifting! The process of ratiocination by which this conclusion has been arrived at is described in the following terms:

> 'First of all we take note of the fact, which no man, however whiggish he may be, will sincerely and honestly deny, that the present administration is most unquestionably 'on its very last legs.' It cannot surely be necessary for us to advance any lengthened proof of this. Ten or eleven formal and distinct defeats in a single session, and this not on one point merely, but on several distinct questions, must certainly be admitted to show, not only that the ministry is at its very last gasp, but that any other cabinet which England ever yet saw, would already have given up the ghost, and that several months since.'

Now if it be true, that the ministry is at the 'last gasp,' and that its dissolution is inevitable, it appears odd that a *coalition* should be proposed, and that the Tories should not rather wait till that event; and then at once, in a body, occupy the vacated

position. If the writers of Fraser's Magazine believe the assertion we have quoted, the proposition for a coalition is tantamount to a confession *that the Tories are not strong enough to form a ministry or maintain themselves in office.* Nothing we are told can maintain the Whigs in power: what then is the secret of the extraordinary generosity that proposes to divide 'the loaves and 'fishes' with defeated rivals? This looks suspicious. It is evident, either that the Tories despair of displacing the queen's present advisers, or dare not attempt the government alone. Whichever supposition we take, it is their interest to form a coalition; and we must add, the interest of the Liberals to resist one. If the Tories have not the power to remove the Whigs, it would be folly to admit them to partnership: if the Tories could not stand of themselves, it would be something worse than folly to prevent their fall. Sir Robert Peel knows well enough that if the Whigs cannot govern with a majority of from fifteen to twenty, it would be rather difficult for him to conduct the public business with a positive *minority.* Precarious, therefore, as the position of his opponents may be, he is shrewd enough to discover that the only road to enjoyment of power lies through the quagmire of coalition, where, if he can induce them to follow his 'will-o'-the-wisp,' he can swamp them irretrievably!

That Fraser's Magazine has some misgiving as to the ability of its friends to oust the Cabinet, is evident as we proceed.

'Our next remark is, that we cannot reasonably expect of the present ministers anything like a frank, manly, and unconditional surrender. The extraordinary specimen of adhesiveness which they have already given us prognosticates, with the greatest certainty, a readiness and a watchfulness, even in the act of resignation, to catch at every chance; to avail themselves of every opportunity; and, in short, to get all, to hold all, and to cling to all, up to the last moment of existence. The Melbourne cabinet, then, 1. Cannot go on as they are; 2. Will strive to save anything out of the wreck that they are able.'

The plain English of this is, that there are very strong doubts whether the opposition have the power of dispossessing the Melbourne cabinet; and what they cannot do by force they will try to effect by stratagem. Leaving, however, the circumstances of the cabinet, we turn to the prospects of 'Conservatism,' on which subject the opinions of the publication under review assume more importance:—

'The apparent prospect of the Conservatives at the present moment is somewhat as follows: there appears every probability, judging from the constant diminution of the ministerial array, and increase of that of the opposition, that in the ensuing session the ministry may be so

pressed and hampered as to be compelled to make its election,—either to dissolve parliament or to resign.

'To the Conservatives it is almost indifferent which of these courses the ministry may take. Should they appeal to the people, appearances are strangely deceptive if, even with all that government influence could do, the Whigs did not lose on the whole, at least thirty votes. Such a loss, reckoning their present majority at ten, would leave them in a minority of fifty, and this in a parliament *of their own calling*. Probably this would be the course that Sir Robert Peel would decidedly prefer his opponents to take. It would give him the helm at once, and would also leave him the right to dissolve again in *his* turn, should any circumstance make it advisable within the next two or three years.

'Should the Whigs, however, rather choose to give up the helm for a period, trusting to time and chance for a fresh opening for resumption, the duty of dissolving parliament would devolve upon Sir Robert Peel. Admitting the government to have influence in the return of *ten* votes, in such places as Portsmouth, Chatham, and Devonport, &c., and remembering, also, that many men like Mr. Byng in Middlesex, may stand by their party to the last, but not *after* they have themselves thrown up the cards,—we may surely estimate that with all these advantages, Sir Robert Peel's majority, in a parliament called by himself, would be nothing below a hundred.'

Will the reader believe it, notwithstanding this splendid majority of a hundred, we find Fraser's Magazine ready to coalesce with the Whigs!—what amiable condescension!—what patriotic disinterestedness!—a majority of *fifty* or even a *hundred*, and yet Sir Robert Peel pushes away from him the seals of office! But why should this surprise us: bishops, formerly, when about to receive the mitre for which their temples throbbed, were accustomed to exclaim *nolo episcopari*. It does not stand within the compass of belief that Sir Robert would refuse office without a coalition, if he were certain of a majority of a hundred, or fifty, or a working majority at all. If the Whigs resign he at once finds himself in a minority; and it is certain that the Whigs will not dissolve parliament unless they are satisfied that their position will be improved by doing so. Sir Robert's only chance, therefore, is to dissolve parliament himself; and that, it is well known, *he shrinks from doing*. The writers from Fraser's Magazine talk of their majority of a 'hundred,' just as Caleb Balderstone used to talk of the venison and sack of Ravensworth Castle; or as the auctioneer who estimates at one hundred guineas the article he is about to knock down for as many shillings! They want to make the best bargain they can; and therefore think a little exaggeration pardonable.

The only reason offered us in support of the assumption that the Whig ministry cannot remain in office is, that they have been defeated on some unimportant questions; indeed we are told that

'any other cabinet that England ever saw would have already 'given up the ghost, and that several months since.' But is it forgotten that the Peel ministry in 1835, had only *one* majority; which was procured by accident and afterwards reversed? Is it not a matter of history that Sir Robert was *ten times successively* in a minority before he resigned,—on the speakership, the address, the London University charter, the committee on Colonel Tremenhere, the Leicester election, the Cork election, an adjournment, and thrice on the appropriation clause?—and is it not notorious, that the Tory * ministries of Perceval, Liverpool, and

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* Take the following few as a specimen from many cases that are at hand.

1818, April 15.—Lord Castlereagh moved that an allowance of £10,000 a-year be given to the Duke of Clarence. Mr. Summer moved an amendment that the allowance be £6,000:

For the motion	184
For the amendment	193
Majority against ministers	—9

April 16.—Lord Castlereagh moved that £6,000 a-year be granted to the Duke of Cumberland:

Ayes	136
Noes	143
Majority against ministers	—7

1822, March 1.—Sir M. W. Ridley moved that the number of Lords of the Admiralty be reduced from 7 to 5:

For the motion	182
Against it	128
Majority against ministers	—54

May 2.—Lord Normanby moved an address to the Crown, praying that there be but one postmaster, instead of two:

For the motion	216
Against it	201
Majority against ministers	—15

1823, April, 22.—Sir Francis Burdett moved an inquiry into the conduct of the Sheriff of Dublin, on the ground of his having unfairly constituted certain juries:

For the motion	219
Against it	185
Majority against ministers	—34

1828, February 26.—Lord John Russell moved that the Test and Corporation Acts should be repealed:

For the motion	237
Against it	193
Majority against ministers	—44

1830, March 26.—Sir Robert Heron moved that no supply be given for certain pensions granted by government to the Hon. Mr. Dundas and the Hon. Mr. Bathurst:

For the motion	130
Against it	112
Majority against ministers	—18

Wellington, sustained on many occasions signal defeats without a dissolution or resignation? It is not at all proved that the ministers are in a worse position than in January last, when Sir John Y. Buller's motion for censure on them was rejected by a majority of twenty-one; and it is virtually admitted that Sir Robert Peel is not prepared to accept office without the assistance of the Whigs.

Notwithstanding the 'majority' of a hundred (in buckram suits and Kendal green), Fraser confesses that it still leans toward coalition. Adverting to Sir Robert Peel, it continues:—

'The right hon. baronet is already well advanced in life; so far, we mean, that without approaching old age, he may naturally feel an indisposition to hazard any more experiments like that of 1834—5. Although he, doubtless, will do all that his country and the great party which he leads may fairly call upon him to undertake, there can be little doubt that his disposition must be *only to take office with a prospect of a comfortable continuance in it.*'

Nothing could afford a stronger guarantee for a 'comfortable 'continuance' in office than a majority of a hundred. Yet, it is stated, in once more accepting office at the present moment, Sir Robert Peel would probably discern some points of difficulty. Strange to say, Ireland is not reckoned as one. We are not let into the secret of Sir Robert's intentions with regard to Ireland; but we infer, from the hints thrown out, that Whig government is not to be disturbed in that part of the kingdom. The two difficulties which lie in the way of the Tory leader are said to be,

1st. The state of our foreign relations;

2nd. The personal intimacy subsisting between Lord Melbourne and the Queen.

Why the state of our foreign relations should prevent the accession of Sir Robert Peel to office we cannot comprehend. The Turko-Egyptian question is no *new* one; and it is admitted by nearly every body but Mr. David Urquhart, that the course taken with reference to it is the correct one. The Standard has been most constant in defending Lord Palmerston from the attacks of the French press; and his lordship's note, addressed recently to the Cabinet of the Tuilleries, in which every movement of the governments of England and France is recapitulated, has had the singular good fortune to merit the approval of the Times and the Morning Post. The dispute between Holland and Belgium has been adjusted: the civil war has been put down in Spain: the sulphur question has been settled; and the China question has, it is probable, before this time received a solution: the boundary question has not assumed a more threatening aspect as far as regards America; and *that* was a legacy left to

the Whigs by the Tories! We neither see how the position of affairs abroad should prevent any minister with a majority of a hundred from taking office, nor how it supplies an argument in favor of a coalition. With regard to the second difficulty, Fraser's Magazine observes:—

'Another circumstance, necessarily leading to some disagreeable reflections, is that of the personal intimacy which Lord Melbourne has contrived to establish between himself and the young queen. Entirely to terminate this intimacy might again bring on Sir Robert Peel the charge of being arbitrary and unfeeling in his demands. And yet if this were not done, would not the new premier be in the most extraordinary position that ever man held: in possessing nominally the powers of the government, and yet beholding his rival enjoying an intercourse with the sovereign necessarily more intimate than any to which he could hope to be admitted.'

Now in reply to the trumpery plea advanced in this paragraph, we beg to ask, has not the Duke of Wellington been a guest at Windsor Castle since the close of the session? Has he not maintained a constant personal intimacy with her majesty? and is it not known that the sovereign regards the gallant veteran with feelings of the warmest esteem and friendship? This is so; and yet Lord Melbourne does not feel himself compromised. In a constitutional monarchy the ministry supported by majorities in both houses of parliament must of necessity be accepted by the crown; and the introduction of Queen Victoria's private feelings is merely designed to cover the naked truth that Sir Robert Peel feels himself, under present circumstances, incompetent to conduct the government of the country.

But will the Whigs consent to the coalition proposed? They know and understand Sir Robert's precise position;—are they willing to enter into alliance with him? They may expect, in the event of their doing so, a cessation of hostilities on the part of the Tories. They are now exposed to a perpetual fire; and are annoyed with never-ceasing, bitter hostility. All this a coalition would, it must be admitted, at least for a time, protect them from. But, then, this ease would be purchased with *the loss of honor* and character. A union with the party they have ever steadily opposed would deprive them of public confidence; and attach opprobrium to the Whigs that would disorganise if not dissolve them as a party. The Tories would wait their own time, and then expel their liberal colleagues; who would find, too late, that they had been betrayed. If the Liberals once make common cause with the ancient enemies of civil and religious liberty, no *locus penitentiæ* can be afforded them. No one can have failed to observe, *that the ministerial strength has diminished in proportion as they have conceded and approximated to the Tories.*

We do not mean to affirm that the government is as weak as we are bound to admit it is, *solely* because they have approximated to the Tories in policy: on the contrary, the violent and revolutionary schemes of Chartists—misrepresentations as to the origin and object of the Poor Law Amendment Act, lavish expenditure of money and energetic exertion of influence by the Tory party at elections; together with the fatal and anti-popular working of the Registration act, have all conduced to impair the strength of the government. But still it is evident that they have lost ground with the people as they have faltered, stood still, or advanced to meet the Tories. The Whigs were all powerful when they held the enemies of the people at a respectful distance. It must from this, we think, be plain to the dullest comprehension, that if the Whigs were to coalesce with the Tories, the people would finally give them up; and as a consequence, that they would fall a prey to the Tories! All parties concerned in coalition are distrusted and disliked; but the Whigs are supported by public opinion, whereas the Tories affect contempt for it. We caution the Whigs to listen to no invitations from their opponents; for union with them involves the desertion of principles, the loss of character, the destruction of their party, and the enthronement of the Tories in power. There may be some whose anxiety to escape the perplexities of their position, whose constant fear of adverse majorities, and the hope of enjoying a 'comfortable con-'tinuance' in power may incline them to entertain the proposal; but we know there are others in the cabinet who never would condescend to hold office on such conditions as a coalition implies.

We shall be asked what are the Whigs to do? Are they to allow the Tories to take office? Better by far allow the Tories to do so than consent to an infamous compromise. We are satisfied that we echo the feelings of the liberal party all through the kingdom when we say, that we should infinitely prefer an unmixed Tory administration to the mongrel thing called a coalition-ministry. We have already stated that we do not think that the Tories have at present the power to dispossess the government; but if Lord Melbourne should find it impossible to go on, let him ask the sovereign to dissolve parliament: let his government boldly and distinctly avow their determination to stand or fall by liberal principles: let them collectively and individually announce their adhesion to definite great constitutional measures. The Whigs have too often halted between right and wrong. They have vacillated and compromised, when they ought to have presented a bold and decided front to their opponents; and they now discover that concession stimulates rather than satisfies the Tories. They have rendered their enemies confident and their friends lukewarm; and nothing can set them right with the country but firmness, energy, and decision. If the

people can have their confidence restored, all will be well. But on the other hand, if the Liberals are not supported by a decided majority, let them retire to the OPPOSITION BENCHES. There they will become re-organised and re-united; and from thence they can keep a vigilant watch on the treasury benches. Reform will have to stand still for a time; but the Whigs, in opposition, will be able to bridle and control a Tory government, while they will have excited in their favor the sympathies of the nation. Let the Whigs, then, be true to their origin: let them, each and all, adopt the language of one of the greatest ornaments of the present cabinet, 'We may be defeated, but our principles 'will, I am convinced, only gain fresh strength from defending 'them. But be that as it may, my part is taken, and while one 'shred of the old banner is flying, by that banner I will at least 'be found. The good old cause, as Sydney called it on the 'scaffold, may be vanquished or victorious—insulted or boldly 'triumphant—the good old cause is still the good old cause with 'me. Whether in or out of parliament—whether speaking with 'that authority which always belongs to the representative of this 'great and enlightened community, or expressing the humbler 'sentiments of a private citizen, I will to the last maintain 'inviolate my fidelity to principles, which, though they may be 'borne down by senseless clamor, are yet strong with the strength, 'and immortal with the immortality of truth, and which, however 'they may be misunderstood or misinterpreted by contemporaries, 'will assuredly find sympathy, justice, and admiration from a better 'age.'

Brief Notices.

The Illustrated Commentary on the Old and New Testaments, chiefly explanatory of the Manners and Customs mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures; and also of the History, Geography, Natural History, and Antiquities; being a republication of the Notes of the Pictorial Bible, of a size which will range with the Authorised Editions of the Sacred Text, with many hundred Wood Cuts, from the best and most authentic sources. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight and Co.

The nature of this work is sufficiently expressed in the title-page which we have transcribed at length for the information of our readers. It is in fact a reprint of the Notes of the Pictorial Bible, accompanied by a large selection from the wood cuts which so liberally illustrated that invaluable work. We are glad to perceive that the selection has

been conducted on the principle of utility rather than of ornament, and that the historical illustrations from our great artists have in consequence been omitted. They always appeared to us to be a useless encumbrance of the former work, adding to its cost without increasing in the least degree its value. As mere fancy scenes they are out of keeping with the other illustrations, and contribute nothing towards the elucidation of sacred history. The omission of the text has enabled the publisher to issue this work in a smaller form and at less expense than the Pictorial Bible. We rejoice in this circumstance as adapted to meet the wants of a numerous class whose limited means prevented their purchasing the larger work. We cannot express too strongly our opinion of the value of this reprint, which in its portable and cheap form we consider one of the greatest services which the English press has rendered in modern times to the elucidation of the inspired volume.

The Maternal Management of Children in Health and Disease. By Thomas Bull, M.D.

The present volume is an appropriate sequel to Dr. Bull's 'Hints to Mothers' (a valuable little work now going through a second edition of twice its original size), which at its first appearance received our warmest recommendation.

A great proportion of the physical ills which beset human life, lessening its happiness and usefulness when they do not shorten its duration, spring from hereditary tendencies that can only be combated during infancy and the earliest years with much prospect of success. If the conditions on which health depends, and the deviations from it be not well understood and promptly attended to, not only do we lose the opportunity of cutting off that woful entail, but we may sow the seeds of future maladies: and it must be remembered that misdirected efforts often do the work of mere neglect. Dr. Bull's object is to secure the mother from both of these, by supplying her with a concise and very intelligible directory of nursery management—full without being embarrassing. It must not be supposed that the study of its chapters will supersede the necessity of medical aid in any case where it would otherwise be required. The whole book is written on the wise principle that 'the prevention of disease, and not its cure, is the especial province of the mother;' and the parent who attempts more is pursuing what will prove to be a most expensive course of economy. To be instructed how to keep her offspring in health and to detect the first signs of disease which renders competent advice indispensable, and thus to be saved from the vain and most painful regrets often produced by delay, is sufficient, and will be felt to be so by the best mothers. But this is not all the advantage to be derived from Dr. Bull's volume. The success of medical treatment mainly depends upon 'careful, pains-taking, and judicious maternal superintendence.' If medical directions are neglected or only partially carried out, or counteracted by erroneous prejudices, they will assuredly fail: and the diseases of childhood are too sudden in their assaults and too rapid in

their progress for such faults to be committed with impunity. Moreover, as the judgment of the physician must, in the case of the infant, be greatly influenced by the report he receives of all that has passed during the intervals of his visits, it is of the last importance that the mother or nurse should be qualified to render one that is unbiassed, faithful, and full. Dr. Bull has the credit of being the first to address the public on the proper discharge of these duties of the sick room, in his chapter 'on what constitutes the maternal management of the diseases of children.' Such a manual for mothers was much wanted, and Dr. Bull cannot fail of his reward—an ample circulation, the gratitude of many mothers, and the thanks of his professional brethren.

Supplement to the History of British Fishes. By William Yarrell, F.L.S., F.P.Z.S.

We have to apologize to our readers for not sooner announcing the appearance of the Supplement to Mr. Yarrell's volumes on British Fishes—an omission for which the editor is not responsible. It is divided into two parts, so that each can be bound up with the volume it completes. All the additions, to our knowledge, of British species which the industry of observers has supplied since the publication of Mr. Yarrell's volumes, are of course recorded in this supplement. Some very valuable illustrations of the growth of salmon in fresh water enrich the second part, and greater facilities are afforded to the study of this branch of natural history by the introduction of vignette plates of the cranial bones of several known fishes, derived from the works of Cuvier, Rosenthall, and others—an improvement which Mr. Yarrell promises to extend over the whole of a second edition, as far as giving the figure of one cranium in almost all the principal genera.

New Excitement for 1841. Edinburgh: W. Innes.

A little volume whose appearance is always welcome to the junior members of the family circle where once it has gained admittance. We are glad to meet with it in a somewhat improved form, and with contents as varied, entertaining, and instructive as on any former occasion. The estimable character of the editor, respected and beloved wherever it is known, is an ample guarantee for the moral healthfulness of the work, which we heartily recommend to our juvenile friends as a cheerful companion of their winter evenings.

The Recreation for 1841. Edinburgh: John Menzies.

A work of a somewhat similar character, and designed for the use of the same class of readers as the volume just noticed. 'There will be found,' says the editor, in his preface 'a few biographical sketches of eminent and enterprising men; with narratives of personal adventure. To these have been added scenes and incidents of foreign travel, which, while they awaken and interest youthful attention, will enrich the mind with useful information. There will likewise be found in

the succeeding pages, some interesting sketches in natural history, to stimulate the curiosity of young readers, and induce them to a further pursuit of this delightful study. And, lastly, there has been given a selection of poetical extracts, of a character likely to interest the feelings and elevate the mind.'

The Calvinistic and Socinian Systems Examined and Compared, as to their Moral Tendency. By the Rev. Andrew Fuller. (Ward's Library.)

The Backslider. By Andrew Fuller. With Preface by the Rev. John Angell James. London: Hamilton and Co.

It is needless to say one word in commendation of the writings of Andrew Fuller. Their praise is in all the churches. Of the two works now before us, the former, which is included in Ward's Library of Standard Divinity and is published at the cheap price of two shillings, is one of the ablest controversial pieces in our language; the latter, which also appears in a very neat form, is eminently distinguished by sound sense, practical wisdom, and scriptural fidelity. The extension of the circulation of such works cannot fail to be highly beneficial.

A Summary of the History of England, Translated from the French of Felix Bodin. By Jonathan Duncan, Esq., B.A. London: Rickerby.

A Summary of the History of France, Translated from the French of Felix Bodin. By Jonathan Duncan, Esq., B.A. London: Rickerby.

These little volumes contain a valuable summary of English and French history, which may be advantageously consulted by all classes, and will prove an agreeable and useful companion to the young. The following extract from the translator's brief preface to the former work sufficiently describes the nature of both. 'I am very far from thinking it will supersede any other work on the subject; quite the contrary. I regard it as an auxiliary to all other histories; from the voluminous writings of Hume and Smollet and their contemporaries, down to the popular abridgment of Goldsmith.' Bodin takes up new ground; he confines himself to the gradual growth and expansion of constitutional and representative governments; this he presents in a compendious form, yet nothing is omitted; and were a person to have read no other work than his, he would still have gained a most extensive knowledge of history.'

Consolation for Christian Mourners: Discourses occasioned by the Death of Friends and other Afflictive Dispensations. By Adam Thompson, D.D. London: Snow. 1840.

This work has the recommendation of being the production of one long tried and chastened by affliction. Thirty-four years of the author's

ministry have now elapsed ; and during that long period he has been visited with many bereavements and with trials of various kinds. The wounded heart can best appreciate and most skilfully administer the balm of consolation. The work is replete with evangelical sentiment, and abounds with feelings of tenderness and sympathy. We most cordially recommend it as a companion for the house of mourning, and as a solace to the spirit of heaviness.

An Apology for Christianity, or Modern Infidelity Examined in a Series of Letters to Robert Owen. By Brewin Grant. London : Simpkin and Marshal. 1840.

A spirited exposure of the fallacies of Owenism. The writer exhibits a deep acquaintance with the system, and skilfully makes the prophet of Socialism pronounce his own dogmas a 'mass of absurdity and nonsense.'

Decapolis : or the Individual Obligation of Christians to save Souls from Death. An Essay. By D. E. Ford. London : Simpkin and Marshal. 1840.

This little cheap volume is all it pretends to be. It is a heart-stirring appeal to selfish and lethargic professors on behalf of the unenlightened and perishing, and it deserves to be read by every Christian.

Memoirs of the Life and Character of Mr. Robert Spence, late Bookseller : with Notices of the early Introduction of Methodism into York. By R. Burdekin. London : Longman and Co. 1840.

A valuable biography of a tradesman, eminent for his piety and his disinterested exertions to be useful. Most important facts relating to the rise and progress of Methodism in the city of York are faithfully recorded. The historian will derive instruction and Christian improvement from these pages.

The Young Folks of the Factory ; or Friendly Hints on their Duties and Dangers. London : Religious Tract Society. 1840.

A good book for the young, and when known will have a place in every Sabbath School and Loan Library.

Lectures on the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Chapters of St. John's Gospel. By the late Rev. B. Patterson, A.M., Minister of Falkirk. Glasgow : A. Fullerton and Co. 1840.

The author has furnished us with a beautiful specimen of the system of lecturing so prevalent in the pulpits of the north. He exhibits the fundamental truths of the gospel, and most lucidly explains some difficult passages.

Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons: with Dialogues on Pulpit Preparation; between a Senior and a Junior Minister. By the Rev. George Cubitt. London: Mason. 1840.

We much question the utility of *Sketches* and *Skeletons.* In some few cases they may assist in arousing and directing dormant thoughts, but in many more we fear their tendency is to enervate the mind and check the originality of its working. The Dialogues contain important counsel from which every student may derive benefit.

Gatherings; a Collection of Short Pieces, written at various Periods. By the Author of 'The Listener.' London: Seeley and Burnside. 1840.

Our fair author has happily succeeded in combining the *utile et dulce.* She has presented important truths in a style at once perspicuous and fascinating.

The Millennium a Spiritual State not a Personal Reign. By John Jefferson. London: Snow. 1840.

A sermon, remarkable for its sound criticism, candid reasoning, and useful tendency.

Domestic Discipline: the Duties and Responsibilities of the Domestic Relations. By Henry Foster Burder, D.D. London: Ward. 1840.

The esteemed author has described, with his usual precision, the reciprocal obligations of the domestic circle, and judiciously urged them by scriptural motives. This cheap publication deserves to be attentively read by the members of every family.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The Natural History of Society in the Barbarous and Civilized State: an Essay towards discovering the Origin and Course of Human Improvement. By W. Cooke Taylor, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S. 2 vols.

Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. John Griffin, of Portsea. By his Sons. 8vo.

Ecclesiastical Chronology; or Annals of the Christian Church. From its Foundation to the Present Time: containing a View of General Church History, and the Course of Secular Events, &c., &c. 8vo. By the Rev. J. E. Riddle, M.A.

Christ's Discourse at Capernaum fatal to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; on the very Principle of Exposition adopted by the Divines of the Roman Church, &c. 8vo. By George Stanley Faber, B.D.

Outlines of the History of the Catholic Church in Ireland. By the Very Rev. Richard Murray, D.D.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For DECEMBER, 1840.

Art. I. *Eminent British Statesmen:* Oliver] Cromwell. By John Forster, Esq. *Cabinet Cyclopædia. Vols. VI. and VII.* London: Longman and Co.

WELL did our mighty magician of the drama represent before the terrified Macbeth an armed head that 'would not be 'commanded,' as rising out of the troubled cauldron, when his witches were exercising their sorceries, amidst thunder, solitude, and darkness! Civil wars and political revolutions will generally give up a somewhat similar apparition, to chastise and alarm that guilty nation, which, in passing under the judgments of God, has forgotten or failed to humble itself before Him. Napoleon thus terminated the tragedy of the first French Reign of Terror; he being little else than the re-production, on a larger scale, of the great British Protector in the seventeenth century, who after witnessing the execution of his sovereign, succeeded in appropriating to himself the prerogatives and glory of Power. In some respects, Oliver Cromwell was greater,—in others, he was less than his successor, in our own times, though in another country: yet Buonaparte, as all readers and observers know, always numbered him amongst the most remarkable of mankind. He has indeed secured a pedestal in the temple of fame, which will pass away only with time itself. His character has perplexed those who desire to understand it, almost as much as his actions have excited their wonder or execration. He blazed before his contemporaries like a comet rather than a star. His present biographer, however, has put into our hands a telescope which will enable us to examine him thoroughly. In no previous work

has Mr. Forster exhibited more ability or impartiality. The hero grows up into life before us, so that we seem to see him from his boyhood to his deathbed. Our object must of course be to compress, as well as to delineate: and we shall therefore endeavor forthwith to portray his personal history,—his military career,—and his civil administration.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, on the 25th of April, 1599, in an old gothic house attached to the brewery of his worthy parents. These persons were of respectable, and, on the maternal side, of illustrious origin; the father having descended from a Glamorganshire squire, and the mother being daughter to William Steward, of the city of Ely. She was a widow, with a jointure of £60 per annum, when she married Robert Cromwell; and could boast of a lineal and undoubted descent from the royal family of the Stuarts. A portrait of her still remains at Hinchinbrook, displaying a small and sweet mouth, expressive of firmness no less than gentleness, with large melancholy eyes, light pretty hair, and a meek, quiet affectionateness diffused over her face, which modestly peeps forth from a white satin hood, over a velvet cardinal of simple beauty, clasped by one small but rich jewel. Oliver was her second son, and the only one of three who lived to manhood. Her husband, having small means, although very good connexions, permitted her to carry on the brewery adjoining their premises, taking little or no part in it himself; though very glad, beyond a doubt, to have his humbler estate and situation, as younger brother to the neighbouring Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, thus comfortably supported through the exertions of an invaluable helpmate. His sister had married John Hampden, of Buckinghamshire, the father of the immortal patriot, who speedily discerned, beneath a rough exterior, the matchless talents of his cousin, long ere the fortune of war and politics had stamped him, before the world, as a future Protector to the three kingdoms. Yet it would seem that omens, prodigies, and fantasies, had already gathered around him their thickest clouds of mystery and interest. The cradle of conquerors and rulers can never be left to the unalloyed loveliness and simplicity of maternal affection producing,—moulding,—and watching over the epitome of a maturity to come. An honest nonjuror, who afterwards purchased and inhabited the house of Robert Cromwell at Huntingdon, used to show, behind the door of the room in which Oliver was born, a curious figure of the devil worked into the hangings. When as an infant, he was sent for one day over to the seat of his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, a monkey snatched him from his crib, and running with him up to the leads, alarmed the entire household with this almost typical anticipation of his subsequent destiny: yet Pug brought him down safely in his paws, whilst the servants vainly busied themselves in fetching

featherbeds to break his fall, had the creature been disposed to throw him headlong towards the ground. The curate of Cunnington is also said to have saved him some years afterwards from drowning, of which good deed, when its object reminded him at a still later period, the loyal parson avowed his hearty repentance, declaring that could he have foreseen matters, he would sooner have put him into the water, than have so unhappily plucked him out. In sober truth, his temper by this time had waxed not a little wayward and violent. His mother humored him grievously, so that he became cross and peevish. Hinchinbrook was now and then honored with a visit from the sovereign, and an anecdote is mentioned by Noble, demonstrating that the conduct of Oliver, even as a child, on one most singular occasion, seemed to raise the curtain of futurity! In 1604, Charles the First, then Duke of York, was staying for a few nights with Sir Oliver, who to divert the young prince sent for his nephew from Huntingdon, that he, with his own boys, might play with his royal highness. However, these little people had not been together long, before the sturdy son of the brewer, conceiving himself insulted through some arrogance on the part of his illustrious playfellow, bestowed on the latter a sound thrashing and a bloody nose! It must not be forgotten that these pigmy combatants were ninth cousins once removed to each other! What ensued hereupon we are not informed; but on a subsequent occasion, when fatigued with pastime he had laid himself down to sleep, a gigantic female figure withdrew suddenly the curtains of his bed, and first gazing at him in awful silence for a while, at length told him that before his death he would be the greatest man in England. 'He 'remembered when he recited the story,—and the recollection 'marked the current of his thoughts,—that the spectre had not 'made mention of the word KING.' His father with doubtful propriety had him flogged for this fancy, by an excellent pedagogue, one Doctor Beard, represented in a frontispiece to 'The Theatre 'of God's Judgments,' as waving a rod in his hand, with two miserable scholars standing behind him, and *As in præsenti* issuing out of his mouth!

This theological disciple of Solomon, and anticipator of Doctor Busby, had taken the youthful Oliver into his tender mercies, after an ancient schoolmistress had given him up in despair. Doctor Beard ruled over the free-grammar school of the town, glorying like Augustus in sitting every day 'between sighs and 'tears,' when he had Virgil with his asthma, and Horace with his weeping eyes, on either side of him. He spared neither birch nor pains on the persons and minds of his pupils, as appears too evident to be questioned: whilst, joking apart, the son of the brewer seemed to demand no ordinary share of correction. An old author thus forcibly, though quaintly, describes him:

'Amongst the rest of those ill qualities which fructuated in him 'at this age, he was very notorious for robbing of orchards; a 'puerile crime, and an ordinary trespass, but grown so scandalous 'by the frequent spoyles and damages of trees, breaking of 'hedges and enclosures, committed by *this apple-dragon*, that 'many solemn complaints were made, both to his father and 'master, for redress thereof,—which missed not their *satisfaction* '*and expiation out of his hide;* on which so much pains were 'lost, that that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the 'throwing down of all boundaries of law and conscience. From 'this he passed into another more manly theft,—the robbing of 'dove-houses, *stealing the young pidgeons*, and eating and mer-'chandising of them, and that so publiquely, that he became 'dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent country.' There is good evidence that he would take to learning by fits and starts, an enthusiastic 'hard student for a week or two;' then an idler, at last rushing back to his books again: at once active and resolute; capable of tremendous study, but by no means always inclined to it. The coarse manners moreover of his age should never be lost sight of. They stuck to him afterwards through life, notwithstanding no slight share of general improvement all around him. What would have proved mere incrustations in any other instance, worked themselves up into his mind, becoming part and parcel of himself, like varied yet eccentric veins in a mountainous mass of marble. Such a rock could bear up in awful majesty, amidst the storms of adversity, or under the sunshine of prosperity; but to have hoped for the minor graces and elegancies of life, would have been expecting to polish a Mount Athos! We may therefore dismiss a filthy and disgustful tale with respect to one of his juvenile freaks at Hinchinbrook, which ended in a richly merited consignment of his person, garments, and all about him, to the waters of an adjacent horse-pond. His father, uncle, and schoolmaster, at last hoped for some signal amendment in his manners, when at seventeen he was entered a fellow-commoner at Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge.

Here from having been what is called a pickle at school he grew into what they term a royster at the University. His prowess in the field flourished more than his good character for intellectual advancement. Not that he neglected the latter altogether; but low tastes for football, cudgels, and taverns, evidently predominated. There was no helping all this at such a time, and under such circumstances. His father had been too stern to command his affections,—his mother too indulgent to restrain his passions; whilst good Doctor Beard had no other remedy to prescribe except everlasting flagellation. Like the hags of old, a certain class of preceptors never mounted towards heaven, if they ascended at all, upon any other vehicle but their

birch and broomsticks! The mind of Oliver Cromwell therefore had as yet enjoyed no chance; and soon after his fair settlement at college, his father died in June, 1617. He had acquired many vices, and some Latin, notwithstanding the silly sneer of the pious but twaddling Bishop Burnet. Milton gives testimony the most unexceptionable that his mighty master was 'not to be 'reckoned an ill scholar.' He declares of him that he had collected sufficient literary dust at the halls of Alma Mater; and nobly adds, that 'It did not become that hand to get soft in 'literary ease which was to be inured to the use of arms, and 'hardened with asperity; that right hand was not to be wrapt up 'in down, among the nocturnal birds of Athens, by which thun-'derbolts were to be hurled soon after among the eagles, which 'emulate the sun.' Before, however, half his terms had been kept, the *res angusta domi* summoned him to Huntingdon, whence he proceeded to London, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn. The metropolis gave a finish to his already profligate habits. Neither the paternal estate, nor his physical constitution, could endure his career of rakishness beyond a certain point. Old Anthony à Wood bears out the bitter loyalism of Heath, in portraying the vicious young student as detesting the law, which it was his duty to study; and then returning upon his excellent mother, still compelled to brew in her country town for her bread, 'as a debauchee and boisterous rude fellow.' Wallowing in ale and fornication, he nevertheless contrived to secure unparalleled eminence in the use of that antiquated rural weapon,—the quarter-staff. With this he challenged and engaged the most famous tinkers and pedlars in the neighbourhood. His uncle might well continue to frown upon him, as he did: yet Sir Oliver little thought that his reckless nephew was laying up a store of rustic courage and skill which would be the terror at some future day to aristocratic cavaliers in mail! In fact, providential circumstances were gradually preparing the bumpkin for a dauntless warrior. His extraordinary character lay wrapt up and immured in that form, which can never be any otherwise than least agreeable. Nor indeed are we to imagine that even now it was altogether coarseness, without some lines of alleviation: for Carrington assures us of tendencies being still perceptible, amidst his worst conduct, that his nature remained by no means totally averse to study and contemplation; only 'he seemed more addicted to con-'versation and *the reading of men and their several tempers*, than 'to mere poring over authors.' Man, under forty, can perhaps rarely succeed in achieving an entire oblivion of himself. The spirit must have moved the future Protector at times, as it did Samson in the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol. In earlier years he had once personated the part of Tactus in an allegorical drama called the Five Senses; when, oddly enough,

with a chaplet of laurel upon his head, he had to stalk upon the stage, stumbling against a royal robe and crown! Taking them both up, the following soliloquy was delivered by him as a juvenile, confident, and almost prophetic actor:

> 'Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did portend:
> Was ever man so fortunate as I?—
> To break his shins at such a stumbling-block!
> Roses and bays pack hence: this crown and robe
> My brows and body circles and invests!
> *How gallantly it fits me!* Sure the slave
> Measured my head, that wrought this coronet.
> They lie,—that say complexions cannot change;
> My blood's ennobled, and *I am transformed*
> *Unto the sacred temper of a king!*
> Methinks I hear my noble parasites
> Styling me Cæsar, or great Alexander,—
> Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
> This precious ointment. *How my face is mended!*
> How princely do I speak! How sharp I threaten!
> Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
> And make you tremble when the Lion roars!
> Ye earth-bred worms! O for a looking-glass!
> Poets will write whole volumes on this change.'

The authenticity of this curious coincidence has been placed beyond dispute; and we mention it here as a premonitory echo, if such a term may be allowed, of that voice within his bosom, which at last came to make itself heard! His patrimony was rapidly rolling away: and his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, having manifested symptoms of mental aberration, he both officiously and selfishly endeavored to procure a commission of lunacy against him. It was refused by the crown-court after proper investigation; notwithstanding which, the supposed victim of malversation bequeathed subsequently all his fortune to his persecutor; a fact, in our humble judgment, removing every real stain of baseness from the business, beyond that of over-eagerness after what an inconsiderate spendthrift could scarcely fail to be looking out for.

Meanwhile the worthy widow at Huntingdon wept and prayed, as other mothers with graceless children have so often done, in the depths of parental sorrow. No visions of Whitehall or Hampton Court, or obsequious ambassadors, soliciting her interest with her son, or of inaugural or funereal pageantry at Westminster, or within its solemn abbey, ever excited or perplexed her diligent mind. The vapours of that wholesome liquor, which she honestly fermented and dispensed, were not less emblems of

the vanity of a vexatious world, than they seemed symptoms of filial ingratitude, which could thus leave her to toil and labor, as most persons might have thought, in vain. Yet some reward for her travail was at no great distance. 'On the 22nd of August, '1620, four months after the completion of his twenty-first year, 'Cromwell married Elizabeth Bourchier, daughter of Sir James 'Bourchier, of Felsted, in Essex, a kinswoman of the Hampdens, 'a woman of high spirit, of an ancient and honorable family, whose 'irreproachable life and unobtrusive manners should have indeed 'protected her from the insults and obloquies of the time, if any-'thing could have been held sacred from them.' Wedlock proved the first link of that golden chain which was henceforward to draw him upward. Reformation immediately commenced. He reconciled himself with every one of his justly offended relatives. He now nobly assisted in the brewery, as if to confer honor upon industrial occupation. In some of his wild days and nights, he had occasionally won sums of money at a gambling-table: but he now sought out the parties, and compelled them to receive back all such illgotten gains. The age heaved with religious as well as political agitation and excitement: the sovereign was oppressing the subject; episcopalians were grinding nonconformists to the bone; whilst ecclesiastical vengeance stood like Shylock the Jew, sharpening a knife upon the ground, and demanding the pound of flesh from whomsoever her power might exact it. The prodigal of Huntingdon too had grown into another character. His contemplation, under the veil of wildness, had sprung up 'like the summer grass, fastest by night, unseen yet crescive in 'its faculty.' His house became a home for persecuted ministers of the gospel: and thus being not forgetful to entertain strangers, he must full often have sheltered angels unawares. The claims of conscience rose before him in their sacredness and glory. He avowed himself their champion and defender, at a period when their enemies in this country were the bear and lion for ever prowling round the fold of God: for not as yet had the David been manifested, whose prowess could take them by the beard. Here lay the happiest groundwork of his life: he loved and was beloved, instead of being as not long before, reproached and detested. He throve too in outward circumstances, and begat sons and daughters. Once more the attestation of Milton meets us: *Is matura jam atque firmata ætate, quam et privatus traduxit, nullâ re magis quam religionis cultu purioris, et integritate vitæ cognitus, domi in occulto creverat; et ad summa quæque tempora fiduciam Deo fretam et ingentem animum tacito pectore aluerat:* 'Being now arrived at a ripe and mature age, all which time he 'spent as a private person, noted for nothing so much as the cul-'ture of pure religion and integrity of life, he had unostenta-

'tiously acquired wealth at home: whilst enlarging his hopes 'with reliance in God, for any the most exalted occasions, he 'nursed a mighty genius in his silent bosom!'

There is a letter extant, which would fall in here, had we room for it, requesting a friend at Cambridge to stand godfather to his son Richard. Its simplicity, and even tenderness, could not fail to increase our interest in such domestic details; only that the present object is not to encroach upon the province of either the historian or the biographer. The wings of his fame began to increase rapidly. He had stood a contest for his native borough in 1625, and had failed: but in 1628, his fellow-townsmen appear to have returned him to the third parliament of Charles the First, without much difficulty. His personal figure was of no mean mark: yet his gait was clownish, 'his dress ill-made and 'slovenly, his manners coarse and abrupt, and his face such as 'men look on with a vague feeling of admiration and dislike. The 'features seemed cut, as it were, out of a piece of gnarled and 'knotty oak; the nose large and red; the cheeks warted, wrin-'kled, and sallow; the eyebrows huge and shaggy; but glistening 'from beneath them were eyes full of depth and meaning, and 'when turned to the gaze, piercing through and through the 'gazer!' Who could deny, who looked upon his magnificent forehead, with its 'open flow of hair,' that he was formed to govern men? When later in life, and on the eve of assuming sovereign power, he once sat for his picture, the limner received instructions from his own mouth, 'not to inflict any nonsense on 'the canvass,' but to represent his features with all their imperfections. These were numerous; and the newspapers more than once allude to 'the glow-worm glistening in his beak,' whenever he was about to give way to a towering passion. His face would then become pale as alabaster, but with its gnomon so fiery, that his friends called it a ruby, his enemies a blazing beacon! Such are their very expressions: and the author of Hudibras further declared, that 'Cromwell wanted neither wardrobe nor armour; 'his physiognomy was naturally buff, and his skin might furnish 'any body with a rusty coat of mail: one would suppose he had 'been christened in a lime-pit, and been tanned alive!' His first oratorical efforts were made against Mainwaring; which led to the closest union between himself, Pym, Hampden, St. John, and the other patriots. The well known dissolution ensued; Charles set his whole soul to the preposterous task of governing without parliaments; Oliver Cromwell returned to his retirement to spend eleven years of varied preparation for the still mightier labor of overturning thrones and altars. Three of them were passed at Huntingdon, and a portion of the remainder at St. Ives, where he stocked a small farm with about £1800, which he had realised from the sale of his patrimonial property.

Vehement religious exercises, carried to such a pitch as to affect his health, had probably rendered this removal quite necessary. His physician assured Sir Philip Warwick, that 'phansyes 'about the cross,' as well as the near approach of death, would often occur, so as that medical assistance had to be sent for 'at 'midnight and like unseasonable hours.' Protracted prayers, and frequently fastings, interspersed with sudden intervals of fantastic merriment, leave us at no loss to discover the progress of hypochondriacal disease, which would naturally seek relief in change of place or occupation. Agricultural pursuits seasoned him for nobler exertions, in the sequel, just as the former use of the quarter-staff had exercised his arms, and augmented that personal courage and agility which are by no means to be despised.

'In the tenants that rented from him,—in the laborers that took service under him, he sought to sow the seeds of his after-troop of Ironsides. He achieved an influence through the neighbourhood all around him, unequalled for piety and self-denying virtue. The greater part of his time, even upon his farm, was passed in devotional expositions and prayer. Who prays best will work best,—who preaches best will fight best,—all the famous doctrines of his later and more celebrated years were tried and tested on the little farm at St. Ives. His servants were taught that however inferior to the lords of the earth they might be in worldly circumstances, there were yet claims of loftier concern in which they had equal share, and in the right understanding of which their humanity might exalt itself to the level of the proudest. He did not drudge them from the rising to the setting sun, as if they had been merely beasts of burden; he left them time at intervals to ponder on the momentous fact, that even they had immortal souls. Before going to their field-work in the morning, they knelt down with their master in the touching equality of prayer; in the evening, they shared with him again the comfort and exaltations of divine precepts, and were taught the inexpressible value of the religion that is practical, and tends to elevate, not to depress the soul.'
—Vol. i. p. 48.

Many old swords still exist in the vicinity, bearing on their hilts his initials O. C., which have descended from that day to their present owners. In the meantime neither the farm nor his own health prospered. He generally went to church, with his neck awry from stiffness, and for that reason enveloped in scarlet flannel; as an old clerk used to recount from the recollections of earlier years. The cold and damp air of these parts never thoroughly agreed with him. In 1636, he removed to the glebe-house of St. Mary, in the city of Ely: the property of his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, having just fallen to him. Here his hypochondriasis got worse and worse. The first murmurings too of the political tempest might be almost heard. Hampden had reaped his harvest of renown in resisting ship-money; and the

impoverished Exchequer was endeavoring to grasp at an enormously unreasonable share of the great Bedford Level, which was now drained to the extent of 400,000 acres. Cromwell, notwithstanding his illness, headed the most popular opposition ever before known in Cambridgeshire against the crown and its encroachments. He roused the smaller proprietors to obey his influence; he drove away a flight of locusts, in the shape of royal officials, who had descended with terrific greediness to devour the best of the land; he traversed the entire district in every direction, until, before his single individual energy, an alluring project of oppression experienced utter discomfiture; so that both king and commissioners being defeated, public opinion there looked to him as its natural leader, and conferred upon him a title by which he was ever mentioned in common conversation,—the Lord of the Fens! When the second parliament of 1640 was at length summoned in the month of November, he immediately offered himself for the town of Cambridge, and was returned, after a fierce contest, by a majority of no more than one vote. Employment had probably recruited his spirits; whilst his antagonist, John Cleaveland the poet, declared that the single suffrage, which deprived himself of a seat in the House of Commons, had 'ruined 'both church and kingdom.' It was an important point gained without a doubt.

And now loomed upwards from the horizon that crisis which made millions of men both pause and ponder. In the terrors of the future, which were to be born from the miseries of the past, many a stern puritan recognised and welcomed that stormy, yet not impassable sea, which heaved and swelled between slavery and freedom. 'Other thoughts, deeper in his heart of hearts, lurk-'ing there even unknown to himself, may have agitated Crom-'well. His friends said in after years, that even now he would 'startle them by sudden and gratuitous graspings of his sword, 'and by fits of the same abrupt and immoderate laughter which 'were noted on the eve of Worcester and Dunbar.' Who shall lay down the precise limits where his gigantic imaginings may have perturbed themselves into the agitations of madness? Strafford speedily fell as the Lucifer of absolutism and royalty. Oliver Cromwell took his noble place in at least twenty out of the forty committees that were appointed within the first week of the Long Parliament to investigate grievances. An eye and ear-witness mentions his voice as being sharp and untunable, but his eloquence full of fervor. His linen was plain and not very clean; his clothes would seem to have been made, as they really had been, by an indifferent country tailor; the hat on his head, or in his hand, wanted a hatband; nor were his wrists embraced in ruffles of pointed lace, to the taste of a spruce cavalier. But his sword stuck close to his side. He was most attentively

listened to; for the artificial conventionalisms of life were for a season about to fly before its realities; whilst John Hampden, in answer to an inquiry from Lord Digby, who so slovenly a fellow might be, replied, 'That sloven, whom you see before you, hath 'no ornament in his speech,—yet, if we should ever come to a 'breach with the king, which God forbid,—that sloven, I say, 'will be the greatest man in England!' There is no reason to suppose that the great patriot was merely repeating the words of the apparition, of which a passing mention has already been made. No sooner was civil war absolutely inevitable, than the uncomely but enthusiastic member for Cambridge was among the very first in the field. From this moment, indeed, commences his military career.

Acting under no regular commission at first, he performed some pieces of daring and important service in his native districts. He suddenly left London for the neighbourhood of Huntingdon, where a large body of yeomen awaited him, from whom he picked out forthwith the ablest and most religious, as the nucleus for his famous regiment of Ironsides. His dwindled finances had already been laid upon the altar of his country and her liberties. He had given £500 towards the sum raised to crush the Irish rebellion. He had purchased on his own responsibility arms and accoutrements. He arrested the plate of the University on its way to the royal treasury. He even waited upon his knightly uncle, Sir Oliver, at Ramsay, for Hinchinbrook had been probably sold; and in the most civil and respectful manner possible, deprived the old gentleman of all his means to do mischief, by any indulgence of his loyal predilections. 'With a good strong 'party of horse, he begged his blessing, and during the few hours 'of his stay, would not keep on his hat in his presence: yet 'nevertheless he not only disarmed him, but carried off all his 'silver.' He went on enrolling for the war a thousand horse-soldiers, after even a more orderly fashion than at the commencement; for he had now accepted from Lord Essex the rank of a colonel of cavalry. Richard Baxter informs us that his choosing pious men for his troop arose from his love of their principles, until prosperity corrupted him. He taught them with the greatest diligence to feed and dress their chargers, and when it should be needful to lie together with them on the ground. The volume of human nature he had studied in exactly those particulars which enabled him to draw together the hardiest frames and the most courageous as well as obedient souls, so as to form warriors, rather than mercenaries, who would understand and never flinch from the cause they served, feeling it not only to be their own, but to be invested with a religious, even more than a merely temporal or secular character. He became their friend as well as their commander. He prayed with and preached to them. Upon

these foundations of love and attachment he kept up a discipline that was perfect. Their arms were always clean and bright; their health never failed; no difficulties daunted them; they never forsook their colors or their leader; nor were they ever beaten. He subsequently, says Baxter, had under his care some of the associated counties, 'where he brought this body into a 'double regiment of fourteen full troops; and all these as full of 'religious men as he could get.' He even tried them, by many stratagems in their earlier musters, so as to discover and good-naturedly weed out the pusillanimous and fainthearted. In one word, he enlisted from the middle classes, and not from either the highest or lowest. He won the confidence of his followers to the last man. From the hour that he captured the high-sheriff of Hertfordshire in his own market place of St. Alban's, he convinced the whole kingdom that he had put his hand to the sword, and that sword should be his plough, until England was a free nation. In the same spirit, he frankly avowed from the beginning, that he fought for the parliament against Charles Stuart, in whose face he would as soon discharge his pistol, as that of any other man. He denounced the preposterous subtlety of acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty against his authority. There was no whiggery about him, any more than there was at this period a taint of toryism. He was one of deeds not words. He raised, and trained, and led from victory to victory soldiers, who then constituted the seed, as they afterwards did the flower of that astonishing army, 'whose order and discipline, whose 'sobriety and manners, whose valor and success, made it famous 'and terrible all over the world.'

Then came the tug of war, with all its horrors, and all its crimes. Cromwell had already distinguished himself, whilst others were reluctantly mounting into their saddles. Having received secret intelligence that a royal party was preparing itself for action at Lowestoft, in Suffolk, he pounced on them like a bird of prey; took them all prisoners, with about thirty persons of opulence and distinction, besides getting possession of immense stores of weapons and ammunition. His activity thus crushed the egg of a cockatrice in the eastern counties; whence he quickly penetrated into Lincolnshire, disarming the malignants as he passed, securing Stamford as well as Burleigh House by the way, and defeating General Cavendish near Grantham. He then relieved Gainsborough at immense risk, and with a skilfulness which astonished both sides. It was one of the first important advantages gained to the parliamentarians; and, as Whitelock observes, proved 'the beginning of those great fortunes' connected with the hero of his age. Ireton now joined him, a pure republican, but a most excellent man; combining the saint and the soldier, the philosopher, the lawyer, and the politician, all in

one. Three years after this time he married Bridget Cromwell; having quitted his own regiment to follow the colors of her father, whose conduct and genius, as Mrs. Hutchinson tells us, 'had 'charmed him.' Meanwhile royalism seemed in the ascendant, upon the whole, for some considerable period. Newcastle, with an overpowering force, swept down the midland shires, so that Cromwell had to draw off towards Boston; which it is admitted he did in a most masterly manner. Such occasional retreats perfected his generalship. He was learning and deserving to conquer that haughty aristocracy, ranged for the most part with natural sympathy under the banners of an arbitrary monarch and irresponsible power. The puritans needed some such captain of exemplary renown; for in the course of a campaign or two, Hopton had thoroughly routed Sir William Waller; divisions and jealousies had weakened the strong and disheartened the patriotic; Lord Essex had vacillated, just as might have been expected; and above all John Hampden had fallen! Pym, Vane, the Solemn League and Covenant, and Oliver Cromwell, propped up their waning cause. The sword of the last proved to them that of the Lord and Gideon! Fiennes had surrendered Bristol. The Princes Rupert and Maurice led the rich conservative gentry, as they would now be called, together with Lords Hertford and Newcastle. Charles would have set down before Gloucester, had not Essex with immense reinforcements marched thither, forced him to retire, followed him through Wiltshire, and at length fought the battle of Newbury memorable for the death of four earls and Viscount Falkland: whilst Cromwell remained in Lincolnshire, performing such feats of prudence as well as valor, that he was united with Lord Manchester in the military charge of the six eastern counties, and had an additional levy of 2000 men placed under his command. It was now verging towards the close of 1643, and Sir Thomas Fairfax had joined them on the 9th of October at Boston. Manchester nominally, but Cromwell really, acted as generalissimo. Sir John Henderson, a gallant royalist, having watched his opportunity, attacked the latter near Horncastle, engaging him three to one, since, for those twenty-four hours, Lord Manchester through his own mismanagement was a day's march in the rear. Oliver however felt no fear. He addressed his faithful Ironsides with the double watchword of Truth and Peace! At the same moment he formed his position for the fight, so as to make advantageous ground supply the want of numbers; and then giving out a psalm of victory, he drew his gleaming weapon, and charged in the name of the Most High the astonished enemy. The sound of the sacred song was lost in long rolling vollies of heavy musketry and the dead shock of mingled combatants. Cromwell's favorite steed reeled from the stroke of a ball, and foundered with its

rider; who, in disengaging himself, was cut down by Sir Ingram Hopton, so that he lay for an instant unconscious amongst the slain: but once more springing up, he seized a sorry horse from one of his troopers, and rode into the midst of the *mêlée* with terrible, and as it turned out, with irresistible fierceness. However, it was his self-collectedness as well as his indomitable courage, that inclined the scale of success from the many to the few. The entire front of the cavaliers wavered, broke, dispersed, and fled. Immense slaughter occurred in the pursuit. Baggage, arms, colors to the number of eighteen pair, horses, and a vast multitude of prisoners rewarded the victors: so that this engagement, which sometimes is called that of Waisby Hill, encouraged the parliamentarians with brighter hopes than they had yet enjoyed; removed the Marquess of Newcastle from Kingston-upon-Hull; and made Charles the First exclaim, 'Would to God 'that some one would do me the good fortune to bring to me 'Oliver Cromwell, whether alive or dead!'

In vain did the royal supplication betray his discernment or his fears. Their object gave him no respite; for instead of withdrawing into winter quarters, the Ironsides pursued a bright train of triumph, capturing castles, raising monies, cutting off stragglers, and consolidating military organizations. Their leader now received his appointment of lieutenant-governor to the isle of Ely, which afforded him opportunities, during the severe season, from December to March, of squeezing the fat chapters and colleges of his own Minster, Peterborough, and Cambridge. Within the University much need there was, then as now, of radical reformation. He therefore garrisoned the town as a preparatory measure. Lord Manchester at length obtained powers, in due form from Westminster, for couching the cataract, in this one at least of the eyes of the Church of England. That Church, since the reign of Elizabeth, was lapsing into fearful blindness. Cromwell must have meditated much on former days: but the tremendous campaign of 1644 now commenced. Twenty thousand veteran Scotchmen had crossed the Tweed to co-operate with the puritans. Various movements through the very heart of the kingdom terminated in a grand junction between Fairfax, Lord Leven, Manchester, and Cromwell, now holding commission as lieutenant-general over a division of at least 14,000 men. Newcastle and Rupert were at York; when, through the headstrong rashness of the latter, pleading as in truth he was justified in doing, a permission if not a mandate from Charles, an engagement in the neighbourhood between themselves and the allied forces of their enemies, was fatally resolved upon. On the 2nd of July, therefore, Marston Moor, eight miles from the city, beheld 46,000 subjects of one and the same sovereign drawn out in battle array against each other! War is dreadful; civil war-

fare appears infernal. Within the streets and suburbs of York 'every boom of the distant cannon would strike upon the inhabi-'tants as the death-knell of a friend or brother. The lines of the 'parliamentarians had begun to form as early as ten in the morn-'ing,—the royalist preparations were complete at five o'clock in 'the afternoon,—it was now within a quarter of seven,—yet 'there still stood these formidable armies, each awaiting from the 'other, with a silent and awful suspense, the signal of battle.' Across a portion of the parliamentary front ran a deep drain, very wide, with the ground to the right broken and entrenched with natural fences and lanes. On the left their position was open and unprotected towards the moor. The elder Fairfax and Lord Leven, with his Scotch, kept the centre; on either wing lay the cavalry; of which the younger Fairfax commanded the right, whilst Cromwell and Manchester held the left. Rupert gazed from afar, as these thick masses formed before him. He had outstripped, through his customary haste, the glittering thousands of royalists, which occupied all day in coming into line. At the drain, he stationed four brigades of infantry, supported by Goring and his horse: his principal columns, with himself and his own cavalry, drew up in direct opposition to Sir Thomas, or as he is often called, the younger Fairfax. The elder, or Lord Fairfax, not as yet had uttered the fatal word, when a stir arose in the quarter of the Independents, part of whose infantry moved upon the drain. Rupert then opened a murderous fire from behind a ditch where his musketeers lay in comparative safety: and the conflict began in good earnest.

'The parliamentarians, who had advanced, vainly attempted to form under the plunging batteries simultaneously directed against them from the rear. At that moment was seen the genius of Cromwell. With a passionate exclamation to his Ironsides, he ordered them to sweep round the ditch to their right, clear the broken ground, and fall in with himself upon the dissolute Goring. The movement occupied some time; and fearful slaughter was meanwhile suffered by Manchester's infantry: but having once emerged, these inveterate republicans stood for an instant to receive the onset of Goring's horse, and then, like a cliff tumbled from its basis by an earthquake, rolled back upon them. Nothing could withstand that astonishing charge. The cavaliers who survived offered no further resistance, but wheeled off to join Prince Rupert. Cromwell and his men next struck at the guns, and sabred the artillerymen beside them; and then, with as much leisurely order as at parade, rode towards the drain. Every place was deserted, as they advanced. One spot of ground only still held upon it, for an instant, the Marquess of Newcastle's unflinching regiment of old tenants and retainers, and was covered the instant after with an unbroken line of honorable dead. Their victory was complete, the right wing of the royalists being irrecoverably broken.

Rupert and his cavalry had meanwhile obtained as great a victory on the left. The encumbered ground on which Fairfax stood was most unfavorable to an advance. Rupert, therefore, stood keenly by till he saw the parliamentary forces stagger under the heavy charges poured upon them, as they emerged in narrow columns, through ditches and lanes; and then with his characteristic impetuosity, charged, overthrew, routed, and dispersed both foot and cavalry, with tremendous slaughter.

'The subsequent meeting of the two victors decided the day. While the centres were unsteadily engaged, Cromwell, who had checked his triumphant Ironsides from their pursuit, in the very nick of time, ordered them suddenly to fall round, and wheel upon their centre to the left. Rupert had given a similar order to his conquering cavalry to wheel round on their centre to the right; and now with a shock more terrible than any of this terrible day, these desperate leaders, each supposing himself the victor, dashed each in front of a victorious foe! Cromwell received a wound in the neck, and the alarm for his safety gave an appearance of momentary unsteadiness even to his gallant followers; but they rallied with redoubled fury; and in conjunction with an accomplished Scotch officer, who led up at the moment a brilliant attack, fairly swept Rupert off the field. It was now ten o'clock, and by the melancholy dusk, which enveloped Marston Moor, might be seen a fearful sight. Five thousand dead bodies of Englishmen lay heaped upon that fatal ground. The distinctions, which separated in life these sons of a common country, seemed trifling now! The plumed helmet embraced the strong steel cap, as they rolled on the heath together; and the loose love-lock of the careless cavalier lay drenched in the dark blood of the enthusiastic republican!'—Ib. pp. 134—137.

It proved an enormous victory. Ten thousand stand of arms, two wagons of carabines and pistols, fifteen hundred prisoners more or less distinguished, one hundred and thirty barrels of powder, besides twenty-five pieces of large ordnance, and standards without number, fell as a booty to the conquerors. Charles lost his military chest, all his tents and baggage between the Tweed and the Humber, as well as a full moiety of his entire kingdom. York afterwards surrendered; but Lord Essex in the west had less success than ever, having to surrender all his troops, and himself barely escaping by sea from Plymouth. These events led to the second battle of Newbury in October; when Cromwell would have at once closed the civil war, had not Manchester, either through cowardice or treachery, prevented him from doing so. Incensed at such a proceeding he repaired to London, and convinced his associates Vane, Ireton, the younger Ludlow, and Marten, that extensive changes were necessary, if future advantages were not to be surrendered almost as soon as obtained. Hence ensued the self-denying ordinance and a new model of the army; both which quietly set aside the puritan

aristocracy from their high places, and lowered Presbyterianism itself before the nobler genius of Independency. Thenceforward Cromwell became and remained master of the ascendant. Fairfax, indeed, was named lord general; whilst to the real soul of the drama, he acted the most convenient and secondary part imaginable. The three separate forces of Waller, Essex, and Manchester, combined into one compact body of about twenty-two thousand men; all their old dissolute and least deserving comrades being dismissed, and the conqueror of Marston Moor succeeding ultimately in getting every arrangement just managed upon his own plan. Some months, however, had passed away before all was settled, and the treaty of Uxbridge proving an utter failure, preparations for another appeal to the sword forthwith had commenced. Charles still ruled over Wales, the western, and some of the midland counties, and even here and there in the north: yet within a few brief weeks he knew scarcely where to turn! The policy resolved upon by the energetic republicans was to strike at their sovereign wherever he might be found. His cruel massacre at Leicester had incensed and exasperated the realm. On the 14th of June, 1645, the fearful conflict at Naseby for ever overclouded his political fortunes.

In a fallow field, about a mile in breadth, extending towards Harborough, Oliver Cromwell had suggested to Fairfax, that they might take up a very strong position, and wait for his majesty, who would certainly, as he judged from a variety of little circumstances, there fall upon them in due order. The result illustrated his foresight; and afforded him also an opportunity, by two or three ingenious and illusive manœuvres, for completely misleading Prince Rupert. That rash nephew of Charles, having ridden forward from the royalists to reconnoitre, conceived the erroneous impression which his antagonist intended he should, and rushed back to his uncle with the news that the roundheads were retreating, and might be annihilated by a pursuit! His uncle listened, believed, and advanced immediately, not as may be supposed in the best condition. Along the ridge of a gentle eminence lay the mighty lines that were thus to be destroyed! Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main centre: Cromwell took the right wing, and Ireton the left. Their van consisted of infantry; the flanks of cavalry; whilst twenty pieces of artillery were so judiciously planted as to cover every avenue of approach. Rupert, however, at once charged Ireton, cut his way through the division, dispersed for a moment its troops, and fell upon the republican baggage in the rear, exactly when his presence was most needed in the front of the engagement. For meanwhile, though Fairfax kept his ground not very equally in the centre, Oliver and his Ironsides alone decided the day. They had been attacked with terrific fierceness; but receiving the charge un-

shaken, they commenced an attack in return, which proved irresistible. Cromwell, having divided his men into seven squadrons, poured upon the foe a sweeping fire of carabines; and then rushing down, routed all the royal cavalry at the point of the sword, sending after them in pursuit only three out of his seven battalions, to prevent their rallying; whilst with the remaining four he wheeled furiously round and charged the king's foot-soldiers, already weary and harassed with their assault upon Fairfax. Not a deluge of reinforcements could have been half so effective as the conquering Cromwellians, fresh from their recent success, plunging their spurs into their horses, and loosening their reins, to give the utmost momentum to the movement. The royal infantry now gave way in all directions. A single regiment, indeed, abode the brunt; but scarcely a man of it survived to tell his courageous story. Charles displayed the magnanimity which never deserted him in danger. He looked out in vain for his headstrong nephew, whose stragglers only began to return when the crisis of their usefulness had gone by: yet no sooner did he behold them, than putting himself at their head, he implored them to follow their monarch, and meet the coming shock. 'One charge more,' he exclaimed, 'and we recover the 'day!' Alas, the triumphant puritans were already clearing the field, amidst multitudes of prisoners, large spaces covered with the dying, enormous piles of corpses, and fugitives making their escape on foot or on horseback hither and thither. Two thousand bodies were counted for the grave, when all was over. Five thousand infantry, and three thousand cavalry, surrendered themselves. Eight thousand stand of arms, above a hundred pair of colors, the royal standard, cabinet, plate, coaches, and a whole train of artillery, are enumerated amongst the spoils. Cromwell himself, who felt that, under God, the victory had been achieved through his generalship and exertions, first pursued his foes for twelve miles, and then transmitted the proper intelligence to the speaker of the House of Commons. It will be remembered that nominally he was no more than second in command: yet Fairfax seemed quite disposed to acquiesce in what could not fail to be obvious to all. Oliver's messenger received a handsome reward: whilst in nothing did his master more imitate the Roman than in attending to the *Quid superesset agendum.* Instead of resting as many would fain have done under the shadow of his laurels, he overspread the country with his victorious forces. Leicester, Winchester, Bristol, Devizes, Exeter, Dartmouth, with an immense number of fortified houses, were prostrated and captured in rapid succession: Sir Jacob Astley became prisoner with his 3000 royal cavalry, after a severe defeat: Charles escaped in disguise from Oxford to the Scottish camp: and the first Civil contest thus terminated. The parliament showered honors, as

well as more substantial rewards, with a profuse hand, upon the head of Oliver Cromwell: but what was of still higher importance, the civil strength of the Independents got stronger through certain recent elections; and the custody of Charles Stuart, transferred to the English by his self-interested Presbyterian subjects, invested them with paramount control over the remainder of the game.

For a mere game it was after all considered by the infatuated monarch and his adherents. He confessed as much to the artful and ambitious leader, who had crushed his last hopes at Naseby. Cromwell too had his game, played henceforward with such consummate effect, that he brought his competitor to the block, and substituted for a degraded throne his own more respectable protectorial chair. First, however, occurred fresh risings in Kent and Essex; in Norfolk, Devonshire, many other districts, as well as the alarming tumults of the apprentices in London; all followed by the regular commencement of a second civil war, when the Covenanters invaded England, and were beaten by Oliver Cromwell at Preston the 17th of August, 1648. This new triumph, obtained like the others through a combination of first rate genius and gallantry, brought the whole island, from Caithness to Cornwall, into subjection. Yet in order that nothing might be left undone, or neglected, he pressed forward towards Edinburgh; where the kirk hailed him as her deliverer! He must have smiled inwardly at that title; but meanwhile having thoroughly overthrown the Duke of Hamilton, and shed some bitter tears over the untimely fate of his eldest and able son, named after himself, who had fallen in a skirmish of the previous campaign, he returned to Whitehall, and sealed the destruction of King Charles. Then followed the Commonwealth, with its Council of State, pervaded by the integrity and talents of Sir Henry Vane; during whose existence the conqueror of Preston was suppressing Lilburne and his levellers, and shedding blood even as water throughout Ireland. Here lay the most crimson stain upon his escutcheon. He had accepted the lord lieutenancy, with an army of 12,000 men, in a spirit which it is to be feared some of our fiery zealots of Exeter Hall would fain see acted over again; a few grains of allowance being made for the lapse of two hundred years. Three ministers of religion invoked a blessing on his banners at Westminster, as being about to wave in 'the 'battles of the Lord against the blinded Irish Roman Catholics!' Verily Oliver was another Attila at Dublin, Derry, Trim, Carlingford, Newry, Drogheda, and Dundalk. At the last but one of these places, his own despatch coolly assures us that 'in the 'heat of action I forbade my soldiers to spare any that were in 'arms in the town, and I think that night, *they put to the sword* '*about two thousand men!*' After the submission of one of the

fortresses, 'their officers were knocked on the head, and every 'tenth man killed, and the rest shipped for Barbadoes; the soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, 'as they were shipped likewise for Barbadoes. I believe all the 'friars were knocked on the head promiscuously, except two, the 'one of whom was Father Peter Taaf, brother to the Lord Taaf, 'whom our men took the next day, and *made an end of.*' The other also was murdered, together with a hideous number of infants and women! Three hundred females were massacred at once at Wexford, the poor creatures having fled for refuge to the great cross of the market-place; vainly imagining that the emblem of Christianity would melt the most hard-hearted. It had a directly contrary effect, through the bigotry of prejudice with which all Roman Catholic insignia had come to be regarded by the puritans. Oliver Cromwell dared to describe these scenes as 'righteous judgments of heaven, which would prevent the effu-'sion of blood in future; and as to which it was good that *God* '*should have all the glory!*' Where was the difference between Charles Stuart at Leicester, and this gory lord lieutenant in Ireland? The latter passed on from tower to tower, and from castle to castle, in a species of grim and bloody triumph. At the end of the next January, he repeated such horrors in a second equally successful, yet equally terrific, campaign. He subdued, however, every shadow of resistance; and returned to England. Fairfax had resigned the commandership in chief of the British forces; to which, as a matter of course, their actual leader now succeeded in name also: for the Scots had proclaimed Charles the Second, nor was there any time to lose. On the 23rd of July, 1650, he passed over the Tweed with eleven thousand picked men, and Fleetwood, Lambert, Whalley, Pride, Overton, and Monk amongst his officers. Successive marches and skirmishes brought the Scotch under Leslie, and the English under Cromwell, to Dunbar, about the end of August and the beginning of September. On the third of the latter month occurred the memorable battle.

Without going into its details, which military men suppose to have demonstrated almost more than any others the indisputable genius of the conqueror, it may be sufficient to remark, that Cromwell was reduced to the greatest straits; when, as early as three in the morning, he was examining with his glass every quarter of the hostile army, with a view to carrying out some skilful manœuvres essential to the purpose in hand. Leslie had encamped upon most advantageous ground, had he only known how to improve it: but all at once, although possessing far superior numbers, he rashly descended into narrow passes where these could be of no avail; and his great antagonist, discerning the consequences of so false a step, exclaimed with frenzied joy, 'The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!' He then gave

the signal to his troops, who advanced midway between the hills and the sea, meeting their opponents not far from Roxburgh House. The watchword for the Presbyterians was that of 'the 'Covenant;' the parliamentarians took for theirs 'The Lord of 'Sabaoth.' An obstinate and sanguinary engagement then ensued. The first division of English infantry had been overpowered and driven back, until the Ironsides came up, carrying before them all opposition, so that after Leslie's right wing had been broken, the covenanters fell into confusion, and trampled down one another.

'A thick fog had hitherto enveloped the scene of action. It was just before the moment of victory, that the sun suddenly appeared upon the sea, and the voice of Cromwell was heard in the accents, and with the manner of one indeed inspired,—inspired by the thought of a triumph so mighty and resistless,—'Now let the Lord arise, and his enemies shall be scattered!' At this, a shout broke forth from the English soldiers, which seemed to rend the sky, and the rout of the enemy was complete and dreadful. 'The horse,' says Hodgson, 'fled whatever way they could get: ours pursued towards Haddington; where the general made a halt and sang the one hundred and seventeenth psalm; which by the time they had done, their party was increased, and advancing: the Scots ran, and were no more heard of that fight. The commander of our army was busy in securing prisoners, and the whole bag and baggage; and afterwards we returned to bless God in our tents, like Issachar, for the great salvation afforded us that day.'—Ib. p. 290.

The victory of Dunbar consolidated Cromwell's fame, and produced immense booty; a myriad of prisoners, the whole baggage train, an important park of artillery, two hundred colors, with 15,000 stand of arms. Three thousand were slain in the struggle and pursuit; after which the parliamentarians occupied Glasgow and Edinburgh, in the last of which their general held his winter quarters. After engaging in various polemical discussions, as well as moulding all civil and military matters to his own mind, a severe attack of ague brought him extremely low. Meanwhile the Presbyterian army had rallied its shattered remnants, and reinforced them, so as to be again formidable. Charles the Second commanded it in person, and lay well entrenched near Stirling. No sooner had his illness subsided, than Cromwell took the field, transported his troops into Fifeshire, and captured Perth, after a resistance of two days. His boldness succeeded; for it not only moved the Scots from their stronghold, but induced the young prince to march directly towards England. On the 6th of August he reached Carlisle; by which time Oliver had received intelligence of his attempt, and dispatched all the necessary instructions to London. There, as will always be the case

in an opulent and crowded metropolis, the most absurd panics and suspicions prevailed. Some anticipated an entry of the royalists almost every hour: others thought it not impossible, but that Cromwell and his followers had turned traitors, and become parties to the invasion. Charles had pushed on by Kendal and Preston, to Warrington, whence having in vain summoned Shrewsbury to surrender, he followed the road to Worcester, where, according to Clarendon, proclamations announced him king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland! Yet vengeance, sufficiently fearful, stalked close upon his heels. The conqueror of Dunbar followed at the head of thirty thousand men, and by the 28th of August had the Presbyterians in position, within two miles of Worcester.

They were inferior to himself in numbers, but occupying an almost impregnable site. The bridges had been broken down both above and below the city. Any other than a master in stragetics would have abstained from an attack: but Cromwell conceived the felicitous idea of forcing the higher transits of both the Severn and the Team, and so coming down at once upon the enemy from the eastern and western heights. He laid his plans accordingly on the second of September: and on the third, his fortunate day, the very first anniversary of Dunbar, he succeeded in his purpose. A hot fire near Powick gave Charles his first signal, that escape without immediate action was impossible. Oliver and his Ironsides from the Severn at Bunshill,—Lambert from Upton Bridge,—and Fleetwood from the river Team were already driving in the Scots towards the gates of the town. The Presbyterians fought like lions taken in their toils. They disputed every inch of ground presenting the slightest advantage, from hedge to hedge, as they retreated. But Cromwell proved as gallant as themselves; with superior skill, more numerous troops, and a consciousness that, under providence, the cause of liberty, or at least that of Independency, hung suspended on his grand military conception being ultimately crowned with victory. From two o'clock in the morning until nightfall, the frightful conflict raged with unremitting fury. In one spot alone the tide of battle stood arrested for three hours, until the lord-general, at the head of his own veteran and invincible regiment, at last made one of those decisive charges, which swept every thing before it. They were now breaking into the streets and houses. Colonel Drummond, with fifteen hundred men in the fort, still refused to surrender: the puritans gathering fresh vigor through their success thus far, immediately carried it by a furious storm, and put every individual to the sword: Charles, in piteous despair, is said to have requested that he might be shot dead, rather than suffered to survive so bloody a disaster. By ten o'clock at night, Cromwell had conquered all resistance. His joy and emotion appeared

uncontrollable. He summoned Fleetwood and Lambert, and offered to knight them on the field. Before closing his eyes, he wrote to the parliament, that his triumph 'was complete, yea 'gloriously complete' after as frightful a struggle as he had ever witnessed; adding in his peculiar style,—'the dimensions of this 'mercy are above my thoughts. It is for aught I know A CROWN-'ING MERCY!'. Three kingdoms now sat at his feet. Estates, already settled on him, were augmented to £6,500 per annum: he was elected chancellor of the University of Oxford: a deputation of four of the first members of government came forth to congratulate him, as far as Aylesbury; and the palace of Hampton Court was ordered to be prepared for his future abode. From this point, therefore, we may begin to contemplate the merits of his civil as well as military administration, just glancing retrospectively for a moment at the secret of his marvellous fortunes.

There will be no occasion, with regard to this, for an appeal to the Satanic contract, about which royalist writers have indulged in so many fables. The real and genuine devil, with whom he had most to do, was no other than himself. Genius, clothed in hypocrisy, acted as a faithful Mephistopheles! At the period, indeed, of his earliest religious impressions, there were no doubt admirable germs of sincerity, which degenerated by degrees into self-exaltation, and therefore spiritual self-destruction, as the Holy Ghost withdrew his divine influences. The peculiar age in which he lived, his associations and circumstances, his extraordinary talents and success, moulded him into one of the wonders of the present world, at the hazard perhaps of his blessedness in a future one; although, of course, no mortal may judge another before the time. An advocacy, honest in its commencement, for some of the noblest rights of his fellow creatures in general, and of conscience in particular, had put the weapons of violence, rather than those of truth and reason, into his hand. With them he carved out a crimson road to fame; but he trampled on the liberties of his country! He marches over the arena of history, as an impersonation of civil and religious reform, appealing unhappily to physical force, more than to the understanding or the soul. Not that we presume to pass sentence upon the Long Parliament: far from it; yet we may lament their unhappy necessity; for the sword of warfare is like lightning, the more brilliantly it gleams, the more transcendently fatal are its consequences. Oliver Cromwell, in the very splendor of his usurpation, became an inevitable result of the miserable imposture which set half a nation in array against its sovereign, with an avowal in their mouths that they were fighting in the name of his majesty to overthrow his royal prerogative. Not that the leader of the Ironsides ever lent himself to such a delusion, as we have seen: but he profited by it. He possessed in fact far too keen a dis-

cernment to pawn his mighty energies to pretexts, which folly might see through as it ran. It would have been a blunder, as well as a crime, to have done so. Yet he turned this, as well as all other things, to account. From the wretched habit, sanctioned by religious professors, of thus acting under false pretences, too many parliamentarians became as fanatical as they were courageous. Frames, feelings, visions, impressions, and experiences, enveloped in mistiness and no little imbecility, ten thousand noble notions, and a nucleus of good intentions. Out of such materials the hero of the civil wars enlisted soldiers, and formed them into adherents and followers. The holy principles of evangelical religion thus grew into an irresistible talisman of secular power. He exercised his men by day, and prayed or corresponded with saints as well as sinners, by night. His mind, like an enormous spider, wrapt itself in the centre of an immense webwork of sympathies, whence it could both discern and play upon the nerves of an entire nation. Females would often transmit him their fancies, remonstrances, or condolences; and right well he understood, through their warm, yet fond affections, how to reach and control the passions of the stronger sex. Take, as examples, his letters to Walter Cradock, Rice Williams, or Mary Natherway, names now obscure, but then carrying weight and influence amongst large congregations, and even political circles. For a single specimen of such sort of intercourse, we extract *verbatim et literatim*, a brief epistle from the last-mentioned lady to the great lord-general, in his full career of temporal glory: 'Dere 'and Honnored Sur in the Lord,—Having travelled with the 'peeple of God in spretual labore, and haveing now bine a letel 'refreshed with God's renewed power and presents amongs the 'golden candelsticks, I have med bold to writ this few lynes to 'you, wherin I desir to bless God for his Marsy to youre poor 'soule, that was so much compast about with gret temtations. 'This is one thing I desir of you, to demolish thos monstres 'which arr set up as ornaments in Privy Gardens. Truly Sur, 'we stand on the see of glase: O that we may have the harps of 'God in our hands, and may be in readinesse when our Lord 'shale apear, for his apearing is near. Blessed is he that is 'sealed, and hath oyle in his vessel. Remember me to dere Mr. 'Cradock.' His biographer justly remarks, that here we see him at once one with all. The imagination may picture him with a sermon for the serious, a prayer for the prayerful, a jest whenever needful for the merry-hearted, and an exposition sufficiently long for the most long-winded puritan of his acquaintance. His eyes, moreover, were fountains of tears at all times and in all places. They were the sponges of a supple conscience. The author of Killing no Murder shrewdly bantered him, 'as having 'found indeed that in godliness there is great gain; and that

'preaching and praying well managed will obtain other kingdoms 'as well as that of heaven!' Was he suspected, as every now and then he was, either by parliament, or his officers, or his friends, or his own family, of seeking his private interests to the sacrifice of the great cause:—why then down upon his knees would he go, with such upturning of his extraordinary features, such an uplifting of his hands towards heaven, such floods of streaming sorrow bedewing his cheeks, that Sir Harbottle Grimstone declares, there was no standing before it. Harrison, Bradshawe, and the best of them were deceived successfully for years. Or if in camp, or cabinet, he would lay aside every symptom of sanctity, and act the buffoon or boor, for hours at a time, it must always be recollected, that he thus accommodated himself only to another characteristic of the generation he was born amongst, and whose follies he was imitating or indulging for some specific purpose; that amidst the innumerable and ever varying phases of human nature, he might ride upon the necks of his fellows, and yoke them to his scheme of power. We admit, however, that it could not be said of him *Quò nihil popularius erat, quibus artibus petierat magistratus, iisdem gerebat.*

For some period after the battle of Worcester, Cromwell still remained *to all appearance* only a private individual, with no other charge than as lord-general of the army, and a member of the Council of State: yet nevertheless he was in fact already dictator to the Commonwealth, with an authority single and absolute. Amidst all his glory he now demonstrated himself a second-rate politician in comparison with Sir Harry Vane. For 'the political 'struggles of a great character are for the future rather than the 'present; as the petty squabbles of party are for the present, and 'never for the future.' On the 20th of April, 1653, he forcibly dissolved the Long Parliament, and threw off all disguise. He appropriated, moreover, to himself their whole harvest of praise; and strange to say, history has hitherto favored him in so doing. The Commonwealth had subdued its enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Royalism neither moved a wing, nor peeped, nor muttered; except about a few occasional and wretched schemes for assassination. Popular liberty appeared to be established, and certainly might have been so in its permanence. Portugal was as humble as a slave; France and Spain vied for priority in submissiveness to the foreign policy of the British Republic; and Holland was surrendering the trident of the ocean into our hands. Its finance had afforded as much general satisfaction as such matters can ever be expected to do. The chief sources of revenue were five according to Forster, who should have stated them as six;—namely, the excise; the customs; the monthly assessments; sales of public property; sequestrations; and the Post Office. Pym had introduced the first; and to Edmund

Prideaux we are indebted for the last; then producing about £10,000 per annum. Excise and customs averaged a million sterling from 1650 to the Restoration. The monthly assessments were, for England about £40,000 per mensem, for Scotland £6,000, and for Ireland £9,000; in all about £660,000 per annum on a peace establishment; for on one of war it was double that amount. Sales and sequestrations might be worth about £400,000 more; so that the entire annual revenues may be mentioned at about two millions sterling, apart from belligerent or extraordinary demands. The Council of State had appointed the judges *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, instead of the iniquitous old axiom of the Stuarts, *durante bene placito!* The Court of Wards, with some other feudalisms, also fell to the ground. Religious toleration made considerable strides; and would have gone forward had the usurper lived, for in this remarkable respect he went beyond his era. Many legal reforms had followed; as to which senators in the nineteenth century have so much to learn and unlearn! Such was the government which a successful soldier annihilated in form, as well as in spirit, substituting himself with all his selfishness, in its stead. He had been the moving will of it for eighteen months; but he now boldly spoke out before the world, 'Moi,—c'est l'etat!' It might have been said that the pear was in a splendid state for picking, for there then lay in the public treasury upwards of £500,000, besides the value of £700,000 more in the arsenals and magazines! He now established a new Council of State, consisting of himself and twelve other persons, eight military officers and four civilians; so there were no less than three several executive powers,—himself,—his new Council of State,—and his old Council of Officers. All manner of reports prevailed; and as might have been expected, all manner of confusion. Meanwhile one constellation alone culminated. The lord-general 'never seemed to wear such gracious aspects of 'humility and godliness as at this peculiar time; his prayers had 'peculiar relish in them, and a most extraordinary fervor; his 'preachings also were very frequent in the councils; and it was 'the report of men more immediately about his person, in confi-'dential relations, that he had certainly of late *received absolute* '*communications from the Holy Spirit!*'

Alas! for the poor nation, which in setting up its idol almost courted the deception it swallowed. Soon after the expulsion of Bradshawe and Vane, came the Little Parliament, nicknamed from Barebones, or, as it ought to be written, Barbone, one of the members for London; and manifesting, through that very incident, how a purposely deliberate misnomer may exercise portentous influence on the memory of an assembly by no means despicable in itself, but merely made to seem so in being thus connected with some abstraction

of the contemptible. The researches of Godwin and others have put to flight a host of idle stories respecting this rather notorious conclave. It just survived to produce what its author desired; a formal and open surrender of their legislative functions once more into his own hands, that 'he might ascend the chair of the pro-'tectorate as indeed the saviour of the state, the guardian of her 'interests, the sole apparent refuge of her civil and religious 'institutions, the composer of her quarrels and confusion, the 'harbinger of order and peace.' His favorite policy was to win open trust, and pay it back with secret treachery. Hence the main outlines of his conduct in summoning any pretended representatives of the people at all: hence the ingenuity with which he managed to raise against them, through their own measures, the officials of the army and navy, the courts of judicature, as well as all other class-interests: hence too the affectation of surprise and reluctance with which he submitted to the act or instrument of government which constituted him Lord Protector of the realms of England, Ireland, and Scotland, with the dominions thereunto belonging! He was installed in Westminster Hall on the 16th of December, 1653, with every heraldic display of regal pomp and splendor.

Meanwhile, and previous to this memorable piece of jugglery, the British fleets under Monk and Blake had beaten De Ruyter, De Witt, and Evertsens. The second naval victory over Van Tromp completed our maritime superiority: so that London was convulsed with joy, and prepared to look indulgently upon almost any freak of their existing governors. John Lilburne, moreover, had passed over to Holland, and very obligingly offered the half frantic royalists there, to destroy both Cromwell and his supporters for ten thousand pounds! After the dispersion of the Long Parliament, he altered his mind, and offered his humblest allegiance to that same individual, whom he had just before pledged himself to destroy: and upon the strength of this last offer, ventured upon an unsanctioned return into England, although his letters to the Council in London had never received any answer. He had been banished for seditious practices by those statesmen whom his highness the now Lord Protector had recently expelled from their seats: but on his arrival he was arrested, and committed to Newgate. Then ensued his trial, and the first palpable development of the retributive mischiefs attendant upon usurpation. The dilemma was to ascertain upon what authority the demagogue had been exiled. With the substance of the Long Parliament all shadow of legal government had perished. 'Doubts arose between the justice and the thief; the 'question of identity became a question of indifference; and in 'the same proportion as Cromwell might be held to represent the 'authority by which he claimed the forfeit life of Lilburne, did

'the shouts of the apprentices of London represent the voice of 'the English people. *The true England was silent as the true* '*statesman.* Yet Cromwell was troubled, when those shouts 'reached him in Whitehall. It is the unhappy consequence of a 'great man's playing a mean part, that mean men may become 'suddenly, though for a brief space, respected and respectable. 'A lion in the skin of an ass gives propriety and elevation to an 'ass in his own skin.' Other conspiracies soon followed in rapid succession; affording thereby fresh ground for hastening forward an open devolution of all authority upon the dictator of the day. The Instrument of Government appointed him to his sovereign office for life. Writs and commissions were to run in his name. He was the source of honors and magistracy; with a command over the military and naval forces, and a power to make peace or declare war. The army was limited to 10,000 cavalry, and 20,000 infantry. Parliaments were to be triennial, and to consist of 400 members for England and Wales, with thirty for Scotland, and thirty more for Ireland. An estate real or personal of £200 in value formed an electoral qualification. Until the meeting of the first session in September, 1654, 'the Protector 'and his Council might have power to raise money for the public 'defence, and make such laws and ordinances as the welfare of 'the nation should require.' This council, by the way, was to consist of not less than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one, and was of course so carefully composed of those on whom the Protector could depend, that its value as a substantial check to his autocracy was just nothing. Cromwell lost no time in removing all his family to the palace at Whitehall, and reviving the various forms of monarchy; such as issuing new patents to the judges, as on the occasion of a succession to the crown!

He then nominated his cabinet and court. Lawrence, Thurloe, Frost, Meadowes, and Milton, were amongst those in office. The quarterly expenditure of his household was settled at £35,000. The laws relating to high treason underwent modification, so as to suit the new order of affairs. Henry Cromwell was sent into Ireland, and Monk into Scotland, to deal upon the spot with any defections. Troops were effectually transferred into districts where there appeared the slightest chance of resistance. He suppressed Gerrard's conspiracy with a promptitude and severity which overawed the disaffected; whilst, on the same day, and on the same scaffold, the brother of the Portuguese ambassador forfeited his head, for a murder in the metropolis, 'amidst the approving shouts of an immense crowd, who had 'gathered to witness the scene of terrible retribution.' The three kingdoms, as well as all Europe trembled. Representatives from foreign states thronged to the court of the protectorate; the saloons and anterooms of which were filled with their hopes and

fears. No cost, or magnificence, or august ceremonial was spared on such occasions. His highness received them in his splendid Banqueting Room, where a chair of state was placed on a platform, raised with three steps above the floor. 'They were instructed to make three reverences, one at the entrance, the 'second in the midway, and the third at the lower step, to each 'of which Cromwell answered by a slight inclination of the head. 'When they had delivered their speeches, and received the reply 'of the Protector, the same ceremonial was repeated at their departure. On one occasion, he was requested to permit the 'gentlemen attached to the embassy to kiss his hand; but he 'advanced to the upper step, bowed to each in succession, waved 'his hand, and withdrew.' One of the Dutch envoys narrates in a graphic manner the rejoicings throughout the capital on peace being declared with Holland. The lords of the United States were invited to dinner by 'his royal highness the Protector,' and were superbly entertained. The master of the ceremonies fetched them in two grand coaches to Whitehall, where twelve trumpeters 'were ready sounding against their coming. At the table, his 'highness sat on one side of it alone; and a band played all the time 'of the entertainment. Afterwards, the lord Protector had us into 'another room, where the lady-protectrice and others came to us, 'and we had also music and voices, and a psalm sung, which his 'highness gave us, and told us that it was yet the best paper that 'had been exchanged between us. And from thence we were 'had into a gallery next the river, where we walked with his 'highness about half an hour, and then took our leaves, and were 'conducted back again to our houses after the same manner as 'we were brought.' Oxford and Cambridge, moreover, wove their choicest flowers of Greek and Latin verse for the garland of victory on this occasion. Whichcote and Cudworth, Owen, Harmer, and Busby, South, and John Locke, all joined in the chorus to flatter Oliver Cromwell. The Cam poured forth its tribute, at his feet, in its Oliva Pacis ad illustrissimum celsissimumque Oliverum reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ Dominum Protectorem; nor was the Isis one whit behind in its adulation. The future author of the Essay on the Human Understanding, after comparing him to both Augustus and Julius Cæsar, breaks out into a fervor of praise:

> 'Tu bellum et pacem populis des, unus utrisque
> Major es; ipse orbem vincis et ipse regis!'

On meeting his first parliament, he dwelt in the course of a verbose and cloudy oration upon the success of his foreign policy. The treaties with Holland, Sweden, and Denmark had bound up together the Protestant powers, besides opening most favorable

channels of commerce to the capital and enterprise of England. In Portugal, no British merchant was now amenable to the Inquisition; whilst both France and Spain were ready to wait on his pleasure. The administration of justice, he reminded them, remained in the hands of men of known integrity and ability. A reformation, moreover, had been commenced in the Court of Chancery; so they had 'only to put the top-stone to the work, 'and make the nation happy.' Scarcely, however, were the first preliminaries over, than Bradshawe headed a fierce opposition resolved to probe to the bottom the entire Instrument of Government. On the fourth day Judge Hale proposed as a compromise that 'the legislative authority should bē affirmed to be in the 'parliament of the people of England, and a single person quali-'fied with such instructions as that assembly should authorise; 'that the military power for the present should be unequivocally 'given to the Protector; and that to avoid the perpetuity of par-'liaments, and other exorbitances in their claims of supremacy, 'this officer should be allowed such a co-ordination, as might 'serve for a check in those points.' The republicans agreed to the compromise, but Cromwell rejected it with scorn. He summoned the members to the painted chamber, there rated them severely for their contumacy, and then attempted to purge them on their return, by exacting from each a subscription to the Instrument of Government. Nearly three hundred ultimately signed, although many did so with no little mental reservation. Months of altercation ensued: and he formally dissolved them on the 22nd of January, 1655. No course now remained open but that of an absolute despotism. Plots in plenty exploded on all sides from the republican sections of the army, and the royalists of the northern and western counties. Cromwell crushed them one after another; making use of the agitation produced by them as an apology for his major generals. These were ten or twelve military officers, ostensibly having the management of the militia throughout their respective districts, into which England and Wales were now divided for that purpose. Their public instructions were to suppress insurrections and unlawful assemblies; to watch the Roman Catholics; to exact security for good behaviour from suspected householders; to register the names and circumstances of malignants and aliens; and generally to superintend the police, education, and good order of the counties, towns, and villages, between the Tweed and the Land's End! To superficial observers they seemed no more than a dozen hawks, with sharp eyes and strong talons, on the watch or wing against enemies to the public repose; whilst their genuine character will be better understood from a secret instruction transmitted to each, and signed with the protectoral autograph, to the following effect: 'And you are to observe and obey such direc-

'tions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself!' Here lay the *anguis in herbâ:* and a very peculiar kind of serpent it turned out to be.

One Charles Stuart had lost his life for tyranny, and lo! here rose up a dozen tyrants in his stead. Those evil spirits possessed them, which had been exorcised by the Long Parliament, when it cast down the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber. They carried forward persecuting and cruel inquisitions into any man's life or estate, at their own will and pleasure! They were armed justices, without either juries or assessors, except selfishness, revenge, and rapine might be termed such. Cleaveland, for instance, the royalist poet, had offended the Protector, by opposing him fifteen years before as a candidate for Cambridge, and was now living in obscure but quiet poverty, the change of times having swallowed up his property. The military despot, in whose division Norwich lay, where this ornament of our literature then resided, lost no time in wreaking vengeance upon such an acceptable victim. The famous Jeremy Taylor fared no better: and hundreds of other instances occurred of equal or superior iniquity. Meanwhile Cromwell attempted to stifle every rising complaint by soothing the national pride. Louis the Fourteenth had been but too glad to purchase his alliance, and induce him to break with Spain, by offering him Dunkirk, and the banishment of the Stuarts from Paris. Cromwell therefore equipped the noble fleet for sea, which the Commonwealth had formed for him, upon the principle, as it turned out, of *Sic vos non vobis.* He was moreover very desirous of engaging in active employment Blake, and Pen, and Venables, officers full of patriotism and ability, and not at all disposed to be the passive tools of despotism at home, like his major-generals. The metropolitan pulpits resounded with announcements that Babylon was to be overthrown; so convenient for political purposes has the clamor about No Popery been in all ages. Jamaica was the prize of this expedition; to which island, the Protector, foreseeing the value of his acquisition, ordered his son Henry to transport a thousand Irish girls for the purpose of population! Meanwhile Blake triumphantly cleared the Mediterranean from pirates, and chastised the Deys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Reparation was also obtained from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the extent of £60,000, on behalf of British merchants, who had been formerly fleeced under the auspices of that petty potentate, acting under an erroneous idea as to who were the weakest, and who must go to the wall! He then entered upon the still nobler task of avenging the Waldenses. Savoy was obliged to grant them an amnesty for the past, together with a full confirmation of all their ancient privileges for the future. No wonder that the Canton of Zurich appealed to him as the natural guardian of all Protestant states;

for he interfered in favor of some French Huguenots at Nismes, with Cardinal Mazarine, not less effectually than he had done for the Vaudois. The Vaivode of Transylvania solicited his aid against the Turks; the King of Poland against Russia; whilst the Genoese honored the Protectoral court with a special embassy of thanks for the protection and safety afforded to maritime commerce. An old debt of £50,000 was about the same time exacted from Don John at Lisbon: and Captain Staynes falling in with a squadron of Spanish vessels, destroyed four, captured two, and disabled the remainder. One of the two taken proved a galleon, laden with golden ingots and other treasures, estimated at £200,000 !

The Protector, however, found it impossible to go forward much longer without a parliament; so he summoned one to meet on the 17th of December, 1656. Vane now published his Healing Question, which produced immense excitement, and lodged its gallant author in custody. Cromwell then met the representatives of the nation, addressed them in a grave homily, and thus concluded his appeal:

'I say, look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest, I am *by the voice of the people,* the supreme magistrate; and it may be, I know somewhat that may satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt. But it is an union, really it is an union between you and me, and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to *his peculiar interest in the world,* that must ground this work of government; and in that, *if I have any peculiar interest that is personal to myself,* that it is not subservient to the public end, it were no extravagant thing for me to curse myself, because I know God will curse me, if I have.'—Vol. ii. p. 333.

And God had cursed him; for now so thoroughly had he deluded all, that himself was no longer an exception. Let his hypocrisy stand by the side of that which Charles Stuart habitually practised,—and the only difference perceptible will be one not of nature, but of stature ! The king was a dwarf; the Protector a giant! At the very moment he was avowing his extraordinary course to be free from personal or peculiar motives, his conduct gave the lie to such an assertion. At the very moment he was discoursing of faith and love to Jesus Christ, he was incarcerating and persecuting his most chosen servants. At the very moment he was presenting himself as the sovereign of popular election, his soldiers were surrounding the House of Commons, to exclude a hundred members, which they did upon that very day. All that followed was the element of order struggling with that of chaos; for the principle of truth had withdrawn, which could alone have said, 'Let there be light !' Questions t hout beginning or end; infamous cruelties against Quakerism

and fanaticism, wasted away months and months in fruitless discussions, and sanguinary or absurd proclamations. Cromwell began to be nervous, although he had drugged his conscience to declare, that he could do no wrong; or at least that he could *intend* no wrong. His major-generals were now thrown overboard, as tubs to the popular whale; after which Lambert and the Protector never spoke to each other. The subsequent explosion of the Sexby and Syndercombe plot precipitated a proposal formally made for the first time on the 23rd of February, 1657, that 'the lord Protector should be desired to assume the 'title of KING, as the best known and most agreeable kind of 'government to the English.' It is even asserted by Wellwood, that a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall! Our biographer justly observes, that in the ensuing 'movements 'of Oliver, there then lay, could the truth have been unfolded, a 'bitter agony of pride and mortification of heart beyond any that 'his worst enemy or victim could have desired to see working 'within him. A mean and spiritless slave to the vilest passions 'of overwrought ambition, he stood there within sight of the 'glittering bauble, for which he had perilled so much, and yet 'dared not affect to see it.' It is now pretty clear that his courage had fallen into the rear of his wishes. Fleetwood, Desborough, and the other republican officers, discerned his having become 'as another man,' and profited by it accordingly. They turned for once upon the hopes of their master, and appearing at the bar of the House, implored by petition that there might be no drawing back from steadiness to the good old cause! Beyond this moment, the usurper never entertained an idea of succeeding in any further attempts upon the royal title.

The Humble Petition and Advice however passed, for which we refer to the common histories in the possession of almost all readers. Cromwell thereby received permission to nominate his successor, and revive the other house, which was to consist of not fewer than forty, nor more than seventy. These peers were of course to be selected by himself; although, as it proved, their appointment weakened rather than strengthened his administration. He underwent once again the ceremonial of a solemn inauguration in Westminster Hall, on the 26th of June, 1657. Yet from that hour his horizon only became the more overcast. His new lords were ridiculed. The old nobility stood aloof from such names as Pack, and Claypole, and Goff, and Pride, and Jones, and Hewson. The age was still intensely aristocratic. The hundred excluded members from the House of Commons also took their seats; there being no longer any shadow of a pretext for preventing their doing so: but they so strengthened the opposition by their votes and voices, that the arm of protectoral government remained almost paralyzed. Abroad, matters

looked rather better. A new and larger treaty than before was made with Louis the Fourteenth and Cardinal Mazarine; of which the first-fruits were the surrender of Mardyke, then that of Dunkirk, and lastly the showering down of all imaginable distinctions upon Lord Fauconburg, son-in-law to Cromwell. The Grand Seignor, moreover, even at Constantinople, received such a missive from London with regard to the treatment of an English ship named the Resolution, that justice had to be listened to in the Turkish Divan, to the amazement no doubt of the Vizeer Azem! His parliament at home being more refractory than ever, the Protector dissolved it on the 4th of February, 1658. With that measure expired his political expedients. His treasury stood empty; his armies had received no pay for five and seven months; petitions were on foot in the city and elsewhere to deprive him of his various powers; 'Killing no Murder' had been published, like the whisper of some infernal familiar out of the dust; and conspiracies surrounded him on all sides. Meantime his domestic hearth ceased to be any haven of rest to his worn and wearied mind. His excellent mother had departed; to whom, for a long period, the brewery at Huntingdon would have been a blessed exchange for the splendid miseries of Whitehall. His favorite daughter, Lady Claypole, had begun to estrange herself from his side, through a regard to truth and justice. His son Richard, to whom he desired to leave his protectoral chair, was incapable, he feared too well, to retain it. His old military friends no longer welcomed him; and some of them had engaged against his administration or life. He now wore armour under his clothes; carried pistols in his pockets; multiplied his body-guard; sternly scanned the looks and gestures of those who addressed him; had his carriage surrounded with escorts, and driven with rapidity wherever he went; and constantly changed his bedchamber. He was moreover careful, that besides the principal door, there should be some other egress to promote facilities for escape! What a spectacle of misery and retribution! His biographer eloquently asks, 'What spirit can fight against shadows,—those most terrible 'shadows, that spring up from the grave of virtue? This hero 'passed his nights in a state of feverish anxiety; sleep had fled 'from his pillow; and for more than a year before his death, the 'absence of rest is always assigned as either the cause which 'produced or the circumstance which aggravated his numerous 'ailments.' The Lady Claypole died in the ensuing August.

The next message to his family from the king of terrors was for the Protector himself, now an object of commiseration, one would suppose, to the most callous and hard-hearted adversary, could such an one have beheld him. The death of his daughter rendered darker and more dreary than before whatever might remain to him of existence below. An attack of gout had been

succeeded by slow fever, pronounced by his physicians to be a bastard tertian and intermittent. He is said to have turned pale on hearing this, and to have executed his private will, on retiring to bed. But on the next morning, the 25th of August, having recovered his composure, he expressed to those around him a very strong confidence that he should recover. The fever now became double tertian, and his strength rapidly wasted. On the second of September, delirium oppressed him for some time; when, on a lucid interval occurring, he called on one of his chaplains to read to him that verse from St. Paul to the Philippians, 'I have learned in whatsoever state I am therewith to be content; 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.' As this fell upon his ear, 'he murmured brokenly forth these in-'expressibly touching words, 'This Scripture did once save my ''life, when my eldest son . . . died, which went as a dagger to ''my heart, . . . indeed it did.'' Underwood, groom of the bedchamber, relates this, who was present at the scene. The other circumstances of his dissolution have been repeated a thousand times, with innumerable variations, mistakes, and exaggerations. Beyond all question, the wanderings of any light-headed person on a deathbed, under similar peculiarities, would have presented much about the same mixture of confiding buoyancy and religious hallucination. 'I am safe,' he exclaimed, 'for I 'know that I was once in grace;' Sterry, one of his ministers, having assured him that it was impossible for the real children of God to fall away; which no doubt in a certain sense is perfectly correct. He then alluded in solemn prayer to his being in covenant with God, and his having been made an instrument for rendering his people some service; and there was a most melancholy pensiveness in several of his ejaculations. Stupor again came on; as it were in singular contrast to the storm which raged that night over all England, and indeed nearly all Europe, to the very coasts of the Mediterranean. In London, chimnies were blown down, houses unroofed, streets rendered impassable, and trees torn up by their roots in the parks. Such an uproar of the elements had not been witnessed in the memory of that generation, as that which ushered in the famous third of September, 1658, the anniversary of victories, and the day of death to Oliver Cromwell. He had occasionally uttered a few scarcely audible accents; but on the whole, his state was one of utter insensibility. About four o'clock in the afternoon, his attendants observed that he breathed heavily; when on looking closely into the bed of the Protector, it was discovered that his mighty spirit had passed away.

We have already exceeded our limits, and therefore must not dwell upon his character. It is one of those which few people can contemplate without reflecting upon it their personal or party predilections. Some laud him to the skies, without being able to

perceive his defects and blemishes: others never pass his name without imitating those Mussulmen, who in a certain Arabian valley always throw a stone, being persuaded that they are casting it at Satan. The execrable meanness manifested after the Restoration towards his mortal remains has been often perpetrated towards his memory and achievements, by those who ought to know better. Yet who can be ignorant as to the class to which such animals belong, who lift up their heels against the lords of the forest, when the mane of their magnificence lies prostrate in the dust? We have endeavored to do our best to be impartial; and rather to aim at letting his own deeds tell his own story. Much, very much no doubt depends upon the point from whence these are surveyed. We admit that Oliver Cromwell was more than worth nine-tenths of that *vulgum pecus*, whose lot it has been to wear crowns or coronets for the devastation of their species. Yet Walter Savage Landor affirms, and our biographer calls it a terrible and indisputable truth, that 'he lived a hypocrite and 'died a traitor!' It would be an arduous and hopeless labor, we fear, to disprove this altogether; for though his earlier services to his country were most meritorious and beneficial, his genius failed to seize and hold futurity, and in his dissolution their glory and results expired. We see nothing in the nature of things to have hindered him from being a George Washington, except the absence of sufficient magnanimity and disinterestedness for that purpose. His spiritual knowledge and experience were far superior to those of the American hero; and to whom much is given, of them will much be required. Wherever religion embarks at all upon the ocean of human politics and passions, it ought at least to hold the helm of the vessel in which it sails; nor permit even its nominal professors to look one way and row another. The Protector from a certain period of his life acknowledged the force of what are termed evangelical principles; and by them therefore he must be tried. Liberals ought to be as careful and faithful in denouncing the delinquencies of the conqueror of Dunbar and Worcester,—as conservatives should be in performing the same part towards Charles the First and Charles the Second. If the latter fail in their office, it furnishes no excuse for the former, whenever as public critics they are called upon to exercise public justice. The rights of man are so closely connected with the word of God, and the interests of everlasting truth, that invasions of the first pretty generally involve violations of the last; or *vice versâ*. Large allowance must undoubtedly be made in individual cases for individual circumstances; and how far some secret germ of occasional derangement may have possibly warped his moral perceptions, and thereby affected his moral responsibilities, is hardly within the province of any human observer to discern, much less to decide. The grand lesson to

be learned from his character and history is the loathsomeness of every thing in ethics which stands opposed to that noble axiom of antiquity, *Esse quam videri;* as also the fearful perilousness of a nation appealing to force even for the recovery or preservation of its liberties. We do not of course say that this is never to be done; but only that the experiment must always of necessity be a most fearful one. Whoever promotes, therefore, the cause of general education, founded upon sound, practical, scriptural principles, is doing more to benefit his fellow creatures, and arm them with those weapons in defence of freedom against which oppression will never in the end be able to prevail, than if ten thousand founderies were filling the arsenals of the world with cannon, or supplying the Buonapartes or Esparteros of our age with materials for adding to their respective histories another Oliver Cromwell.

Art. II. *The Thousand and One Nights, commonly called in England The Arabian Nights' Entertainments. A new Translation from the Arabic, with copious Notes.* By Edward William Lane, Author of 'The Modern Egyptians.' Illustrated by many hundred Engravings on wood, from Original Designs by William Harvey. In three volumes, royal 8vo. London: C. Knight and Co. 1839—40.

As this splendid work is so rapidly approaching completion—not less than five-sixths of it having been published—we deem it quite time to give a fuller account of its general character and merits than has hitherto appeared in our pages. We have already, according to the intention expressed when the first number appeared, noticed the work at various stages of its progress, and shall reserve to ourselves the liberty of pronouncing a similar judgment, at its completion, on the numbers not yet published. We have no reason to believe that such judgment will be less favorable than that we feel compelled to pronounce on the portions already offered to the public.

Essential unity amidst circumstantial variety, which has been rightly said to characterise the material universe, equally characterises that of mind. The literature of different nations, like the productions of individual genius in any one nation, are marked by endless diversities. These diversities, however, are still restricted within certain limits; the great principles which regulate composition in general, as well as those varieties of it, the character of which is determined by the specific object which the writer may have in view, are still preserved. The conditions on which the

intellect, the imagination, or the emotions of mankind must be appealed to, and which are everywhere essentially the same, simply because man is everywhere essentially the same, must be complied with. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the affinities and resemblances between any two great intellects of the same class, or even of different classes, are still more striking and numerous than their diversities. It is with minds as with faces and persons: the latter may be distinguished from one another by the most obvious peculiarities, and yet must be referred to the same class by resemblances still more obvious. What two writers can be more diverse than Milton and Pope? and yet from both, the critic might adduce endless examples in illustration of all the principal laws and conditions which every poet must observe; of the proprieties which must belong to poetical composition in general, or to those varieties of it to which each of these great writers more especially addicted himself. In one and all who comply with the essential conditions above adverted to, we may look for points of similarity far more striking and numerous than those by which they are distinguished from one another. Whatever diversities of form such writers may exhibit, from original differences of mental structure, or the various modes of thought and feeling to which circumstances have habituated them, and which render their original characteristics still more strong and deep, essential identity will still be seen. The face may be different, but it is still *human*. Thus in the compositions of all great genius there will, as has been often truly said, be nature; but nature in two different senses; there will be that nature which is common to *all* men, which obeys the laws of general criticism, and to which the heart of universal humanity in all ages has so readily responded; and there will also be the nature of the *individual;* nature as modified by the peculiarities of each man's mental structure and by the circumstances under which his intellect has been developed. If a man observe the first of these, we say that he possesses taste; if even in *naturally* following the second, he violate the first, we say that he is destitute of taste; for it makes little difference in our judgment whether his error be the involuntary result of an ill-constructed or viciously cultivated intellect, or whether it is caused by ambition, wilfulness, vanity, or affectation. Thus we pronounce the extravagancies of Jeremy Taylor, and the ambitious finery of men of no genius at all, gross deviations alike from true taste; though the one be, often at least, honest errors, and the other wilful and impudent offences.

Similar obervations apply to the diversities of national literature. But while essential unity is still preserved, the circumstantial variety is found, as might rationally be expected, to range within wider limits. We expect to find not only what is

common to man, and what is peculiar to the individual, but what is characteristic of the tribe or nation, and which is the result of the peculiar, and, to other nations, strange and novel circumstances under which the intellect has been developed, and its habits and associations formed. These circumstances are much more numerous, and much more powerful in different nations than they can possibly be in different individuals of the same nation, however different their profession, occupation, or rank in life. We are to take into account not only the original diversities of mind, which are as numerous as minds themselves, and the circumstances which variously mould any two minds of the same tribe or nation, but the immensely greater differences produced by the difference of race, religion, customs, manners, dress, natural scenery, and national or local traditions. Hence the diversities of style observed in two writers of the same kind in different countries, are much greater than those found in two writers of the same kind in the same country. The combined influence of all the circumstances to which we have referred, and which determine the national modes of thought and expression, issues in what is called the *national* taste; and he who is true to this (that is, he who is so far *natural*), and yet preserves the general characteristics of human nature, ought no more to be charged with want of taste because he does not write as we do, than ought Milton or Pope, because the one does not write like the other. It is our part to make the requisite allowance for the circumstances under which the author has written; and so far from charging him with a want of taste because he does not comply with the conditions of *our* national taste, we ought rather to charge it upon him, if we found him doing so. This is, indeed, a difficult lesson, and comparatively few can receive it; but it is nevertheless that catholic spirit of criticism, which it behoves all to cultivate who would form not merely a charitable but a true judgment of the merits of foreign writers. To practise it, however, requires a little philosophy, a comprehensive knowledge not merely of human nature in general, but of the diversities of form it is capable of assuming, a resolute determination not to yield to the first shock of prejudice, nor to be offended at modes of thought and expression which appear to us strange merely because we are unaccustomed to them; it implies also some little familiarity with the customs, manners, modes of social life, and natura scenery from which illustrations are borrowed. He who enters upon the study of foreign literature in such a philosophic spirit as this will rarely find his patience unrewarded. What was at first obscure will become plain; what seemed absurd will be found not destitute of grace and beauty; expressions which appeared bald and unmeaning are seen often to conceal some subtle humor under an appearance of extreme naiveté; metaphors which dis-

gusted from their monstrous extravagance are viewed with tolerance, either as still harmonising with the national laws of taste—although we may justly flatter ourselves that we live under better—or because perceived to be monstrous in our eyes only because we are unfamiliar to them.—In reality they may be no bolder than many in our own language. There is a constant tendency in all classes of figurative expressions to lose their intensity by use; and hence there are in every language multitudes of tropes which though originally of the most daring character, have past into common expressions, and in the same manner, it is perceived that what at first appeared loose and unconnected is not so in reality, and that though the transitions in the order of thought may be more subtle than we should expect to find amongst our own writers, still they are there. Improbabilities of fiction again are tolerated when it is recollected that they must assume a very different appearance to those to whom the supernatural in its most extravagant forms is matter of belief, and not simply of imagination; and a further allowance is made when we call to mind that we do not deem the creations of our elder poets destitute of beauty because they deal with warlocks and fairies, though we may admit that we cannot read them with that vivid interest which they inspired in our superstitious forefathers.*

The further we go from home—the more distant the nations whose literature is submitted to us, the more striking do the diversities of national taste appear, and the more necessary that catholic spirit of criticism on which we have been insisting. When we once get beyond the limits of the European family of nations, it is impossible to proceed a step without its aid: without it almost every composition will be laid down with disgust. In the perusal of no literature is it more imperiously necessary than in the perusal of that of the oriental nations. Separated from us by so wide an interval of race and language, living in climates and amidst scenery so different from our own, under governments and laws so strikingly dissimilar, with domestic and social

* 'In many of the notes,' says our editor, 'I endeavor to show, by extracts from esteemed Arabic histories and scientific and other writings, chiefly drawn from MSS. in my possession, as well as by assertions and anecdotes that I have heard, and conduct that I have witnessed, during my intercourse with Arabs, that the most extravagant relations in this work are not in general regarded, even by the educated classes of that people, as of an incredible nature. This is a point which I deem of much importance to set the work in its proper light before my countrymen. I have resided in a land where genii are still firmly believed to obey the summons of the magician or the owner of a talisman, and to act in occurrences of every day; and I have listened to stories of their deeds related as facts by persons of the highest respectability, and by some who would not condescend to read the tales of 'The Thousand and One Nights' merely because they are fictions, and not written in the usual polished style of literary compositions.

institutions, costume and manners entirely different, it is by no means surprising that national taste should assume a totally distinct form; that their literature should abound in allusions and figures as novel to us as are the objects and the scenery in which they originate—in maxims and proverbs as strange as the institutions and habits in which they took their rise—and in modes of speech bearing the impress of the manners and feelings of those who utter them.

Of all the productions of oriental genius none have been made so familiar to the European mind as that which stands at the head of this article, recommended to us by an entirely new translation from the hand of one of the first Arabic scholars of the day, by every advantage of form and typography, and by unrivalled pictorial embellishments. The old version, insufficient as it was, has long been the delight of Europe, but it must now inevitably yield to this vigorous successor. Indeed, we may be allowed to express our surprise that it could ever have become so popular. We are free to confess that until Mr. Lane's translation was put into our hands, we never could get through more than a few of the 'Thousand and One Nights;' the generality of them appeared to us inexpressibly tedious. This we now attribute, in no small degree, to the very qualities in the old version by which, in the opinion of many, the original had been *improved.* The fact is, the original was in a great degree lost; the peculiarities of the oriental style were not to be found; peculiarities, which tend so much to relieve the intelligent reader, and give the work an appearance of *naturalness.* Nothing was left to relieve the tedium of the endless series of monstrous portents and childish superstitions. In short, it was an injudicious exhibition of the substance of oriental fictions in a European dress. Incongruity was the natural consequence; and thus what in Mr. Lane's version often appears only *natural* in relation to the writer, and under all the given circumstances, seems in the older version, unmitigated absurdity. So much depends upon a foreign literature appearing in its native costume. In Mr. Lane's case the full peculiarities of the eastern style are preserved, and we could almost imagine an oriental addressing us, only in English instead of Arabic. In Galland's version these peculiarities are often entirely lost, and the consequence is we merely have an absurd story insipidly told. The full meaning of what has just been said can be understood only by those who will take the pains to compare a few pages of the two versions together. This will at once disclose the differences to which we advert more clearly than any attempt to enumerate them. One of these points, however, we may mention by way of example. Every one knows that one of the most common peculiarities of the oriental style consists of a simple reference to some external action, object, or circumstance as the representation

and index of some feeling, habit, or moral quality, leaving the inference to be drawn by the sagacity of the reader. Galland often thinks needful to translate these graphic symbols into their literal and unfigurative meaning, or to amplify and overlay them with a diffuse interpretation. By this means, one of the chief and most characteristic features of the original is lost or diminished, and a brief apologue expanded into tediousness. The difference may no doubt in part be owing to the fact that Mr. Lane has translated from a much better MS., but it cannot be wholly or even chiefly attributed to this circumstance.

The defects of Galland's version were copied of course into the English, which was mere translation from the French. Under no circumstances would the French language be particularly adapted to convey the force of the original; but a still further version from it was certainly not likely to diminish its defects. In truth our version did not deserve to be called a translation at all. It was merely a translation of a translation, and that not a good one.

With respect to the assertion that M. Galland's version had *improved* the original by extinguishing many of its characteristic features, and adapting it to European taste, we must be allowed to say again, that we think this any thing but an improvement. European taste may be better abstractedly than the oriental, but it by no means follows that an oriental fiction in a European dress will be the better for being so exhibited, any more than it follows that because good wine may be better than good beer, the beer will be improved by mixing it with the wine. Pope has given us almost a new poem in his version of Homer, but no one ever supposes that Homer is improved by it. The translator is pardoned only from the impossibility of adequately representing the old Grecian in his majestic simplicity. But on the subject of M. Galland's defects, we must permit Mr. Lane to speak for himself.

'My undertaking to translate anew the tales of 'The Thousand and One Nights' implies an unfavorable opinion of the version which has so long amused us; but I must express my objections with respect to the latter in plain terms, and this I shall do by means of a few words on the version of Galland, from which it is derived; for to him alone its chief faults are to be attributed. I am somewhat reluctant to make this remark, because several persons, and among them some of deserved and high reputation as Arabic scholars, have pronounced an opinion that his version is an *improvement* upon the original. That the 'Thousand and One Nights' may be greatly improved, I most readily admit; but as confidently do I assert that Galland has excessively *perverted* the work. His acquaintance with Arab manners and customs was insufficient to preserve him always from errors of the grossest description; and by the style of his version, he has given to the whole

a false character, thus sacrificing, in a great measure, what is most valuable in the original work,—I mean its minute accuracy with respect to those peculiarities which distinguish the Arabs from every other nation not only of the west but also of the east.'

—*Translator's Preface.*

As in the case of the earliest specimens of the literature of other countries, there has been abundant controversy as to the date at which these tales were composed or compiled, and the modifications and changes through which they may have passed. Every one knows the disputes which have arisen as to the date and origin of the Homeric poems. Modern criticism has even gone such lengths as to doubt whether Homer ever existed —whether the poems which go under his name were not the productions of different bards of different periods, and whether they are to be considered in any other light than as compilations. Somewhat similar have been the controversies respecting the origin of the Arabian Nights. Mr. Lane says that he does 'not 'regard the work as wholly original; that many of the tales it 'contains are doubtless of different and early origin; and that its 'general plan is probably borrowed from a much older production 'bearing the same title of the 'Thousand and One Nights,' a 'translation of a Persian work having a corresponding title, 'namely Hezar Afsaneh.' Von Hammer appears to have the merit of having first pointed out the fact that an archetype of the present work had ever existed. That writer founded his supposition on a passage of El-Mes'oodee's History, entitled 'The 'Golden Meadows,' written about the year of the Flight 333, or A.D. 944—5. This passage distinctly states that the Persian work in question was translated into Arabic, and was called by the Arabs 'The Thousand and One Nights,' or as in some copies, 'The 'Thousand Nights.' This passage has been considered by many, and amongst the rest by the eminent orientalist De Sacy, an interpolation. Mr. Lane, however, remarks that he has known it wanting only in one copy; and that even if we regard it, from this and other circumstances as suspicious, it cannot have been an interpolation of a very late date. He goes on to say that, 'assuming 'it either to be authentic or of a very early date, one thing is cer- 'tain; that the 'Thousand and One Nights' translated from the 'Persian was much older than the work now known by that title, 'and also extremely different from the latter;' that while its introduction and general plan appear to have been imitated, it must have wanted all the *purely Arab* tales (in general the best of the present series), and in the description of manners and customs must have differed in entirely.

Mr. Lane then proceeds to consider whether the present 'Thousand and One Nights' became gradually altered, aug-

mented, and improved at various different periods. While this is the opinion of several eminent orientals, Mr. Lane signifies his entire dissent from it, and that chiefly for two reasons; first, from the uniform character of the social condition described in almost all the tales in every copy, and secondly, from the fact 'that we find no Arab tales of a simi-'lar kind to those in the present series in any other work (ex-'cepting such as are known to be of a very late date), and those 'in which genii play the most conspicuous parts.' Other reasons for the same opinion Mr. Lane intends to subjoin at the close of his translation. The argument for the contrary theory, founded upon the differences observable in the copies now known, Mr. Lane disposes of very satisfactorily. He says that the discrepancies in question are no other than those which often exist in two or more copies of other eastern works committed to memory by the public reciters. 'I have been informed,' he tells us, 'that these persons 'are often employed to dictate the contents of the above-men-'tioned works to those who desire to restore them to writing, 'and frequently copies are made from a number of fragments, 'and the *lacunæ* filled up by the assistance of the public reciter, 'or, by the invention or choice of the copyist. A bookseller in 'Cairo, when I was in that city, was busily employed for several 'months in endeavoring to make up a copy of the 'Thousand and 'One Nights' in this manner, which he would have found an 'easy task some years before, when the tales which compose it 'were publicly recited in the streets of that city.' Mr. Lane further thinks that the discrepancies in question may be in part accounted for by the fact, that books in Egypt are generally left *unsewed*, five sheets, or double leaves, being usually placed together, one within another. These compose what is denominated a 'karras,' and a very common consequence, as might be expected, is that a 'karras' now and then is lost. In these ways, Mr. Lane thinks it is not difficult to account for transpositions, for differences in the divisions of the nights, and for the introduction of new stories. Mere differences of *style* in different copies he explains by the necessity of adapting the language to the dialect of a particular country. These very varieties of style, however, Mr. Lane adduces as an argument for the comparatively early date of this work, the Arabs not being in the habit of thus tampering with their classical works, amongst which no sheykh includes 'The Thousand and One Nights.' Its style, says our author, is neither classical, as some Europeans have supposed, nor is it, as others have imagined, that of familiar conversation.

As to the number of authors employed in this celebrated compilation, Mr. Lane's opinion may be gathered from the above remarks. He sees no weighty reasons against the supposition

that it was commenced and completed by one author, or, at least, that one man completed what another commenced; in other words, that no long interruption occurred in the progress of the work.

As to the date of the work, our translator thinks that some of the earlier stories bear incontestable evidence of having been written at least as late as the latter half of the ninth century of the Flight, or the latter half of the fifteenth century of our era; and that none were written later than the tenth century of the Flight, or the sixteenth of our era; and that these dates are at all events the utmost limits of the period during which the work was being composed. This of course does not militate against the supposition that many of the tales in this collection are in their substance older than the actual compilation. Many of them Mr. Lane believes to be founded upon very old traditions and legends; but he at the same time believes all these traditions or legends to have been remodelled so as to suit the state of Egyptian society and manners at the period at which the compilation was made, and further, that the compiler, if only one, or each compiler, if more than one, was an Egyptian. Mr. Lane fortifies his opinion by external as well as by internal evidence.

The text from which Mr. Lane has translated is that of the Cairo edition recently printed, which, he says, is greatly superior to every other printed edition, and probably to every manuscript copy; it agrees almost exactly with the celebrated MS. of Von Hammer. The manuscript from which this edition was printed was collated and edited by a very learned Arab, who also superintended the work through the press. In addition to all this, Mr. Lane has enjoyed a further advantage; the copy from which he has worked, has been revised, corrected, and illustrated by a person who in his opinion may be pronounced 'the first philolo-'gist of the first Arab college of the present day—the Sheykh 'Mohammad 'Eiyád Et-Tantáwee.' Altogether, therefore, it is impossible that a translator could have set about such a task under greater external advantages.

Mr. Lane's personal qualifications for this work are such as will not shame them. He is known to be an accomplished Arabic scholar—most intimate, by long personal residence, with the customs, manners, habits, and institutions of the Egyptians, and the author of a very copious and learned work on this subject. 'I consider myself,' he modestly says, 'possessed of the 'chief qualifications for the proper accomplishment of my present 'undertaking from my having lived several years in Cairo, 'associating almost exclusively with the Arabs, speaking their 'language, conforming to their general habits with the most 'scrupulous exactitude, and received into their society on terms 'of perfect equality.'

Of the merits of his translation, philologically considered, we

must confess ourselves no competent judges; but, as we have already remarked, it bears every internal evidence of the most perfect accuracy and fidelity.

We rejoice to see that Mr. Lane has 'thought it right to omit 'such tales, anecdotes, &c., as are comparatively uninteresting or 'on any account objectionable;' while certain passages of an improper character have been slightly varied. We can bear witness to the great superiority of his translation in this as in other respects to that of M. Galland, although we should not have objected to a still further use in some cases of the liberty he has so rationally asserted.

Every chapter of the work is illustrated by most copious and valuable notes on eastern manners and customs, full of curious information, and often enriched by apologues, fables, and stories from more recent works. Many of these are in the highest degree amusing, though the generality are certainly inferior to those of the 'Thousand and One Nights.'

Considered in connexion with the copious notes and illustrations, and the unrivalled pictorial embellishments, we do not regard the work as one of mere amusement. As such, indeed, it will continue to be read; but it will also subserve other and higher purposes. We are inclined to think that an intelligent reader, with such a commentary and such embellishments, may acquire from it a much clearer notion of oriental manners, customs, and scenery than from the most judicious books of travels ever written. Nor is this all; we verily believe the Biblical student may gather from this work more vivid ideas of those oriental peculiarities, a knowledge of which is essential to a right understanding, or, at all events, clear perception of the force of innumerable passages of sacred writ, than from any professed compilation on the subject. Similar valuable lessons may be learned from the very style of the 'Tales' themselves; preserving, as they now do, in Mr. Lane's translation, all the essential peculiarities of the oriental manner. It is true, indeed, that in Scripture, as might be expected, there is a majestic simplicity, a grandeur and sublimity that can never be even approached in any merely human composition, and it is certainly not in 'The Thousand and One Nights' that we should look for such qualities. But in many other respects, the oriental style in all its forms possesses the same peculiarities, and the more familiar we become with them, the better shall we be able to appreciate the full force of the scriptural style; for we need not say that the inspired writers, *though* inspired, have still retained and exhibited all the principal peculiarities of speech which belonged to their tribe and country.

Before proceeding to speak of the merits of the pictorial embellishments (which in consideration of their extraordinary merit we shall do at some length), we shall give some slight specimens

of the manner in which Mr. Lane has executed his task. From the 'Tales' themselves we shall content ourselves with selecting a single example. Few of them are sufficiently brief to be extracted entire. There is one, however, which admits of this; and though perhaps as widely known as any of 'The Thousand 'and One Tales,' it is of such merit, and derives such additional interest from Mr. Lane's racy and idiomatic translation, that we doubt not our readers will heartily thank us for its insertion. It is full of subtle and curious humor, and contains more than one very excellent moral, which we need not stay to point out. It is the tale of the Merchant, the Ass, the Bull, and the Cock, and deserves to be called the prince of all 'Cock and Bull' stories.

'Know, O my daughter, said the Wezeer, that there was a certain merchant who possessed wealth and cattle, and had a wife and children; and God, whose name be exalted, had also endowed him with the knowledge of the languages of beasts and birds. The abode of this merchant was in the country; and he had in his house an ass and a bull. When the bull came to the place where the ass was tied up, he found it swept and sprinkled; and in his manger were sifted barley and sifted cut straw, and the ass was lying at his ease; his master being accustomed only to ride him occasionally, when business required, and soon to return: and it happened one day that the merchant overheard the bull saying to the ass, May thy food benefit thee! I am oppressed with fatigue while thou art enjoying repose: thou eatest sifted barley, and men serve thee; and it is only occasionally that thy master rides thee, and returns; while I am continually employed in ploughing, and in turning the mill. The ass answered, When thou goest out into the field, and they place the yoke upon thy neck, lie down, and do not rise again, even if they beat thee; or if thou rise lie down a second time; and when they bring thee back and place thy beans before thee, eat them not, as though thou wert sick: abstain from eating and drinking a day, or two days, or three; and so shalt thou find rest from labor and trouble. Accordingly when the driver came to the bull with his fodder, he scarcely ate any of it; and on the morrow, when the driver came again to take him to plough, he found him apparently quite infirm: so the merchant said, take the ass and make him draw the plough in his stead all day. The man did so, and when the ass returned at the close of day, the bull thanked him for the favor he had conferred upon him by relieving him of his trouble on that day; but the ass returned him no answer, for he repented most grievously. On the next day the ploughman came again, and took the ass, and ploughed with him till evening; and the ass returned with his neck flayed with the yoke, and reduced to a state of extreme weakness; and the bull looked upon him, and thanked and praised him. The ass exclaimed, I was living at ease, and naught but my meddling has injured me! Then said he to the bull, Know that I am one who would give thee good advice: I heard our master say, if the bull will not rise from his stall, take him to the butcher, that he may kill him, and

make a nata of his skin :—I am therefore in fear for thee, and so I have given thee advice, and peace be on thee ! When the bull heard these words of the ass, he thanked him, and said, To-morrow I will go with alacrity :—so he ate the whole of his fodder, and even licked the manger. Their master, meanwhile, was listening to their conversation. On the following morning, the merchant and his wife came to the bull's crib, and sat down there ; and the driver came, and took out the bull ; and when the bull saw his master, he shook his tail, and showed his alacrity by sounds and actions, bounding about in such a manner that the merchant laughed till he fell backwards. His wife, in surprise, asked him, At what dost thou laugh ? He answered, at a thing that I have heard and seen ; but I cannot reveal it ; for if I did, I should die. She said, Thou must inform me of the cause of thy laughter, even if thou die. I cannot reveal it, said he : the fear of death prevents me. Thou laughedst only at *me,* she said ; and she ceased not to urge and importune him, till he was quite overcome and distracted. So he called together his children, and sent for the Kádee and witnesses, that he might make his will, and reveal the secret to her, and die : for he loved her excessively, since she was the daughter of his paternal uncle, and the mother of his children, and he had lived with her to the age of a hundred and twenty years. Having assembled her family and his neighbors, he related to them his story, and told them that as soon as he revealed his secret, he must die ; upon which, every one present said to her, We conjure thee by Allah that thou give up this affair, and let not thy husband and the father of thy children die. But she said, I will not desist till he tell me, though he die for it. So they ceased to solicit her ; and the merchant left them, and went to the stable to perform the ablution and thence to return, and tell them the secret and die.

' Now he had a cock, with fifty hens under him, and he had also a dog ; and he heard the dog call to the cock, and reproach him, saying, Art thou happy when our master is going to die ? The cock asked, How so ?—and the dog related to him the story ; upon which the cock exclaimed, By Allah ! our master has little sense : I have *fifty* wives ; and I please this, and provoke that ; while he has but *one* wife, and cannot manage this affair with her : why does he not take some twigs of the mulberry-tree, and enter her chamber, and beat her till she dies or repents. She would never after that ask him a question respecting anything. When the merchant heard the words of the cock, as he addressed the dog, he recovered his reason, and made up his mind to beat her. So he entered her chamber, after he had cut off some twigs of the mulberry-tree, and hidden them there ; and then said to her, Come into the chamber, that I may tell thee the secret while no one sees me, and then die : and when she had entered, he locked the chamber door upon her, and beat her till she became almost senseless, and cried out, I repent ; and she kissed his hands and his feet, and repented, and went out with him ; and all the company, and his own family rejoiced ; and they lived together in the happiest manner until death.'—Vol. i. pp. 11—14.

We shall now proceed to give one or two of the more viva-

cious stories and anecdotes contained in the voluminous notes Though many of them are decidedly inferior to the 'Tales themselves, there are others of a very high order of merit, and throw the same vivid light on Arab customs and manners. The following ludicrous story, conceived in the finest spirit of oriental humor, occurs in the long and valuable note on the 'Rewards of 'men of Literature and Science.'

'A whimsical story is told of a king, who denied to poets those rewards to which usage had almost given them a claim. This king, whose name is not recorded, had the faculty of retaining in his memory an ode after having only once heard it; and had a memlook who could repeat an ode which he had twice heard, and a female slave who could repeat one that she had heard thrice. Whenever a poet came to compliment him with a panegyrical ode, the king used to promise him that if he found his verses to be his original composition, he would give him a sum of money equal in weight to what they were written upon. The poet consenting would recite his ode; and the king would say, 'It is not new; for I have known it for some years;' and would repeat it, as he had heard it; after which he would add, 'And this memlook also retains it in his memory;' and would order the memlook to repeat it; which, having heard it twice, from the poet and the king, he would do. The king would then say to the poet, 'I have also a female slave who can repeat it;' and ordering her to do so, stationed behind the curtains, she would repeat what she had thus thrice heard: so the poet would go away empty-handed. The famous poet El-Asma'ee, having heard of this proceeding, and guessing the trick, determined upon outwitting the king; and accordingly composed an ode made up of very difficult words; but this was not his only preparative measure; another will be presently explained; and a third was to assume the dress of a Bedawee, that he might not be known, covering his face, the eyes only excepted, with a litham (a piece of drapery) in accordance with a custom of the Arabs of the Desert. Thus disguised, he went to the palace, and having asked permission entered and saluted the king, who said to him, 'Whence art thou, O, brother of the Arabs, and what is thy desire?' The poet answered, 'May God increase the power of the king! I am a poet of such a tribe, and have composed an ode in praise of our lord the Sultan.' 'O brother of the Arabs,' said the king, 'hast thou heard our conditions?' 'No,' answered the poet; 'and what is it, O king of the age?' 'It is,' replied the king, 'that if the ode be not thine, we give thee no reward; and if it be thine, we give thee the weight in money of what it is written upon.' 'How,' said El-Asma'ee, 'should I assume to myself what belongs to another, and knowing too that lying before kings is one of the basest of actions. But I agree to this condition, O our lord the Sultan.' So he repeated his ode. The king, perplexed and unable to remember any of it, made a sign to the memlook—but he had retained nothing; and called to the female slave, but she also was unable to repeat a word. 'O brother of the Arabs,' said he, 'thou hast spoken truth, and the ode is thine without doubt: I have never heard

it before: produce, therefore, what it is written upon, and we will give thee its weight in money, as we have promised.' 'Wilt thou,' said the poet, 'send one of thy attendants to carry it?' 'To carry what?' asked the king, 'is it not here upon a paper in thy possession?' 'No, O our lord the Sultan,' replied the poet, 'at the time I composed it I could not procure a piece of paper upon which to write it, and could find nothing but a fragment of a marble column left me by my father, so I engraved it upon this; and it lies in the court of the palace.' He had brought it, wrapt up, on the back of a camel. The king, to fulfil his promise, was obliged to exhaust his treasury; and to prevent a repetition of this trick (of which he afterwards discovered El-Asma'ee to have been the author) in future, rewarded poets according to the usual custom of kings.'

'The following case is also related as an exception to the common custom of great men, with regard to the bestowal of rewards on poets: 'A poet praised a governor in some verses, and the latter ordered an ass's bard'ah (or stuffed saddle) and girth to be given him. The poet went away with them on his shoulder; and, being asked what he had got, answered, 'I have praised our honored lord in the best of my verses, and he has bestowed on me some of the most magnificent articles of his apparel.'—Ib. pp. 119, 120.

It is a curious and interesting fact, that many of the fables and moral apologues of most countries claiming any considerable antiquity, may be traced up to a common source, and are found in the traditions of nations the most widely separated in space, and the most dissimilar in language and in manners. Though, as might be naturally expected, some of the circumstances are altered and others added, though the dates and names are changed, and the general coloring of manners and incidents adapted to each nation, the substantial basis of the fiction is so evidently the same, and its more singular and essential peculiarities so completely preserved, that there can be no doubt of the identity of its origin. Some of these tales afford evidence of the original oneness of the human race at some period long prior to all existing forms of tradition, something like what is furnished by the still traceable resemblances and affinities amongst many of the most widely dissimilar languages.* It is sometimes not a little ludicrous to find what was deemed an historical fact of comparatively recent occurrence, and associated, to give it the greater appearance of probability, with some veritable and well known personage, claiming a lineage of very remote antiquity. Such is the following story, which, as has been truly

* Thus the well known strategem of Ulysses in the Odyssey, by which he escapes Polyphemus, is substantially the same with an artifice mentioned in the story of Sind'abad of the Sea; and also with one recorded in one of Croker's Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland.'

remarked, has been related as a historical fact in connexion with Noy, attorney-general in the reign of James II. The editor does not seem to be aware that the very same story is current in Italy, and is told, with of course some alterations of names and dates, of an advocate of that country. It forms a beautiful little prose piece in Rogers' Italy. It is curious to find it here asserting a still more ancient form than any in which it exists in Europe, and like many other tales of the same kind, originating in those ancient times and countries in which wisdom usually gave and perpetuated its lessons in the form of apologue and fable, and seldom appealed to the reason without also asking the aid of the imagination. The story is as follows.—We need not say that the plot of the 'Merchant of Venice' turns upon a circumstance of a somewhat similar kind.

'Four merchants were sharers in a sum of a thousand pieces of gold, which they had mixed together, and put into one purse; and they went with it to purchase merchandise, and finding in their way a beautiful garden, they entered it, and left the purse with a woman who was keeper of the garden. Having entered, they diverted themselves in a tract of the garden, and ate and drank and were happy; and one of them said, I have with me some perfume. Come, let us wash our heads with this running water, and perfume ourselves. Another said, We want a comb. And another said, We will ask the keeper: perhaps she hath with her a comb. And upon this one of them arose and went to the keeper, and said to her, Give me the purse. She replied, When ye all present yourselves, or thy companions order me to give it thee. Now his companions were in a place where the keeper could see them, and she could hear their words. And the man said to his companions, She is not willing to give me aught. So they said to her, Give him. And when she heard their words, she gave him the purse; and he went forth fleeing from them. Therefore when he had wearied them by the length of his absence, they came to the keeper, and said to her, Wherefore didst thou not give him the comb? And she replied, He demanded of me nothing but the purse, and I gave it not to him save with your permission, and he hath departed hence and gone his way. And when they heard the words of the keeper, they slapped their faces, and seized her with their hands, saying to her, We gave thee not permission save to give the comb. She replied, He did not mention to me a comb. And they seized her, and took her up to the Kadee; and when they presented themselves before him, they stated to him the case; whereupon he bound the keeper to restore the purse, and bound a number of her debtors to be answerable for her. So she went forth perplexed, not knowing her way; and there met her a boy, whose age was five years; and when he saw her thus perplexed, he said to her, What is the matter, O my mother? But she returned him not an answer, despising him on account of the smallness of his age. And he repeated his question a first, and a second, and a third time. So at length she told him what had

happened to her. And the boy said to her, Give me a piece of silver, that I may buy some sweetmeat with it, and I will tell thee something by which thy acquittance may be effected. The keeper therefore gave him a piece of silver, asking him, what hast thou to say? And the boy answered her, Return to the Kadee, and say to him, it was agreed between me and them that I should not give them the purse save in the presence of all the four. So the keeper returned to the Kadee, and said to him as the boy had told her; upon which the Kadee said to the three men, Was it thus agreed between you and her? They answered, Yes. And the Kadee said to them, Bring to me your companion and take the purse. Thus the keeper went forth free, no injury befalling her; and she went her way.'—Vol. iii. pp. 181, 182.

We have left ourselves but little space to cite from the mass of valuable matter, illustrative of oriental manners, customs, and antiquities, contained in the copious notes. A single specimen is all that we can give, and that must be a short one. Let not our female readers be offended if we extract the following note on the 'Wickedness of Women.' We can honestly assure them that we by no means sympathise with their eastern calumniators. We give the passage partly for the odd humor which pervades a portion of it, and at which even the ladies themselves can scarcely refrain from laughing; but still more, as briefly indicating the degraded condition in which the sex exists in eastern climates, and which the whole institute of Mahomet has a direct tendency to perpetuate. Of all the many points of superiority of the Christian over the Mahometan institute, none is more striking than the fact that in the former, woman is assigned her proper place and ensured her due respect; neither the victim of man's pride and brutality, as in eastern countries; nor the goddess of his idolatry, as during the reign of the exorbitant folly of modern chivalry; but 'a helpmeet for him'—his companion and friend—if in any respect the 'weaker vessel,' entitled on that very account only to the exercise of greater gentleness and forbearance; equally immortal and responsible with himself, and an 'heir together with him of the grace of life.' How women can be held to such a degrading institute as that of Mahomet at all, may well seem a mystery; it can only be by the impossibility of resistance, and the restraints of ignorance which are thrown around them. But surely the time will come when the slandered and oppressed sex will avenge themselves upon the insulting prophet, and be found amongst the most active and zealous in the work of proselytism to a better and a purer faith. Nor can our Christian countrywomen be sufficiently grateful to that providence which has placed them under the guardianship of the Bible and not under the bondage of the Koran.—But we must now proceed to give the extract which has suggested these remarks; premising that the compendious receipt 'for being always

'in the right' is about the most humorous as well as most impudent satire on the fair sex we ever chanced to meet with.

'The wickedness of women is a subject upon which the stronger sex among the Arabs, with an affected feeling of superior virtue, often dwell in common conversation. That women are deficient in judgment or good sense is held as a fact not to be disputed even by themselves, as it rests on an assertion of the prophet; but that they possess a superior degree of cunning is pronounced equally certain and notorious. Their general depravity is pronounced to be much greater than that of men. 'I stood,' said the prophet, 'at the gate of Paradise; and lo, most of its inmates were poor: and I stood at the gate of hell; and lo, most of its inmates were women.' In allusion to women, the Kaleefeh 'Omar said, 'Consult them, and do the contrary of what they advise.' But this is not to be done merely for the sake of opposing them, nor when other advice can be had. 'It is desirable for a man,' says a learned Imaun, 'before he enters on any important undertaking, to consult ten intelligent persons among his particular friends; or, if he have not more than five such friends, let him consult each of them; or, if he have not more than one such friend, let him consult him ten times at ten different visits: or if he have not one such friend, let him return to his wife and consult her, and whatever she advises him to do, let him do the contrary: so shall he proceed rightly with his affair, and attain his object.' A truly virtuous wife is of course excepted in this rule: such a person is as much respected by Muslims as she is (at least according to their own account) rarely to be met with by them. When woman was created, the devil, we are told, was delighted, and said 'Thou art the half of my host, and thou art the depository of my secret, and thou art my arrow, with which I shoot and miss not.'

But we must not dismiss this work without dwelling at some length on one of its most magnificent features—the beautiful and numerous pictorial embellishments by which it is adorned and illustrated.

The pleasure taken by children in tales like 'The Thousand 'and One Nights,' is perhaps more owing to the degree of belief which their limited experience of reality permits them to give to the wonderful events narrated, than to the vividness of the pictures raised up in their imagination by the descriptions they contain. Their memories are not stored with images in any way proportioned to the demand made on their fancy. And this must be the more true as the character of the scenes and persons is the less familiar. The adult reader must enjoy these wonderful stories after another fashion, if at all. He cannot be equally stirred by the mere preternatural machinery of the tales. The period of 'make-believe' is gone by, and Jinnee and Efreets have no power to cheat him into a pleasing terror. He knows that diamonds and the most precious jewels may become no better than common stones if people have too many of them; and

refuses to rejoice with the man who has found countless heaps of gold in situations where the whole would be well spent to get back again into the common world. His delight is to be found in other ways, and very principally in the pictures suggested by the narratives. He must be able to see mountains piled above the clouds, and the awful gloom of the valleys among which the Evil Jinns may be expected to become visible to mortal eyes. The beautiful palaces towering above groves of palms and all manner of trees pleasant for fruit or for shade, full of birds of richest plumage and song, where the air is made fragrant by blossoms and flowers, and cooled by the springing of fountains, must raise some other scenes before his eye than Mr. Nash's low range of buildings in St. James' Park, with the wild ducks swimming tamely in a pond surrounded by evergreen shrubs. The more he remembers of the elements of eastern scenery, the greater his pleasure in combining them into pictures which seem to come nigh what he is reading about. We suspect very few of Mr. Lane's readers would be equal to the immense demand on their fancy for a variety of such scenes. Hitherto, and this not only in the case of the Arabian Nights, most artists have afforded the reader little or no help in this particular where it was most wanted. They have attempted little more than to illustrate the mere dramatic part of their story. The accessories of scenery, appropriate costume, and manners, have been neglected from the want of a fancy sufficiently inventive, or from ignorance of the forms which should be combined to make their pictures effective. Yet their representations, as must always be the case with whatever is submitted to the eye, have in most instances, we suppose, superseded the efforts of the reader to portray for himself, even when he might have imagined something nearer to the descriptions of the author. The fortunate race that will surrender their rights of fancy to Mr. Harvey, will never, we are assured, be losers in this way. We recollect no attempt of art to illustrate works of fiction that deserves comparison with the results of Mr. Harvey's designs. If fidelity to the real character of natural scenery, to a certain type of architecture, manners, and costumel be desirable, we have it in Mr. Harvey's pictures: and it must be remembered that the east has earned for itself the title of the 'unchangeable' in these as much as in its modes of thought, feeling, and expression. He has not jumbled our associations together by the arbitrary and incongruous conjunctions of forms which are found in most similar attempts to illustrate the foreign and unfamiliar. The study of every available source of knowledge has furnished his imagination with its materials. But they have been used with no servility. The pictures into which he has combined them are fit to be bound up with the text. Few readers, if any, will feel that the author of these stories had in his mind gardens

of delight more voluptuous than Mr. Harvey has delineated at pp. 191, vol. i., 'Jackson;' 455, vol. ii., 'Green;' 557, vol. i., 'Williams;'—domed palaces more stately or more splendid in ornament than the Terrestial Paradise at p. 242, vol. ii., 'Whimper;' the palace of the false Kaleefeh p. 385, vol. ii., 'Gray;' or that desolate dwelling of princes in the story of the City of Brass, which enriches p. 123, vol. iii., 'Miss Williams.' Is the scene laid among mountains whose tops are for ever shrouded in clouds? Nothing that is vast and terrible in the height of precipices, or the deep and gloomy abysses of mountain chasms, could be more effectually represented on paper than has been achieved by the artist at pp. 442, vol. iii., 'Whimper;' 507, vol. iii., Do.; 291, vol. ii., and in many other places. Of equal merit are Mr. Harvey's interiors, beautified with the richest arabesque tracery and supplied with all that ministers to oriental luxury. If the incident to be represented has in itself no point of great interest, it may be only a man reading a paper that he finds in a tree—he is placed in the front of a grand amphitheatre of mountains, a broad river rolls at his feet, stretching away into the distance at the base of lofty precipices, and frowned upon by bare and horrid crags, p. 489, vol. iii., 'Evans.' Similar instances of prodigality of invention are found at p. 178, vol. ii., 'Jackson;' and p. 162, vol. ii., 'Gray.' The princes El-Am'jad and El-As'ad are resting on the ground; two recumbent figures in turbans would have sufficed many former illustrators. In Mr. Harvey's view, the resting-place is a rocky gorge opening on to a distant plain, on which the shades of night are fast gathering as the sun sinks beneath the western clouds. This picture is an example of that power of stimulating the fancy of the spectator, that the sketches of a master always possess. They suggest more than they express. What from the pencil of an inferior limner would be a mere indistinct mass of lines and dots, light and dark spots, mingled with imperfect forms, becomes, as in the case before us, a space which the mind fills up in harmony with those parts of the subject more carefully made out. In one it is a battle with charging cavalry, and all the rout and confusion of a melée, p. 356, vol. ii., 'Jackson' (the destruction of the Tribe of A'a); p. 507, vol. iii., 'Whimper' (the battle of the troops of Wák-Wák). In another the space stands for far-reaching glades, awful forest vistas, or the boundless expanse of some rocky plain, with turrets and cupolas 'dim-discovered' in the extreme distance. The views of Damascus, p. 291, vol. ii., 'Smith;' Aleppo, p. 361, vol. ii. 'Smith;' vignette (morning), 'Landells' (a most lovely pictorial thought), and many others are examples of the quality we refer to. In the purely dramatic part of his task nothing is more worthy of praise than that absence of the exaggerated and theatrical in attitude and expression, which marks these designs, and

contrasts them very favorably with the kindred efforts of French illustrators. That a certain and very cheaply produced effect may be got by turgid expression and strained and convulsed gestures of the principal figures, our neighbours well understand; but it is of a spurious kind, and easily attainable by very ordinary genius—often clashing too with the tone of feeling which runs through the story thus caricatured (witness their pictorial edition of Don Quixote), as if the artist had made the feats of the posture-master his study rather than nature. Mr. Harvey, on the contrary, is always in keeping with the spirit of the 'Tales.' Their actors seldom lose the sedate gravity of men who enjoy or suffer as they may whatever fate appoints them. They are dignified in repose, and passively resigned in the last extremity. So are Mr. Harvey's figures, save when the necessities of the story require that they should be grotesque. He is not in our opinion equally happy in representing female loveliness, if indeed we have a right to say this; for the fine touches that must often carry beauty of expression in such diminutive designs, may not have borne to be perfectly transferred to the paper through the medium of a cutting in wood. Yet many of his women have a tender and graceful air—the defect being generally more in the face than in the figure. Our space will not allow us to particularise the groups that are in our opinion most successful—we had noted many. The mounted Arab, p. 262, vol. ii., 'Landell' (of exceeding spirit). The Bedouin, p. 435, vol. ii., 'Vasey.' The three Royal Mendicants. The group of Blacks, p. 151, vol. iii., 'Jackson.' Budoer on horseback, p. 133, vol. ii., 'Thompson,' are especially worthy of remark, among a multitude, all of which will sustain inspection.

Mr. Harvey's coadjutors, the engravers, ought not to be passed by without a tribute to the unmatched success with which they have rendered his designs. It is hardly doubtful whether this beautiful art of engraving on wood be not more competent to give such subjects than that on copper or steel. It imparts, we think, greater softness and harmony: while the brilliant sharpness of the lights and the depth of the shadows afford greater facility for the production of those effects that depend upon judicious contrast of light and shade. In this now much cultivated attribute of the pictorial art, Mr. Harvey must be considered a consummate master. Were the skeletons of his designs insufficient in beauty, he knows well how to give it to them by his mode of treatment. In the numerous head and tail pieces, marginal embellishments, and arabesque ornament with which the work abounds, Mr. Harvey and his engravers have attained the last degree of excellence.

Art. III. 1. *Unitarianism Confuted: a Series of Lectures delivered in Christ Church, Liverpool, in* 1839. By Thirteen Clergymen of the Church of England. Liverpool: Henry Perry, 6, Church Street; and Hamilton, Adams, and Co., London.

2. *Unitarianism Defended: a Series of Lectures by Three Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Liverpool: in Reply to a Course of Lectures, entitled 'Unitarianism Confuted. By Thirteen Clergymen of the Church of England.'* Liverpool: Wilmer and Smith, 32, Church Street. London: John Green, 121, Newgate Street.

UNITARIANISM * and popery are antipodes to each other in the Christian system. Whether considered in their contents or in the essential principles of which they are the representatives and developments, they are utter opposites. They are both erroneous, but in contrary directions. Their conceptions of God, of man, of revelation, have little sympathy. And yet they are both forms of Christianity, but forms displaying the utmost dissimilarity compatible with any pretensions to the name. Popery adds to the gospel many sentiments of which it knows nothing, as taught in the Bible; unitarianism deducts from it many of great worth and virtue. Popery attaches an essential importance to doctrines of comparative inferiority, if not positive erroneousness: unitarianism maintains that Christianity is not a doctrinal revelation at all. Popery gives supererogatory merit to men; unitarianism takes it from Christ. Popery associates divine influence with sacramental efficacy; unitarianism deprives it of its speciality. Popery unites the eternal punishment of some with the temporary chastisement of others; unitarianism substitutes temporary chastisement for eternal punishment. Popery makes a human being the judge of the sin of heresy; unitarianism denies that it is a sin. Popery weakens the truth by the immense accumulation of its extraneous ideas; unitarianism weakens it by the excision of its own vital portions. Popery presents too many objects to human faith; unitarianism too few. Popery tends to bondage; unitarianism to licentious freedom. Popery generates superstition; unitarianism scepticism.

This contrast, as well as the history of the past, presents more ground for alarm in reference to popery, than unitarianism. The first has spread, even, at times, to the almost utter extinction of

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* In the following paper we use the language of certainty instead of doubt, and speak of orthodoxy when we mean our own opinions. We mention this, lest any should infer, from our phraseology, that we intended to state more than the fact of our own perceptions, or thought that those perceptions could not be wrong.

the true faith; and, at present, appears as if awaking to a new and vigorous contest. Nor are we surprised at it. The mass of existing protestantism is not pure and simple enough to overthrow it. The ground of quarrel is too superficial and accidental. The real and essential elements of the question must be more fully revealed, and impart their own sanctity and vitality to the defenders of the faith. The controversy is too much a collision of churches instead of principles; the arguments are too often the failings of men, instead of the rightness of the faith. It may be, that the spread of popery is necessary to its destruction. It may lead to another reformation asserting a more comprehensive quarrel and presenting a bolder front. The skill and strength of the hero may be matured for glorious and effectual enterprise by the sharp and partially successful efforts of the foe. We fear therefore for immediate results, while we rejoice in prospective triumph. But of unitarianism our dread is weaker. It has not the same elements of popular acceptance. Its appeal to faith is too feeble: its contact with humanity in its sins and sufferings is too indirect and at too few points; it is too alien from the general scope and spirit of the scriptures, whatever the apparent sanction of its sentiments by particular passages; its views of men and truth are too impotent in relation to the excitement of a missionary and propagating zeal; and it is too destitute of a principle of cohesion, to create or justify much alarm on its account. Still it is not an enemy to be despised. If it have but little power to establish its own faith, it may have more to sap other faiths. It bears an aspect of independence, which however unreal, or wrong so far as real, is very fascinating to many minds. It combines the profession of Christianity with exemption from much in it that is painful and humbling. The tone and talents of its advocates by no means betoken a less earnest demand in its opponents for the spiritual and mental qualifications for controversy. Many of the accidental supports of orthodoxy are giving way, and this will require a juster and fuller development of its real merits. Besides which, it is to be said, that deception is easy as to the real state and extent of unitarianism. It is destitute of many principles which tend to denominational embodiment and display, and therefore cannot be accurately judged of by the usual tests of sectarian progression. The application of common statistical rules to its spread, would not be attended with the certainty which attaches to conclusions obtained by that means respecting other modes of belief.

For these reasons we are neither surprised nor sorry, that it should be felt necessary frequently to discuss the points in dispute, and if the discussion be conducted with fairness and talent, truth can suffer nothing but must gain much.

The Liverpool unitarian controversy of last year, we hold to

be one of the most important that has taken place for many days. The manner and circumstances in which it originated, the celebrity of many of the combatants, the interest which it excited during its progress, and the bulk and character of the volumes to which it has given existence, combine to make it so. We confess that we had no very pleasant anticipations from its commencement. The general position and habits of the clergy of the established church, the character and pretensions of many in the present day particularly, together with the known ability of the Liverpool unitarian ministers, would have excited a fear as to the probable results, apart from other considerations. But other considerations existed. The contest originated in the projection of a course of lectures to be delivered in Christchurch by thirteen clergymen, to which unitarians were invited by a circular from the Rev. F. Ould, written in no very conciliating spirit. The unitarian ministers at once arranged a counter-course of lectures, to which they invited trinitarians, and at length another plan of contemporaneous discussion was agreed upon by the unitarian ministers and three of the clergymen, from the fulfilment of which the latter receded, assigning for their justification reasons respecting which we are utterly at a loss to conceive how they could appear satisfactory to those who alleged them. In the correspondence which thus terminated, there are, especially on the unitarian side, many passages of admirable vigor and point. Had it been completed according to the original intention, nothing is hazarded in saying that it would have formed one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to polemical theology of modern times. There is great cause of regret in its cessation, but more in the manner of it. It did good no doubt in moderating and subduing, in some measure, the trinitarian advocates, by a revelation of the temper and talents of the men whom they had aroused to the contest. The correspondence is prefixed to 'Unitarianism Defended.'

Of the 'Lectures' the following are the subjects. The thirteenth of the unitarian series should have been delivered in answer to the tenth of the trinitarian, according to the original syllabus, but personal circumstances necessitated the transposition.

TRINITARIAN.	UNITARIAN.
1. The Practical Importance of the Controversy with Unitarians. Rev. F. Ould, A.B.	1. The Practical Importance of the Unitarian Controversy. Rev. J. H. Thom.
2. The Integrity of the Canon of Holy Scripture maintained against Unitarian Objections. Rev. T. Tattershall, D.D.	2. The Bible: what it is and what it is not. Rev. J. Martineau.
3. The Unitarian Interpreta-	3. Christianity not the property

tion of the New Testament based upon Defective Scholarship, or on dishonest or uncandid Criticism. Rev. T. Byrth, M.A., F.A.S.

4. The Proper Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Rev. J. Jones, M.A.

5. The Proper Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, proved from the Prophetic Scriptures, Rev. J. H. Stewart, M.A.

6. The Proper Deity of our Lord the only ground of Consistency in the Work of Redemption. Rev. H. M'Neile, M.A.

7. The Doctrine of the Trinity proved as a consequence from the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Rev. D. James.

8. The Atonement indispensable to the Necessities of Guilty Man; and shown to stand or fall with the Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Rev. R. P. Buddicom, M.A., F.A.S.

9. The Deity, Personality, and Operations of the Holy Ghost. Rev. J. E. Bates, M.A.

10. The Sacraments practically rejected by Unitarians. Rev. H. W. M'Grath, A.B.

11. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds Explained and Defended. Rev. R. Davis, M.A.

12. The Personality and Agency of Satan. Rev. H. Stowell, M.A.

13. The Eternity of future Rewards and Punishments. Rev. W. Dalton, M.A.

of Critics and Scholars, but the gift of God to all men. Rev. J. H. Thom.

4. There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, —the man Christ Jesus. Rev. H. Giles.

5. The Proposition that 'Christ is God,' proved to be false, from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Rev. J. Martineau.

6. The Scheme of vicarious Redemption inconsistent with itself and with the Christian idea of salvation. Rev. J. Martineau.

7. The unscriptural Origin and Ecclesiastical History of the Doctrine of the Trinity. Rev. J. H. Thom.

8. Man, the Image of God. Rev. H. Giles.

9. The Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, who dwelleth in us, and teacheth all things. Rev. J. H. Thom.

10. Creeds the Foes of Heavenly Faith; the allies of Worldly Policy. Rev. H. Giles.

11. The Christian View of Moral Evil. Rev. J. Martineau.

12. The Christian View of Retribution hereafter. Rev. H. Giles.

13. Christianity without Priest and without Ritual. Rev. J. Martineau.

It will be seen from this list of subjects, that the controversy is local in nothing but its scene. The Lectures possess a general interest. They are discussions, more or less, of the great points in dispute, and not assaults on the peculiarities of individual opponents. The personal conflict is confined nearly altogether to the prefaces and notes, which contain, besides, much matter, rendering them not the least valuable portions of the vo-

lumes. There are few topics in debate between the general parties which are not noticed, and if there be little novelty of sentiment, there is frequent freshness of illustration.

It will not be expected that we should enter, at length, into the merits and contents of these lectures. Nothing short of a perusal can convey a just and complete view of their excellencies and defects, and that perusal we would earnestly recommend to our readers. To a few remarks, both of a particular and general nature, we must confine ourselves.

The plan of the trinitarian lecturers appears to us singularly injudicious. It prevented a full development of many important points of orthodox belief and argument, and obliged such a mode of treating others as was by no means favorable to their due manifestation. A more skilful arrangement of subjects would have presented a better opportunity and afforded a superior facility of exhibiting and defending the truths contended for. The proposition committed to the custody of Mr. Byrth is most infelicitously worded. There were only two ways of sustaining the charge it involved of ignorance or immorality. The one was by showing that the New Testament so clearly taught trinitarian doctrines that every learned and honest man must of necessity discover them in it; the other was by exposing the unlearned and dishonest character of all unitarian interpretations affecting them. The adoption of the first method would have necessitated a constant interference with the other lectures; the adoption of the second would have imposed an interminable task; neither could have been employed effectually within the prescribed limits. Mr. B. adopted neither, but persisted, notwithstanding protest, in using the improved version as an authorised exposition of the critical views and arguments of the unitarian body. He seems to have become convinced of the awkwardness of his position, for instead of publishing the second part of his lecture, he has announced his intention of expanding it into a volume. We wait the fulfilment of his promise with interest, for he is both a scholar and a gentleman.

In the productions of so many individuals, there will, of course, appear a great variety in style, and spirit, and ability. Some of the lectures are creditable as displays both of intellect and temper. We might instance Dr. Tattershall's as a specimen. It is one of the very best in the volume. He has given a clear and candid exposition of important principles. He is a good sample of what a polemic should be, sound, judicious, calm, and dignified. Some of his companions are little, if at all inferior to him. But we cannot conceal our unaffected concern that several of them are marked by a superciliousness and dogmatism,—a weakness and puerility of conception and composition, and an unwillingness or inability to understand the real points in dispute,

which, we fear, must prove injurious to a cause requiring, and worthy of, wiser and nobler advocacy. It is unfortunate too, that some of the trinitarian champions are professors of a form of Calvinism, and employ a style of illustration, which must always render the defence of the truth peculiarly and unnecessarily difficult.

One of the grossest instances of plagiarism we have ever met with, occurs in Mr. Ould's lecture, one half of which, though it contains fifty-five pages, is made up of quotations, without acknowledgment or inverted commas, from Andrew Fuller's 'Calvinistic and Socinian Systems,' &c. His own part, though seldom marked by argumentative force, is often disfigured by bitterness.

Mr. Stewart excites our pity, that he should have been placed (we cannot believe that he placed himself), in a position he is little competent to fill. All who know him, know the piety and amiability of his heart. He is incapable of harshness or guile. But the harmlessness of the dove is not always associated with the wisdom of the serpent. What could be expected from the following passage in his introduction?

'It is, my beloved friends, as one of his (Christ's) servants, and in his name, and, as I trust, by his authority, that I desire to address you. For however prejudiced persons may be disposed to charge us with assuming an office to which we have no special right, my conscience bears me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I spoke the truth, and nothing but the truth, when I gave the annexed answers to the following questions put to me, by the bishop, at my ordination. *Question.* 'Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God, for the promotion of his glory and the edifying of his people? *Answer.* I trust so. *Question.* Do you think that you are truly called, according to the will of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the due order of this realm, to the ministry of the church? *Answer.* I think so.' This is my trust, as to myself; and, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, I have a similar confidence as to my beloved brethren in the ministry, who have united in preaching this course of lectures. I believe, unworthy as we are of such grace, that we are all the servants of our beloved Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God. It is for this reason that I am grieved at the advantage which has been taken of the very kind invitation of my much beloved and highly respected friend and fellow-servant in the gospel, the minister of this church. He, with the benevolent design of affording to those persons who, we all conscientiously believe, have embraced the most dangerous errors, the opportunity of hearing the truth, and thus saving their souls from death, invited those who hold what are commonly termed unitarian sentiments, to attend the delivery of these lectures. This Christian regard for their best, their everlasting interests, has been

made use of to attempt to change this gospel ordinance into a mere discussion of two opposite parties, and thus to give to this all-important declaration of 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' the air of a trial of skill and human talent and superior learning, rather than that which these services, in this hallowed place, were intended to be,—namely, to use, in the mild and gentle spirit of Christian affection, one of the divinely-appointed means of grace, to impart to those who, we believe, have set up a god of their own, the knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent.'

We doubt not the sincerity and humility of this passage. It is the utterance of a real faith and charity. But what a misconception of the character and grounds of the system assailed, and of the only efficient means of assailing it, does it betoken? We have quoted it as a specimen of the manner in which several of the clerical lecturers address themselves to their tasks. They do not put themselves on an argumentative level with their opponents. They do not refrain from vehement assertions that they are right, as if the existence and not the truth of their professed convictions were in question. They declare their orthodoxy when they should prove it—forgetting that the dispute relates not to the sincerity but the propriety of their opinions. They too often behave, not as if conducting a contest, but announcing a triumph. They might be addressing sinners whose consciences were with them, instead of disbelievers whose consciences were with themselves. Their anger that their arguments are rejected is sometimes greater than the force with which they are presented. The severity of the manner excels that of the matter. There are 'the nodosities of the oak without its strength, the contortions of 'the sibyl without the inspiration.'

It was undesirable for the interests of truth that it had to be maintained against the attacks of Messrs. Martineau, Thom, and Giles. Very different from each other, they possess qualifications for controversy of no mean order. Mr. Martineau stands first—a man whose abilities and eloquence compelled the respect and admiration of his opponents. It is impossible to read his productions without being struck with the power and refinement of his understanding, the beauty and brilliancy of his imagination, and the chasteness and force of his style. His lectures are not mere discussions. They abound with passages of great splendor and loveliness, which ought to live as long as the language they adorn. We give a specimen, not as the best, but the best for the purpose of quotation.

'Before proceeding to justify this assertion, let me guard myself from the imputation of rejecting this doctrine *because it is mysterious*, or of supporting a system which insists on banishing all mysteries from religion. On any such system I should look with unqualified

aversion, as excluding from faith one of its primary elements; as obliterating the distinction between logic and devotion, and tending only to produce an irreverent and narrow-minded dogmatism. 'Religion without mystery,' is a combination of terms, than which the Athanasian creed contains nothing more contradictory; and the sentiment of which it is the motto, I take to be a fatal caricature of rationalism, tending to bring all piety into contempt. Until we touch upon the mysterious, we are not in contact with religion; nor are any objects reverently regarded by us, but such as, from their nature or their vastness, are felt to transcend our comprehension. God, of whose inscrutable immensity creation is but the superficial film; Christ, the love of whom surpasseth knowledge; futurity veiled in awful shadows, yet illumined by a point or two of light; these, which are slightly known, and greatly unknown, with something definite, representing a vast indefinite, are the peculiar objects of trust and veneration. And the station which the soul occupies, when its devout affections are awakened, is always this: on the twilight, between immeasurable darkness and refreshing light; on the confines, between the seen and the unseen; where a little is discerned, and an infinitude concealed; where a few distinct conceptions stand, in confessed inadequacy, as symbols of ineffable realities: and we say, 'Lo, these are a part of his ways; but the thunder of his power, who can understand?' And if this be true, the sense of what we do not know is as essential to our religion as the impression of what we do know; the thought of the boundless, the incomprehensible, must blend in our mind with the perception of the clear and true; the little knowledge we have must be clung to, as the margin of an invisible immensity; and all our positive ideas be regarded as the mere float to show the surface of the infinite deep. But mystery, thus represented, offers anything but objects of belief: it presents nothing to be appreciated by the understanding, but a realm of possibilities to be explored by a reverential imagination; and a darkness that may be felt to the centre of the heart. Being, by its very nature, the blank and privative space, offered to our contemplation, nothing affirmative can be derived thence; and to shape into definite words the things indefinite that dwell there, is to forget its character. We can no more delineate anything within it, than an artist, stationed at midnight on an Alpine precipice, can paint the rayless scene beneath him.'

Mr. Martineau is evidently possessed of a noble and generous soul. His candor, when compared with that of polemics in general, is remarkable. He is ever anxious to detect the exact meaning of his adversaries, and ready to apologise for any misapprehension of it into which he may have fallen. The chief fault we have to find with him is, that his intense hatred of trinitarianism breaks out occasionally in a bitterness of sarcasm, and a severity and loftiness of rebuke, scarcely consistent with contention for merely 'a probable opinion.' We confess that we have almost trembled with horror at some manifestations of his

fierce and fixed enmity to that which is, to us, the very hope and comfort of the soul. We do not underrate his skill and strength, but at such times we have felt that the eye of an enemy may excite a terror which his blows do not.

Mr. Thom is not equal to Mr. Martineau. He is not so ethereal, or quick, or comprehensive, nor is his style so manly and delicate. His ideas seem not to be conceived at once in all their perfection, but to be expanded by elaboration. They are enlarged by gradual accumulation, not by their inherent vitality and force. They are more a work than a creation. We miss in him those rich and pathetic exhibitions of humanity, which so affect us in his coadjutor. But he is not a contemptible antagonist. He is occasionally subtle and vigorous. If less spiritual than his fellow, he is more palpable, and consequently more adapted to the general capabilities and claims of men. He has considerable imagination, and sometimes displays great beauty and tenderness.

Mr. Giles is least to our liking every way. He has cleverness which perhaps is not appreciated from the superior glory of his brethren. There are, in his lectures, many well presented trains of thought. But he too often writes like an angry man, and one who either is not sufficiently informed upon the subjects of controversy, or lacks the talent for argumentation.

On the whole, we are little satisfied with the spirit of the contest. There are honourable and delightful exceptions, but amid mutual charges of uncharitableness, there is many a breach of it on either side; and notwithstanding mutual confessions of fallibility, there is many a passage which could only be penned in utter forgetfulness of them.

The controversy is interesting on many accounts. The unitarian ministers explicitly disclaim the 'Improved Version.' They not only refuse to be tried by it, but intimate their opinion of it to be far from the highest, and express a decided preference for the authorised version. Besides which, there are many modifications of opinion as to the integrity or meaning of particular passages, and the propriety and worth of particular criticisms, which must prove refreshing to every student of the Bible, and the human mind. But by far the most important thing connected with the lectures is this, that they discover the present state of unitarian sentiment so far as it can be supposed to be indicated by the faith of such men, and in such positions, as their authors. Of course, we regard them not, nor do they pretend to be, authoritative expositors of any opinions but their own. It would be unwise and unfair to make a denomination of so great diversity of sentiment as the unitarian, responsible for the utterances of a few, however able, individuals. But we have reason to believe that if the Liverpool ministers are somewhat in ad-

vance of their brethren, that they have many fellows in their faith; that more are rapidly approximating to them; and that this is the natural course of things.

They distinctly maintain that Christianity is no doctrinal revelation at all. This is their belief, although no small mysticism of conception and speech appears to us, in their expressions and illustrations of it. 'We believe,' say they, 'in a spiri-'tual and moral revelation, most awakening, most sancti-'fying, most holy; which *words*, being the signs of hard and 'definite ideas could never express, and which is therefore por-'trayed in a mind awhile on earth, and publicly transferred to 'heaven.' They protest against the supposition that Christ or his apostles designed, as part of their mission, to teach anything like propositions. They represent Christ as a personification of divine providence, as revealing, in his character, the moral excellence of God, and in his history, his moral government. The gospel is addressed not to the intellect but the conscience. Most extravagant things do they assert on this their favorite principle, and yet in its adornment and commendation they are passing beautiful. Their indignation that any dogmas should be expected or found in the Bible as a revelation, is rich and rare. For the sake of the trust in God and duty which they profess to derive from the spirit and life of Christ, they are willing to forego all the mere opinions of the sacred penmen, describing many as erroneous and more as obsolete, some as assumed by themselves for the purposes of argument, and all as unnecessary now for the purposes of godliness. Of course, their preference is for the historic records of the New Testament, the epistles possessing a very partial and inferior worth, their dogmatic portions having little certainty of truth or application to modern times. We should have liked them to be more particular and explicit on this important and prominent point of their system; but they seem to have a noble abhorrence of definitions, to rejoice in a sublime and generous vagueness, to shun a near inspection of ideas, as if their greatness might vanish on familiarity. We have a suspicion, which all that we have read upon this subject, and it is not a little, has not abated but confirmed, that, if they had put their conception of the design and nature of Christianity into words whose precise meaning and force could be more accurately estimated than that of their actual language, it would be difficult to separate it altogether from the common one; it would be found to involve the very thing of which it sought to get rid; to be inconsistent with unitarianism as professed by themselves; and to be very dissimilar to the conception which the scriptures naturally convey.

We little doubt that it has arisen in part from the impression of the fact, which is used as one of its chief proofs,—the fact of

the great diversity of religious opinions among believers in the Christian revelation. Contrasting their own notion of revelation with that of their opponents, Messrs. Martineau, Thom, and Giles, remark—'All men may see that such a revelation corresponds well with the medium which conveys it; but a set of scholastic propositions, like articles and creeds, might as well have been written on the sky; and many a bitter doubt and bitterer controversy might have been spared.' We admit that Christianity has often been most injuriously stiffened and straitened by human systems of belief; that technical theology has been preferred to moral goodness; that men have gone miserably too far in requiring doctrinal uniformity; that multitudes are glorious saints in heaven, who were punished as heretics on earth; that the spirit of religion has been, and is, sacrificed to its verbal forms; and that for these things, and many more such things, no human heart can feel too true and deep a grief, no human eye can shed tears of too bitter lamentation. But how these evils can be rightly urged against the belief that Christianity is, in part, a revelation of doctrinal truth, we cannot see. Does all difference and contention prove the fallacy of the sentiment admitted on both sides, and which is the cause of its existence? Messrs. Martineau, Thom, and Giles would destroy all variance in doctrinal opinion, by making the faith universal, that Christianity is not a literal but spiritual revelation. That is, believe with them, and there will be no disagreement. All sects maintain this doctrine, each one having an undoubting persuasion that if all other sects would adopt their own peculiar opinions, there would be perfect unanimity. The medical method of curing evils by their own causes has found advocates in the church, and new denominations have been formed, just because so many existed before, and with the avowed design of destroying all.

If it be an argument against the doctrinal character of Christianity, that so much difference exists as to the doctrines it is meant to teach, it seems to be an argument against its having any character at all, that so much difference of opinion exists as to what that character really is. If the disputes about the doctrines of revelation are proof that it is designed to teach none, the disputes about the proper notion of revelation may be accounted proof that there is no revelation. Whence is this strange conception of Christianity derived? If it be from the Bible, how can this be reconciled with the mode of reasoning adopted against other conceptions of revelation, from the great variety of opinion which obtains? If it be incredible that a doctrinal revelation should occasion so much doctrinal diversity, is it not incredible that any revelation should occasion so much diversity of opinion as to its design and nature?

Another point prominently exhibited in these lectures is the

essential enmity to orthodoxy which they display. We admire the boldness and honesty with which the ground is taken of an inherent and necessary fallacy in the conceptions which it embodies. We have always felt that this is the only proper position for unitarians, although a position which they have not always occupied. Their tone has been more modest and moderate, and while they thought that the Bible taught only their own views, and, in so doing, harmonized with reason and righteousness, they have admitted that the Bible might teach others, or, that there was no inherent and absolute necessity for its not so doing, and that if proof were furnished that it did so, they would receive them. This is not the language of the Liverpool lecturers. They resolutely maintain that orthodoxy is not in the Bible; but they are not satisfied with this, asserting that no inspired book could possibly teach it. While they affirm the absence of proof, they also affirm the impossibility of its existence. They appeal to the scriptures for judgment against the common faith of Christians, but declare, at the same time, that if their appeal should be unsuccessful, they have the power and the will of moving their cause into a higher and more competent court. According to them, no revelation could prove trinitarianism true, but trinitarianism could prove any professed revelation containing it, false. Why? The answer given is, that trinitarianism is contradictory and immoral; its views of the divine nature, and of the person of Christ, are absurd and inconsistent in themselves, and its views of God's treatment of Christ and men are opposed to the fundamental principles of equity and justice. It is maintained that, as the evidence which supports Christianity is of the nature of probability, it can have no force to sustain doctrines contrary to morals and reason, which those of trinitarianism are. It can only be likely, however strong the likelihood, that Christianity is divine, but it is certain that trinitarianism is false. This ground being taken, it is evidently useless to argue from the scriptures against unitarianism, for if the argument prove successful, it does not go far enough; it only proves what the witness says, but his competency to say it is matter of dispute. 'The axe' is not by this means 'laid to the root of the tree.' It is for this reason that we are dissatisfied with the plan adopted by the Liverpool clergymen, and by many other defenders of orthodoxy. We have felt a painful deficiency while reading their works. They may do well what they profess to do, but they do not profess to do enough. The criticism may be correct, the examination and comparison of passages may be comprehensive and skilful, but this is not what is wanted. If it succeed, it must convert unitarians, not into trinitarians, but into infidels, unless the charge of logical contradictoriness and moral injustice be first repelled and disproved. To contend for the sanction of the Bible, with-

out this, is like defending a particular construction of a will, when the testator was incompetent to render the construction of any worth. This is a subject which must yet engage the attention and the talents of the Christian church to a greater extent than it has done.

While we admire the fearlessness with which the essential absurdity and immorality of trinitarianism is asserted, we are not a little surprised at it. When we hear that the doctrine of the trinity is as inconsistent as the doctrine that three angles are one angle, and that the doctrine of the atonement is opposed to moral justice, we cannot but think that a strange misconception of the power and the province of the human mind must obtain. That they may have been so defined and explained as to be justly so represented, we have no disposition to deny, but that in themselves, and of necessity they are so, we cannot perceive. There is nothing in the one more difficult, than in the eternity and self-existence of God, or in the other, than in ten thousand forms and proceedings of his providence. The assertion seems to be more carelessly made in the face of the fact, that a vast majority of the wise and good believers in Christianity hold these doctrines. This is not adduced as an evidence of their truth; nothing is further from our intention; but we think it a strong indication that they are not so necessarily absurd and wicked as they are represented to be. If they were, they could not so prevail. The human mind would reject them with spontaneous and immediate indignation. Who finds it needful to prove that three angles are not one angle? But if the human mind, after all, is so incorrect in its conceptions of consistency and morals, as to believe the most inconsistent and immoral things, without any perception of their inconsistency or immorality, where is the unitarian right to treat its dictates, in certain cases, with such implicit faith—to assert that anything contrary to these, can, by no possibility, be proved?

We are likewise at a loss to understand how this mode of representing doctrines generally believed, can consist with the professions of intellectual and moral respect, which those who employ it, yet make for their opponents. We make no accusation, but simply express an inability of our own. We say not that these professions are hollow; on the contrary, we believe them sincere, but we cannot see how the views taken of orthodoxy can exist in the same mind with any great reverence and esteem for the orthodox. We fear that we should not think very highly of the intellect of the man, who asserted anything so absurd as that three angles are one angle, nor of his moral state, who held notions that outraged all righteousness.

To yet another subject must we refer. It would have been singular, if a controversy respecting unitarianism had been con-

cluded without, at least, a clear indication of the existence of different opinions as to the importance of theological sentiments. That the doctrine of responsibility for faith is not formally discussed, is matter of regret, but it is plain enough that very opposite notions are entertained by the combatants. It would be wrong to represent the unitarians as holding the absolute and unconditional innocence of error, a doctrine which is opposed to the plainest facts and laws of the human mind, and involving the virtual denial of all responsibility. They admit, so far as we can learn from their writings, that a man may be responsible for his opinions. We imagine that the question between them and ourselves would be, the extent, not the reality or grounds of this responsibility. We are not prepared to advocate the extreme notion upon this subject. The holding of opinions, apart from their moral causes and consequences, is no matter of responsibility. It is so only as far as it results from, and exerts, a moral influence. The Liverpool Unitarians would probably admit this. The debate with them would be, as to what religious errors were necessarily the fruit, and the fountain, of an unholy power. We should infer a man's sinfulness from his errors; they would infer the innocence of his errors from his goodness. They do not allow opinions to be any certain test of character. The most erroneous may consist, in their view, with great moral excellence. Even the rejection of Christianity as a divine revelation is not regarded as any sure indication of a wrong state of heart. 'We 'believe,' say they to their three epistolary opponents, 'no less 'than you, in an infallible revelation (though had we the misfor- 'tune to doubt it, we might be, in the sight of God, neither 'worse nor better than yourselves).' It is intimated that infidelity may be 'an intellectual judgment,' without the coexistence of 'bad moral qualities.' This supposes that there is nothing in the evidences or the peculiar discoveries of Christianity which makes it thoroughly impossible for a good man to reject it. Whether the scriptures support this notion or not, is a matter of no importance, because if they did not, their testimony would probably be considered as expressing, not the truth of the case, but the opinion of the writers. We believe that the scriptures do not support it, and that their witness is true. But we are ready to ask, can that be a revelation, and the Christian one, which a man may deny, without damage or disproof of his moral excellence? Is the being a Christian, something distinct from, and additional to, the being good? Is the unitarian idea of Christ's moral salvation so weak and vapid a thing as to be realised without faith in Christianity? Would a man be better from believing the gospel? If he would, is he not criminal for not being better? If he would not, is Christianity superior to deism? They who would deny the first, have little reason to

boast of the peculiar excellence and strength of their views of duty and responsibility; they who would deny the second, have equally little reason to complain, if charged with maintaining a system which tends to infidelity.

They who admit the innocence of infidelity may well admit the innocence of orthodoxy, and this is another subject of difficulty to us. Unitarians are fond of proclaiming the superior moral tendency of their system to that of others. The living and the dead have asserted the claim. It is maintained with the sarcastic bitterness of a Belsham, the philosophic quietness of a Priestley, the flowing eloquence of a Channing, and the force and beauty of a Martineau. But how it can be separated from the duty of embracing unitarianism, we know not. If its rejection be not criminal, then the holding error which has a very pernicious moral influence is innocent, yea, the very error which involves such ideas of justice as are sufficient to discredit the pretensions of any professed revelation sanctioning them. That innocence should belong to a belief of things being not only good, but pre-eminently good, which are really so bad that no amount of evidence can prove them real, is passing strange. He who supposes this may suppose more, and admit that any moral and religious error may be innocent, and, as a man can only act according to his own conceptions of truth and duty, and not another's, that any moral and religious practice may be innocent likewise.

We cannot conclude this paper without suggesting a few hints as to the mode of conducting the controversy with unitarians.

We would not, however, urge a controversial spirit and practice. We have no morbid dislike of polemical contention, to which many object, solely because they are too ignorant, or indolent, to engage in it. There may be times—and the prospect is of their increased, not diminished number—when it is necessary not only to defend truth, but assault error, and we would have all men ready to do strong and stedfast battle for their faith; but we are convinced that, in general, the best method of preventing and checking error is the publication of truth, and that this is the only method that multitudes of good and useful men can adopt. They can deliver the gospel as a testimony, but not argue it as a proposition. They can maintain its divinity as a system against the attacks of folly and vice, but not defend its particular truths and records from the perversions and objections of wise and learned men. The controversy with unitarians is no engagement for unripe and unfurnished minds. It demands an order of endowment and attainment vastly superior to what many have thought sufficient for its safe and successful management. The plight of orthodoxy has often embodied the cry, 'Save me from my friends!' Some of the passages most for-

midable to it, in the works of its assailants, are quotations from those of its advocates.

To those who may feel it their duty to attack unitarianism, we would say, 'Understand it.' It is not enough for a polemic to know his own opinions, he should know his adversary's. He should be acquainted with the arguments that are urged against his views, and the effectual mode of answering them. If the true points in debate be not detected, labor is wasted, error is untouched, and the impression is conveyed of inability or unfairness. A liberal and comprehensive acquaintance with unitarian theology is indispensable to any safe and effectual attempt to refute it. It is useless and worse than useless to treat the body of unitarians as if responsible for the sentiments and criticisms of individuals, or the present race for those of a past. The practice of quoting and answering Belsham and Priestley, as if they were the authorised expositors of unitarian belief, is easy, but not good. We war with the living, not with the dead. A study of our opponents' publications, by revealing the real shape and ground of their dissent, would prevent many vain and pointless efforts, and irrelevant accusations. Unitarians, for instance, are often charged with refusing to receive our doctrines on account of their mysteriousness,—they allege that they believe in mystery, and that our doctrines are not mysterious, but contradictory, excluded from their creed not by the presence of ideas too great for comprehension, but the absence of ideas capable of reconciliation. They are charged with denying the atonement because they disregard and disesteem the divine justice;—they allege that they reject the atonement because, among other reasons, they maintain and honor the divine justice, and think the atonement to be, of all things, one of the most unjust. They are charged with cherishing pride of understanding, in rejecting the doctrines of orthodoxy; they allege that humility of mind consists in submission to evidence which they display, and that orthodoxy is made up of many sentiments which evidence does not support. Now it is obvious that the mere bringing of these accusations, under such circumstances, does no good, nor the proving the folly and guilt of the conduct they describe. The thing needed, is the proof of their applicability. They are all founded on the presumed settlement of the question, and therefore have no force or place while the question is being discussed. The only way in which they can be sustained, is by showing that the Bible is so true, and orthodoxy so truly in it, that the rejection of the latter must result from pertinacious obstinacy—must sacrifice the moral character of God—must prove that simple inability to explain, is held to be a good reason for disbelieving what is thoroughly explicable. What is wanted is, not the proof that the alleged conduct is wrong, but that the accused parties are the

wrong doers; and while unitarians plead not guilty to the charges preferred—while they retort them—while they assay to justify their conduct by the very principles from respect for which the charges are brought, it is plainly a want of knowledge, at least, which secures their continued presentation. Next to the mistake and mischief of imputing opinions which are not held, is that of assigning reasons for opinions which do not exist. To ascertain either, it is necessary to pay careful attention to the writings in which alone they can be fully found. Unitarianism, or any other system of belief, is not, as a matter of course, and in all respects, just according to the popular impression respecting it—nor, which is nearly the same thing, what its most noted and bitter antagonists represent it to be,—and we would therefore earnestly advise all who may have it in their hearts to attack it, to obtain a personal and familiar acquaintance with the publications of its advocates.

Closely connected with this, is the *spirit* in which the controversy should be conducted. Every thing like rudeness and abuse—discourtesy and unfairness—should be avoided. The gentleman and the Christian should never be forgotten in the polemic. No end sanctifies the means. 'Pious frauds' are, of all frauds, the most impious. Truth needs but truth for its defence. It is dishonored and desecrated by any other weapon. The tactics of worldly policy are not fitted for the conduct of a spiritual contention. It is a solemn, tender, and noble thing, to befriend the faith once delivered to the saints, and he is not meet for its advocacy who has not been baptized with its spirit. The source of many of the evils that disgrace religious controversy, is a sense of infallibility, and this should be ejected from every mind with careful and energetic zeal. This would be—not scepticism, but humility. It is one thing to believe that we are right, and another to believe that we must be. A conviction that we have the truth, and a conviction that we may not have it, are perfectly compatible. Most men admit that they are fallible, but no man admits that he fails. The nature of doctrinal discussions forbids the assumption of oracular certainty, and all displays of it are as absurd as offensive. We can conceive of no religious argument which should not be prosecuted with a desire to elicit truth, as well as to defend it. If we are not absolutely incapable of mistake, which perhaps no one would affirm, it is possible that we are mistaken, and it is due to this possibility that, while we maintain the truth we think we have, we should look out for the truth that may yet be hidden from us. The very reasons for which we love and hold our present opinions should lead us to respect and weigh the arguments of those who deny them. If this were felt, all neglect in seeking for the real idea of an opponent—all unfairness in representing it—all modes of attacking it,

which, though successful to other men and even to himself, we know to be without legitimate application and force, would be avoided. Every pains would be taken to put ourselves in his position—to look at the subject from his point of view, and through his medium.

It is common for orthodox controversialists to present prominently the penal consequences of unbelief before their opponents--to repeat the denunciations of final wrath which they suppose applicable to their case. This, to say the least, is impolitic. Whatever may be thought, it is unwise thus to treat an adversary. Men are to be convinced by arguments, not by accusations of criminality which they believe to be unfounded, and threatenings which they believe will never be fulfilled. The way to create faith, is to show the evidence of the truth, not the results of error, because those results are not objects of fear until the truth is established. The likelihood is, that solemn maledictions will only weaken and not enforce the reasoning employed. They may express pity, but appear to express scorn, which is no means of winning a favorable attention. They may result from a strong consciousness that we are right,—they may be regarded as one proof that we are wrong. It is necessary to consider not only what is due to fact, but what is due to the views of those whose faith is sought to be corrected.

A careful distinction should be made between what is true and what is false in unitarianism. Considered controversially in the points in which it is opposed to the essential principles of trinitarianism, we reject it, and desire its extinction; but considered in its entirety as a system of belief, there is much in it that demands respectful recognition; and it is but justice, not only to its adherents, but to truth, to separate the evil from the good. We go further. 'Every error is a truth abused.' Most erroneous sects have been characterized, not so much by the absolute groundlessness of their peculiar opinions, as by the exaggerated importance and unreal relations which they have assigned to them. Truth has become false by the manner in which it has been viewed and treated. There is great and constant danger of this in human beings, who are incapable of a full and perfect survey of truth, whose perceptions are powerfully influenced by their passions, and who display an endless diversity of mental constitution and temperament. Hence different doctrines become the distinctive badge of different denominations, the evils of whose existence and collision are, in part, compensated by the security they furnish for the development of the various elements of the Christian faith. Perhaps few denominations exist which do no good service to Christianity in this way, however great a portion of truth they may disfigure or conceal. Has unitarianism no function? Is there nothing in it which tends to the peculiar

manifestation of some truth? Or, if this be esteemed too strong a mode of representation, is it not allied, in fact, though not of necessity, with forms and phases of moral and Christian verities, which demand not only concession but respect? May not the orthodox be instructed by the prominence and way of treating of some sentiments of unquestioned truth and worth, in unitarian theological literature? Notwithstanding the number and magnitude of the scriptural principles which we believe it to reject,—principles which we cannot separate from the full and efficient adaptation of Christianity to human sinners, are there no views which its abettors, from some cause or other, peculiarly excel in exhibiting? Some of our sentiments, which we think are derived from the Bible, possess such a special significance and worth in our estimation, that we are in no little danger of maintaining and enforcing them to the neglect of other sentiments, which, though not equally valuable, are equally parts of Christianity; and the danger is increased, when the greater sentiments are matter of vigorous and wide-spread controversy, and the lesser of little or none; while, on the other hand, unitarians, who reject the former, acquire a facility and force in presenting the latter, which however desirable and useful, is attended with this danger, that the truths and principles of which they make so frequent and efficient mention may become, in popular estimation, identified with their peculiar system, and serve to recommend it. We need not specify instances. They will occur to most persons familiar with the subject. We have been powerfully impressed with the fact of their existence, while comparing the writings of the opposite parties, and not least, while comparing the publications on both sides of the Liverpool controversy. We wish to call attention to the fact, and its lessons. Let trinitarians guard against the tendency to neglect admitted truths while contending for disputed ones, and let them honor and imitate whatever is forcible and excellent in the views or modes of their adversaries.

Let the truth be presented in all its bulk and fair proportions. While instruction is administered in the sacrificial purposes of Christ's mission, let the moral and inimitable charms of his character be commended; while the fact and need of a divine influence to enlighten and sanctify is urged, let the conviction be conveyed, that this influence is necessary to no responsibility, weakens no claim or call for present and intense exertion; while eternal punishment is employed as a strong engine of alarm to the wicked, let the rightness and glory, the immediate and moral advantages of religion, be presented with all possible strength; while the nature and importance of doctrinal truth is inculcated, let the spiritual faculties of men be cultivated, and as its only proper end; let all this be done naturally, not with the stiffness of system and barbaric technicality, but with a free and generous

style of thought and speech; not with metaphysical accuracy, but human warmth. Let each truth be brought out fully and alone, uncrippled and unchecked by the immediate presence of any other truth, which, though quite harmonious with it, may appear, unless explained at length and to the damage of the whole impression, to lack a perfect fraternity. It is time that men abandoned human models, and returned to inspired ones. The Bible, though it teaches truth which is a system, teaches no system of truth. In it, the immediate subject is treated with all the strength and zeal which, if there were no other, it could demand. This is at once the proof of its divinity and humanity; only men would have so felt the greatness of each separate theme as to need them, only men inspired, and not impostors, would have hazarded them. Let the examples thus presented be imitated; let the fulness, and energy, and native freedom, with which the scriptures express the truth, be copied, and a most effective, yea, the only service to which many are competent, will be rendered towards the direct prevention and ultimate destruction of unitarianism and every other form of religious error, while the thoughts and will of God receive a glorious manifestation, and His redeemed creatures become free indeed.

Art. IV. *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia. With Observations on the Condition of Mohammedanism and Christianity in those Countries.* By the Rev. Horatio Southgate. In two vols, London: Tilt and Bogue. 1840.

THESE volumes are similar in character to those of Mr. Malcom on Eastern Asia, which were noticed in a recent number of our Journal. They contain the narrative of a tour of observation conducted under the auspices of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, with a view to ascertain the best localities for the establishment of their missionary operations. The author, a minister of the American Episcopal church, appears to have been eminently qualified for the work to which his brethren appointed him; and to have executed his mission in a manner highly creditable to himself, as well as conducive to the noble object contemplated. We know nothing more of Mr. Southgate than we have learned from these volumes, but we have rarely closed a work which has impressed us more deeply

with respect for the judgment, fidelity, and Christian devotedness of its author.

It is an interesting feature of the American church, that while it has so much to do at home—a good part of which it is actively performing—its zeal is sufficiently ardent and diffusive to contemplate the evangelization of the most distant tribes. The circumstances of the country are precisely those which might furnish a plausible excuse for the neglect of foreign missions; the growth of the population spreading itself out with unexampled rapidity over vast districts till recently unvisited by the arts of civilized life, might have been pleaded in extenuation, if not in actual defence, of a more contracted and indolent policy. Our capabilities, it might have been urged by our transatlantic brethren, are taxed to the utmost by the ever increasing demands of our home population. The vast plains of the west, and the recesses of a thousand forests where our countrymen are but just located, make the first and the loudest demand on our sympathy. The children of our young republic must be supplied with the means of religious instruction before our time or energy can be directed to the inhabitants of other lands; we must guard ourselves from infidelity at home ere we undertake to Christianize other people. Such would have been the language of the American church on the theory which is so popular amongst many of our countrymen. Happily, however, a different standard of Christian duty is recognized by our American brethren, and the result is full of promise to the world. The operations of their home missions are apparent on every track which their widening population takes, raising the monuments of a faith from which all their greatness is derived, and blessing with its salutary influences the various classes of their people. But while thus engaged at home, the American church is not unmindful of the darker regions of the earth, over which various forms of error and cruelty are dominant. The vital energy of Christianity is strikingly shown in the activity which characterizes every branch of this church. Her missionaries are to be seen in every region of the earth, and the converts who attend their ministrations bear witness to the blessing which has followed their labors. Their missionary operations have been characterized by the same energy which has distinguished their other proceedings—they move with the quick step and firm assurance of youth, undeterred by difficulties and undaunted by dangers. Mr. Southgate's mission is illustrative of this feature of American character. It was one of observation and inquiry preliminary to the actual commencement of missionary labor. A vast region but little known to the Christian church was submitted to his scrutiny, and he went forth in the fear of God to gather such materials as would enable his brethren to devise an efficient plan of religious

operation. Two missions, one at Constantinople, and the other among the Jacobite Christians of Mesopotamia, have already grown out of his labors; and we trust that others will speedily be added. The following passage exhibits the instructions received by our author preparatory to his mission.

'I was directed to consider Persia as the principal field of my mission, while I was left at liberty to extend my inquiries into Turkey, Syria, and Egypt. The course of my travels and the plan of my work were referred to my own judgment, from a well-grounded apprehension that specific directions upon points which must, in the main, be determined by circumstances, would tend to embarrass rather than to aid me. I was instructed, however, to consider the two great objects of my inquiries to be 'the actual moral and religious state of the inhabitants of the regions which I might visit, and the spots where missionary stations might be most advantageously established.' I was directed to regard 'personal travel and daily familiar intercourse with the people' as the principal means for attaining the objects of my mission, and was instructed to keep a regular journal of my travels and observations. The terms of intercourse with Christians of other denominations were defined in the kindly and judicious expressions of the venerable Bishop White, whose career had not then closed. Finally, I was pointed to the animating fact that I was going forth 'not at the bidding of a private association, but as the messenger of a church recognizing the obligation of the command of her divine Founder,' and to this circumstance I was bidden to look for the hope of united and constant prayer in my behalf.'—Vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

Thus counselled by his brethren, Mr. Southgate embarked at New York for France on the 24th of April, 1836, and after a passage of thirty-seven days arrived safely at Havre, from which port he proceeded immediately to Paris, where he 'spent many 'days in procuring works for the study of the Oriental languages.' From Paris he journeyed to Marseilles, whence he sailed on the 2nd of July in a French brig for Constantinople, where he cast anchor on the 31st of the same month. This city may be regarded as the starting point of his mission. He remained there several months, diligently employing himself in acquiring the Turkish language, and in familiarizing himself with the condition and habits of the people whom he designed to visit. It was his first intention to have made the Arabic his special study, but the information he obtained at Constantinople induced him to prefer the vernacular tongue of Turkey. The following remarks on this subject deserve the serious consideration of those who may come after him.

'My object at Constantinople was the study of the oriental languages preparatory to my tour. My inquiries soon satisfied me that during the time which I expected to devote to it, I could not embrace

so wide a range as I had contemplated. The acquisition of the Arabic alone would require months, and even years, of toil. Besides that, its colloquial use was almost unknown in Constantinople and in most of the countries through which I was to travel. The Turkish, on the contrary, is everywhere spoken throughout the vast dominions of the Sultan, by Christians as well as Mussulmans. It is everywhere the language of government, and generally of trade. It is heard in the bazars even of Bagdad, of Syria, and of Egypt, and it is the vernacular tongue of the northern and western provinces of Persia. I chose it, therefore, in preference to any other, and I never afterwards found reason to repent of my choice. It proved to be the only language which was spoken by some individuals in every town and village through which I passed. In Mesopotamia the Arabic would have done me better service, as would the Kurdish in Kurdistan; but in neither of these countries, so far as I penetrated them, was I ever at a loss to find those with whom I could communicate. The day will come, and, perhaps, is not far distant, when missionaries in the east will devote themselves more than now to itinerant labors, like those of the apostles. The Turkish will then be found the only language which will afford a medium of communication with all the various kindreds of people scattered through Asiatic and European Turkey.'—Ib. pp. 65, 66.

Our author's residence at Constantinople afforded him many opportunities of observing the social and religious habits of the people. He wisely resolved to fix his residence among the native population, and to divest himself, so far as was possible, of the prejudices which might mislead his judgment. In the execution of this plan, however, he encountered some insuperable difficulties, but the wisdom of the design is strikingly shown in the valuable information he collected from its partial accomplishment. The following passage is too creditable to his candor and sound judgment to be omitted.

'In accordance with my general plan, I endeavored to obtain lodgings in a Turkish family, or at least in a Turkish quarter, but the result of the attempt showed how difficult a task I had undertaken. Among the few native friends that I had made, most of whom were Christians, there was no one who could be induced to act as my agent in the matter. The proposal, they said, was utterly preposterous. My residence would not be endured among the habitations of Turks, much less in their households. Before my departure from the country, two years subsequent to this date, I had acquired friends who, I believe, would have admitted me to this intimacy, but at the time of which I now speak, I was a stranger and dependent on the good offices of native Christians, who, seldom maintaining themselves private intercourse with the Turks, are, for the most part, neither willing nor able to introduce others to it. I adopted, therefore, the only course that remained to me, and retained the lodgings which I already occupied in the Frank quarter of Pera, and in the house of one of that numerous

class in the Levant, who are natives of the country, but, on the paternal side, of foreign parentage.'—Ib. pp. 67, 68.

An extended account is given of the feasts, fasts, and other festivals of the Mahomedan faith, which furnish a more veritable view of Turkish life than we have often met with. Keeping in mind the religious objects of his mission, the author enlarges much more fully on those points of Turkish character than on others which have engaged the attention of previous travellers. His work consequently contains much interesting and valuable information, and may be read with considerable advantage by those who are desirous of ascertaining the present condition of the Mussulman faith. The following account of one of these festivals discloses some points of Turkish character for which many of our readers are probably ill prepared.

'The grand procession of the paschal orison took place this morning within the time prescribed by the Mohammedan law, which permits its celebration at any hour before noon on the tenth of the month Zilhijjeh. It issued from the principal gate of the Seraglio, soon after sunrise, and appeared in the following order. First came the inferior officers of the court on horse, followed by the pashas and principal functionaries of state mounted on beautiful steeds, whose furniture was richly decked with precious stones. After these came a band of young men on foot, gaily dressed in lively colors and distinguished by their beauty and knightly bearing. They bore in their hands long waving plumes of the most brilliant hues, which they held high over their heads, as if to secure the royal person whom they surrounded from the vulgar gaze. In the midst of this bright band, his face just discernible through the forest of bending plumes, rode the Sultan, on a noble Arabian charger, which, from his proud and graceful step, seemed conscious that he was bearing the weight of majesty. His saddle-cloth and reins were thickly studded with diamonds set in flowers, the stirrups were of solid gold, and his gorgeous head-piece bore a frontlet, in the centre of which was a magnificent emerald surrounded with diamonds. The Sultan himself appeared, as he always does on horse, with his most regal look and bearing. His face wore that grave and mild aspect that commonly sits upon it in public. After him followed a band of musicians who closed the procession. The whole body moved slowly towards the mosque of Sultan Ahmed, in the vicinity of the Seraglio, between double ranks of artillery-men and musicians. A shout ran along their lines as the Sultan passed. They all wore European military caps, and their entire dress was conformable. The habiliments of the marines were red jackets and white pantaloons, which, with the caps, were entirely new. The latter, indeed, were now introduced into the army for the first time, the common head-gear of the soldiers being the thick woollen *fez* with a huge blue silk tassel pendent behind,—the same as is worn by the Sultan and the greater part of those in civil employ, but which, with

the unshorn heads that are coming into vogue, are (this my own experience afterwards taught me) insupportable on a summer march.

'The Sultan and his cortége dismounted in the Atmeidan, a public square on which the spacious court of the mosque of Ahmed opens, and entered the sacred temple. The morning service immediately began, while another assemblage was formed in the Atmeidan, of the soldiers from the adjacent barracks; for the companies that had served in the pageant of the morning, contrary to many a precept of the Koran, stood by their arms. The service without the mosque was the same as that within. A temporary platform was erected for the Imam, and straw mats were spread for the assembly to kneel upon. I could not, at the moment, discover anything in the various prostrations, genuflexions, and divers other postures of the worshippers different from the common devotions of the mosque, nor indeed is there anything peculiar in this distinguished service of the Mussulman liturgy more than some slight deviations of form from the great prayer of Friday.

'So much of the ample space of the Atmeidan as was not occupied by the worshippers was filled with throngs of Turkish maids and matrons, on foot and in arabas, idle spectators of a ceremony of their religion in which they could not participate.

'The service, which was but little longer than the ordinary service of the morning, being ended, the procession returned in the order in which it came, and disappeared within the walls of the Seraglio. What transpired there I will not pretend to say, excepting that an order soon came out for the marines to enter, and the rumor was circulated among the multitude that the Sultan had sent for them to inspect them in their new dress. They entered, preceded by the band playing a Greek air. Presently a line of cavalry issued from the gate, well mounted and wearing the new cap. As I was crossing the harbor on my return home, I observed that the ships of war were decorated with flags, and their yards manned with marines, who saluted the Sultan as the royal barge shot out from the quay of the Seraglio, and swept by them on its way to the palace of Beshiktash.

'Such was the pageant which accompanied the sacrificial prayer of Bairam. But the festivity which followed was not confined to the court. It extended to every class and condition of society. On the first day the Call to Prayer at the five canonical hours was followed by a salute from the fleet. During the whole of the first feast and the first three days of the second, shops were shut and all labor suspended. The entire Mussulman population was poured into the streets. The cafés were thronged. Every man, woman, and child, appeared in a new dress. The white turbans were never so clean and neatly plaited. Turkish females, in groups of five or six, with their children, in the gayest and richest dresses, strolled through the streets. Friends visited friends, and wished them a happy Bairam, or embraced them as they met without, kissing each other on both cheeks. The inferior paid the same deference to the hand of his patron or superior. Effendis on horseback and ladies in arabas covered the bridge between Stamboul and Galata. Strolling players performed with impunity in the

highways. The sellers of sweetmeats proclaimed their delicacies, and the beggars again plied their importunities in the name of *Bairam*. There seemed in the very word an incentive to mirth and light-heartedness. Yet all was quiet. There was no boisterousness, no indecorum, no extravagant merriment, no loud laughter, much less those contentions, and babblings, and wounds without cause, which are the invariable accompaniments of our more civilized festivities. The reason of the difference is to be found in the habitual moderation and self-command of Turks, and in the absence among them of the grand source of the woe and sorrow which generally follow our own seasons of hilarity. Special care is exercised by the Turkish authorities during Bairam to keep Mussulmans from the grog-shops, which, I am sorry to add, are chiefly tenanted by Christians. The only part of the population which give free vent to their mirth are the boys. You may see them riding double on donkeys, racing on horses, or turning on swings, of which there are at least four kinds in use at Constantinople. You may see them playing and tumbling in the courts of the mosques, firing crackers and eating sweetmeats, as New England boys do on the fourth of July. By some, certain hours of the festival are devoted to more serious purposes. The bereaved visit the graves of friends, and sit by them and turn up the sod throughout, as if the sight of the new earth brought into fresh recollection the hour when the loved ones that repose beneath were shut from their eyes.'—Ib. pp. 108—112.

Having at length attained a competent knowledge of the Turkish language, our author began to prepare for his departure from the capital. He was fortunate in engaging the services of an intelligent Armenian well acquainted with the countries through which he was about to pass, and with the habits of the people. This attendant, bearing the name of Hohannes, or John, had been educated in the Jesuit's College of Galata, was partially acquainted with eight languages, and had just returned from Persia, whither he had conducted the English ambassador. He proved an invaluable attendant, and contributed greatly, by his adroitness, presence of mind, and intrepidity, to the comfort and safety of his employer. Thus accompanied, and having obtained a firman of the Sultan commanding all magistrates and governors of cities, towns, and provinces to afford him and his attendants 'all needed aid and protection, to show them the rights of hospi-'tality, and to permit them to pass free from all extortions, taxes, 'and hindrances whatever,' Mr. Southgate embarked in a steamer for Trebizond on the 1st of June, 1837. From Trebizond he proceeded on horseback through a wild and mountainous country, interspersed with patches of cultivation bespeaking the presence of civilized life. This mode of transit brought him into daily contact with the native population, consisting of Turks, Armenians, and Kurds. Abundant opportunities were consequently enjoyed of observing their condition and habits, which are described with a freshness and particularity which it is grati-

fying to meet with. The spirit of reform has penetrated even into Turkey. At Constantinople it is visible in open day, and may be traced, though in a less palpable form, in some of the remoter provinces. Its movements, as might have been expected, are somewhat capricious and erratic, yet its presence is an omen of good at which every friend of humanity must rejoice. Our author's incidental allusions to this subject are distinguished by good sense and discrimination. We should be glad to transcribe some of them did our space permit, but prefer to extract the following passage as bearing more directly on the missionary character of his tour.

'Even now, the Bible is by no means a stranger in the hands of Mussulmans, for though those possessed by Christians are supposed to be corrupt, they are, on the whole, respected as the Word of God. Their connexion with Mohammedanism, and the frequent allusions to them in the Koran, render them an object of curiosity, especially to the learned Mussulmans. They are frequently sought after from no other motive than to learn the nature of the doctrines which they teach. Several instances have come to my knowledge in which men in authority have sent requests for copies to Christians whom they knew to possess them. The parts which they choose and read with the greatest pleasure, are the narrative portions, in which they often become intensely interested.

'About nine miles distant from Broussa, the first capital of the Turkish Empire, is a village inhabited by a mixed population of Greeks and Turks. On a certain occasion, the latter requested the priest of the village to read the gospel to them. He consented, and sat down with most of the Mussulmans in the village around him, and a copy of the New Testament, procured from an American missionary in Broussa, in his hand. He began and read on amidst almost breathless silence, until the hour of meals had come. His hearers, however, had become so deeply interested in the narrative, that they would not permit him to suspend the reading. He continued, therefore, uninterrupted, until he came to the closing scenes of the life of Christ. Here they stopped, for it is a doctrine of the Mohammedans that it was not Jesus who was crucified, but some one in his appearance aad likeness.

'The lives of the patriarchs and prophets are also a favorite portion of the Scriptures to the Mussulmans. Their own books are full of stories concerning them. They speak of them with the deepest reverence. They regard them all as veritable Mussulmans, as, in the literal sense of the word, they indeed were. They adopt their names. They respect the places of their birth, and perform pilgrimages to their sepulchres.

'The other portions of the sacred writings which Mussulmans read with the highest admiration, are those which abound in moral sentiments and precepts. Such are the Psalms of David and the Proverbs of Solomon. The former are replete with those expressions of adora-

tion and trust in God which are most congenial to a devout Mussulman, and with allusions and resemblances most familiar to the mind of an Oriental. The latter is, throughout, an eastern book. Its apothegmatical and sententious style is that to which the minds of Mussulmans are most accustomed in their own books on moral truth and duty.

'Not to particularize farther, I may mention the Sermon on the Mount as another portion of Scripture which I have heard Mussulmans read and expatiate upon with evident delight. The only parts of the sacred volume which Mohammed expressly recognized as canonical, were the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel. The other parts, however, were not rejected, but rather, under the general appellation of *the Scriptures,* acknowledged. They are sometimes read, and are even used to prove the divine authority of the apostleship of Mohammed, for, corrupt as our Scriptures are alleged to be, Mussulman controversialists pretend to find in them predictions concerning their own prophet. It is curious, indeed, to observe how much attention has been given to them by Mohammedan divines. They have been searched not only for the purpose just mentioned, but to detect the corruptions which are supposed to exist in them; and it is not a little singular that the very passages which infidels have adduced as instances of contradictions and inconsistencies, the followers of Mohammed have preferred in proof of a less presumptuous position. Books have also been written to show that it is prohibited to Mussulmans to translate or cite from the Bible, as it now exists, and, in accordance with its supposed character, as being neither entirely pure nor wholly spurious; tradition reports a saying of Mohammed which forbids his followers either to believe in or reject it.

'Such prohibitions, however do not prevent it from being received and read. It is preserved with great care, and is called, in common with the Koran, *Kitabi Scherif,* or Noble Book. It is impossible to say how far it has gone into circulation among the Mohammedans. It is certain that, at different times, a multitude of copies have been distributed in Turkey. I have sufficient reason to believe that in private it is attentively perused by many individuals, and that it is sometimes read and commented upon in companies of friends. It has been sent into different parts of the kingdom, where, besides those intended for Mussulmans, numerous copies have been distributed among those Christians to whom the Turkish is the vernacular tongue. It has been openly offered for sale and read to Mussulmans at fairs, and presents of copies have been made to governors of towns and other men in authority. In Constantinople from ten to fifteen copies are annually sold to Mussulmans from the depository of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On one occasion, a copy of the New Testament in each of the three great languages of the Mussulmans—Arabic, Turkish, and Persian—was purchased by officers from the mehkemeh, for the purpose of examining whether the duties required of witnesses were enjoined in the Scriptures of Christians.'—Ib. pp. 137—140.

In addition to innumerable villages through which he passed, his rout to Persia lay through several cities of considerable mag-

nitude, in each of which he tarried sufficiently long to collect much valuable information respecting the habits, prepossessions, and capabilities of the people. His estimate of the Turkish character is on the whole favorable: not so that of the Armenian villagers, whose condition as described in the following passage is mournfully characteristic of Turkish misrule.

'Their villages may be described in nearly the same words which Xenophon used respecting them 2200 years ago. 'Their houses were under ground. In them were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls with their young;' and, if it had not been summer, I might have added as he does, 'All the cattle were maintained within doors with fodder.' The houses, however, are not properly subterranean, in the common sense of the term. They are generally made by excavating the earth and raising a wall of loose stones to the required height. Trunks of trees are then laid across for rafters and covered with branches. Then the earth is piled on until the whole is covered, and the fabric attains a semi-globular shape. Sometimes the whole is built upon the surface, but, in both cases, the external appearance is that of a bare mound of earth. As the traveller approaches one of these villages, he discerns nothing at first but an apparent unevenness in the ground. Soon the rounded tops become distinguished. These in summer are covered with cakes of manure formed by the hand and drying for the winter fire, a feature which gives the whole at a distance the appearance of a magnificent collection of dung-heaps.

'The houses have generally two apartments, one for the family, and another more interior for the cattle. These are almost entirely without furniture, and are not remarkable for cleanliness. Sometimes there is a rude fire-place, or a hole in the ground which answers the same purpose, the smoke being of too little importance to have special provision made for its egress, excepting a small aperture through the centre of the roof, where, at the same time, a few rays of light seize the opportunity to struggle in. On the plain of Moush many of the houses have a pole on the top, which supports the nest of a stork.

'The villagers are mostly herdsmen. They have the buffalo, but of a species unknown in America, the cow, horse, ass, and goat. They subject the cow to burdens. A man's property is estimated by his herds. The produce, yoghourt, cheese, and milk, furnish the chief articles of food. The villagers are poorly clad, timid and servile in demeanor, and their faces are unintelligent and spiritless. They do not appear the same race with the same people in Constantinople, or even in the cities of the interior. In some of the villages which suffer most from the Kurds they wear the aspect of deep misery, and one often wonders at the degradation which can endure such a position without an effort to change it. They are extremely ignorant, and unclean in their persons and their houses. The women are especially ugly and filthy, and their domestic condition is as evil as can well be imagined. They are servilely treated, brutish, idealess, of peevish, complaining tempers, and doing no service without a murmur. They have in many of the villages the care of the herds besides their domes-

tic labors. Both men and women are generally unwilling to give lodging or food, or do it in so slow and sullen a manner as to render their hospitality hardly endurable. There are some exceptions to this picture, especially in the large villages. In some I have been cheered by the sight of domestic industry, cleanliness, and thrift; in some I have been cordially received. But such exceptions are rare.'

—Ib. pp. 203—205.

Much interesting information is furnished respecting the inhabitants of Kurdistan. Those of the mountains are ferocious and predatory, but those of the plains appear to be a thrifty and well disposed people. The following observations on the best mode of introducing Christianity among them are well worthy of attention.

'As, on leaving Broushoran, we leave, altogether, the Kurdish population, until we enter among them again on the south western border of Persia, it may not be amiss to state here, in few words, my impression with regard to the practicability of missionary effort among them. Were there any to go to them with the spirit of the apostles, abandoning, for Christ's sake, every thing on earth, and unrestrained by family ties, they might be instrumental in planting among those wild mountains the standard of the cross. Multitudes of this people, residing in villages, might also be reached by missionaries in the large cities. There is no part of Kurdistan where they can be approached so nearly as on this route, none, at least, where they also retain, as here, their distinctive character and habits. In the case of a mission established in the cities, the best means of approaching them would be through the Christians; the work would, in that case, naturally extend itself to the settled Kurds, dwelling, in many instances, in the same villages with the Armenians. A missionary family could reside in Moush, or in Van. The numerous villages in the vicinity of the former place would render it a very important centre.

'The chief benefits of these missions, however, would be confined to the Christians, and doubtless there are not three other places in the whole of ancient Armenia, which present such advantages for missionary labor among the Armenians, as Moush, Bitlis, and Van. The effect of such a mission upon the Kurds would be slower and later. If they are to be reached immediately and effectually, it must be by a more simple, indeed, but a more self-denying kind of labor. They must be visited as heathen men were visited in the times of the apostles, by devoted soldiers of the cross throwing themselves among them at such hazards as only a primitive faith can endure to contemplate. If the idea of encountering these dangers appears chimerical, is it not because the standard of our faith has fallen far below the elevation which it held among the early followers of Christ?

'However this may be, we know that the grand scope of the commission given to the ministry of the church must, if the church itself is unchanged, of necessity embrace now the same design which it embraced at first—'all the world and every creature.' We know too

that the first ministers of Christ, whose example, in this respect, must be regarded as a practical avowal of the understanding which they put upon the commission under which they acted,—we know, I say, that they carried the tidings of salvation through Christ, to men as barbarous as now inhabit the fastnesses of Kurdistan, and at the cost of as great sufferings as the bearers of the same tidings to the Kurds would be called to endure. Why is it, then, that we contemplate such an enterprise with terror, or reject the idea of it as the product of a visionary zeal? Is it not because we have lost the true, original idea of the ministerial commission; because we distrust the faithfulness of the promise conjoined with it; because, in a word, the church of Christ has left her first love?'—Ib. pp. 283—285.

From Kurdistan our author passed into Persia, where the American Episcopal church had already established a mission. His meeting with his brethren at Ourmiah was highly gratifying to both parties, and an interesting account is given of their unostentatious labors. The Nestorian Christians appear to regard the missionaries with entire confidence, and some of their clergy, together with one of their bishops, are represented as having placed themselves under their instruction. Mr. Southgate's observations on the course that should be pursued towards these oriental Christians, though indicative of an Episcopalian bias, are characterized by good sense and candor. But we must hasten on to other matters contained in his narrative. Tehran, the present capital of Persia, is represented as a wretched place, presenting none of those points of interest which distinguish many other eastern cities. Its site is unhealthy, and its buildings poor and abject. 'The place presents, in outward appearance, none of the 'features of a royal city. Its bazars are extensive and are roofed 'with tile, so as to present a succession of small domes. They 'are filthy, however, and less attractive in every respect than 'those of Tebriz. They are thronged with beasts as well as men, 'which makes a walk through them no easy nor pleasant matter. 'The streets are peculiarly bad, for the most part destitute of 'pavements, narrow, irregular, encumbered with filth, and full of 'dangerous holes. The houses are extraordinarily mean, even 'for an eastern town, and unsightly ruins, covering, in some in-'stances, extensive areas, frequently meet the eye.' The Shah was absent from the city during the period of Mr. Southgate's visit. The following sketch of his history and character will be read with interest in the present state of our eastern relations.

'The present Shah owes his elevation to the throne to the intervention of foreigners. The old king had appointed his son, Abbas Mirza, his successor, but the death of this prince occurring before his own, he declared in favor of his grandson, the reigning monarch, who was himself a son of Abbas Mirza. In so doing he set aside the claims

of the numerous brothers of Abbas, the most eminent among them, Mohammed Ali Mirza, being now dead, and the Shah wishing that the power should descend in the line of his favorite son. On the decease of the king, Mohammed Mirza, the present Shah, was at Tebriz. Immediately upon the arrival of the news, the English ambassador with his suite, appeared before him and saluted him as king. The British minister, Sir John Campbell, had orders from his government to aid the accession of this prince to the throne. He, therefore, advanced funds to pay the troops of Aderbeijan, who were ready to desert, and marched down with them to Tehran, a British officer leading the van. One of his uncles had already seized the throne, but abdicated immediately upon hearing of the approach of the army. All opposition fell before the young Shah. He entered Tehran triumphant, and his rebellious uncle aided in the ceremony of his inauguration. Sir Henry Bethune (late Col. Lindsay), who had led the army to Tehran, soon afterwards marched to Shiras, routed the malcontents who had gathered there, and finally established the Shah upon his throne.

'Mohammed Shah is still a young man, being now (1840) about thirty-five years of age. It is reported, that neither his father nor his grandfather entertained very high hopes with regard to him. Abbas Mirza is said to have treated him with neglect, and to have made no effort for bringing him forward and engaging him in public service. When reminded of the imprudence of such a course, he used to reply, 'What can I do? He is good for nothing.' The Persians whom I have heard speak of him, use the same language, and lament the destiny which deprived them of Abbas Mirza.

'Still the Shah is, in some respects, an extraordinary man. Though a reputed Souffee, he is strict in all the duties of his religion, and remarkably pure in his moral character and habits. His Souffeeism, it would seem, shows itself chiefly in his contempt for the ecclesiastics, and in his preference of Souffees for civil officers. He has few or none of the vices of his country. He has but two wives, and only one of them was resident at Tehran. His example, in this respect, is the more remarkable as following immediately upon that of Feth Ali Shah, the inmates of whose harem were sufficient in number to have composed the adult female population of a town of 6000 inhabitants. The present Shah drinks no wine, and does not even use the kalioun. Notwithstanding his contempt for the religious orders, he is himself a bigoted man. His prejudices are strong, and his mind is not of a sufficiently elevated character to rise above them. His most prominent trait is self-will and a dogged obstinacy in his opinions and plans. He is rather penurious in his own expenses, and has very little disposition for regal display; yet he has been imprudently lavish in granting favors, even where no service has been rendered. I had it on good authority that, in the single province of Aderbeijan, he had bestowed pensions to the amount of 250,000 tomans, or about £125,000 sterling. He has some idea of the value of European institutions and European learning, but he has not the character needed for a reformer. From the want of enlarged views he is satisfied with meagre results, and has

not the capacity for framing a full system of reform. Still he would probably encourage any efforts for the general improvement of his people, especially if they were gratuitously rendered. He was so much pleased with the work on Geography laid before him by one of the German missionaries, that he invited the author to Tehran to establish a seminary in the capital.

'In his private character the Shah is not reputed a cruel man, nor is he an oppressive ruler. Yet his punishments are sometimes terrible, and he makes no effort to relieve his people from the tyranny and extortion of petty governors. The last vice is too deeply ingrained in the civil polity of the country ever to be eradicated by any but a strong and bold hand; but the apparent severity of the Persian Shahs is, I believe, misjudged by our habit of looking upon the working of a despotic government with feelings grown out of and conformed to our democratic institutions.'—Vol. ii. pp. 78—80.

A lamentable view is given of the moral character of the Persians. Accessible and polite, the impression they first make upon a foreigner is pleasing, which is greatly aided by the contrast of their manners to the reserved and cold demeanor of the Turks. But the illusion soon vanishes, and is succeeded by a painful conviction of their moral degradation. Their national character is a compound of vanity, fickleness, and guile. The sacredness of truth or the binding obligations of a promise appears to be utterly unknown among them. 'There does not,' says Mr. Southgate, 'exist a country where society approaches more nearly 'to that (which moralists have sometimes imagined) of a commu-'nity where truth is unknown than in Persia. I learned for 'myself long before leaving the country, that my only security 'was in acting upon the supposition that every man was unworthy 'of trust.' Having accomplished the object of his mission in Persia, our author proceeded to Bagdad, of the ancient opulence and learning of which but few traces are now visible. Two thirds of the population were carried off a few years since by the plague, and the commercial stagnation which thence resulted has not had time to disappear. Here he remained a month, and was hospitably entertained by Colonel Taylor, the British resident. From Bagdad he returned to Constantinople, through Mesopotamia. This route brought him into frequent contact with the Chaldean Christians, of whose relations to the church of Rome an interesting account is given, which we should be glad to extract if we had not already exceeded our limits. We must, however, make room for the following brief passage descriptive of the religious state of this section of the oriental church.

'In a word, these Christians seem to be almost entirely destitute of a spiritual idea of religion. They have no distinct conception of our need of divine aid for the renewal of the heart and for the maintenance

of a religious life. They have little of a feeling of the deep corruption and desperate wickedness of the natural mind, little of an inward sense of their need of a Saviour from sin, little of bright hopes of heaven, little of a knowledge of or sympathy with its bliss of holiness. Their fears, their hopes, and their religious views cluster around the externals of religion and rest there. They have the form, and, among the churches of the east, a remarkably pure form of Christianity, and I am not prepared to say that there are not among them some truly spiritual, though feeble and uninstructed believers in Christ; but after all the conversations which I had, and after all which I saw of their devotions and practices, I could not avoid being deeply impressed with the conviction that Christianity was, with most of them, a form without a power.'—Ib. p. 247.

Mr. Southgate has not detailed the latter part of his journey, as he is about to proceed on a second visit to the countries which it embraced. On this account he has deemed it wise—and we concur with him in opinion—to withhold his first impressions till he has had an opportunity of subjecting them to the test of further observation. He finally arrived at New York on the 30th of December, 1838, having been absent from his native country rather more than two years and a half. His narrative is written in a clear, sensible, and manly style, and though somewhat too minute in its details of his route, never fails to sustain the interest of his reader. His privations and sufferings must have been great, but there is a sweet spirit of Christian confidence and hope diffused throughout his volumes which enables him cheerfully to make the sacrifices which his mission entailed. We take our leave of him with unmingled respect, and earnestly recommend his work to the attentive perusal of our readers.

Art. V. *A Manual of Land and Fresh-Water Shells of the British Islands, with Figures of each of the Kinds.* By William Turton, M. D. A new edition, thoroughly revised and much enlarged, by John Edward Gray, Esq., F.R.S., &c. 8vo. pp. x. and 324. 1840.

It is not many years since conchology was regarded, by even well educated persons, as little more than an elegant amusement,—a collecting of beautiful toys, rather than a serious branch of natural history;—a mode of amusement for persons of leisure, and of exercise for amateur painters in water colours, rather than a field for peculiarly instructive physiology,* and the demonstra-

* See the portions which treat upon the *Invertebrata* in the admirable work of Dr. W. B. Carpenter, *Principles of General and Comparative Physiology.*

tion of a necessary part in the series of animated nature. The opinion was widely spread that to form a correct acquaintance with the animals themselves, upon a scale approaching to adequacy, was altogether hopeless; and that therefore their *dwelling-places* only should be to us the objects of study and arrangement. Men of science were partly alienated and partly misled. Many eminent naturalists, as well as some who were only empirical, labored amidst perplexity and discouragement. Even the industry and sagacity of Linnæus failed him here, as in mineralogy. Yet his classification was extensively adopted and long retained, till the indefatigable researches of Cuvier and Lamarck opened the right direction for the study of this great class, and presented the materials in their proper comprehension of both the shell and the inhabitant. The Linnæan arrangement kept its ground in our country longer than in any other; owing, in a great measure at least, to the obstructions and the prejudices maintained by the melancholy period of war. Since 1815, however, a nobler state of feeling and action has prevailed; the scholars, mathematicians, and scientific men of Britain and France have come to know each other better, and gladly to reciprocate kind offices, and the fruits of their respective attainments. Men whom an honorable veneration had the most attached to the Linnæan arrangement, felt themselves compelled to relinquish it, as irremediably defective, and incapable of furnishing a basis for the annexation of new discoveries. In both these respects, the system of Lamarck is now approved universally, or nearly so. It is founded on just views of physiological facts, and it is therefore susceptible of addition and improvement, without infringing its symmetry.

The number of the known living species of this class, nearly amounts to eight thousand; and, no doubt, many are yet to be discovered. Of fossil species, the larger part of which do not exist in the present condition of the earth, the ascertained number is above five thousand. These numbers far exceed the proportion between the recent and the fossil groups of the other classes of animals, not even excepting the Zoophytes. Thus, of existing animals which nourish their young by milk secreted in teats, there are about twelve hundred known species; but the fossil species are scarcely two hundred: of birds we have six thousand living species; of fossil remains the vestiges in all ways scarcely make out fifty: of living fishes, eight thousand species; of fossil but about one-tenth of that number: of reptiles, including the batrachians, probably near two thousand of existing species, while of the fossil perhaps one hundred have been ascertained. It must however be remembered that some of these classes did not live in circumstances favorable to their being preserved; and another fact is important, that many of the fossil species were rich in their population or number of individuals to

an amazing degree. We return from this digression, into which we were led by the unavoidable reflection of the aid which recent and fossil conchology give to each other. The animals that live in shells are of the most soft and perishable structure; but the habitations themselves, when once imbedded in any mineral stratum, will endure for unknown ages, and, when the native matter has been slowly carried away, each particle has been replaced by the earthly substance moulded upon itself, and finally producing a perfect cast of the specimen. Also, though the same species are not found beyond a moderate ascent into the earth's antiquity, many of the same genera appear; and, when these fail, the principle of analogy holds in a manner the most instructive, and beautifully demonstrating the unity, power, and wisdom of the universal Creator.

Dr. Martin Lister, a century and a half ago, set the example of considering both the shells and the animals, in the second and third parts of his *History of the Animals of England;* and in his three *Anatomical Disquisitions upon Snail and other Land-Shells.* The former work was published in 1678, and the latter in 1694, 5, and 6. After a long period, this just method, revived (as we have said) by Lamarck and Cuvier, is now universally received. The labors of Col. George Montagu, in his *Testacea Britannica,* 1803 and 1808, are entitled to the most honorable notice, in both the respects which we have mentioned. Mr. Gray says of him—'Few have been willing to do sufficient jus-'tice to Montagu's great merit; for he was almost the first zoo-'logist in modern times, who attempted to pay any attention to 'the animals inhabiting shells, and we should recollect that, dur-'ing the whole time he was writing, he was shut out by the war 'from any communication with our continental brethren, and was 'solely dependent on his own energies.'—p. 167.

Of every study, a beginning must be made, and it is always important to make such a beginning with objects and materials the most easily attainable. Let then those who resolve to become acquainted with this interesting department in the beauties and wonders of creation, commence with the *land and fresh-water shells* of our own country. Though inferior in size and splendor to the marine kinds, especially those of hot climates, they are a sufficient preparative for studying the whole science, they furnish a number of examples which will qualify for the extended investigation of exotic specimens, and they may be easily obtained in our rural districts.

The present work, therefore, we hail with great satisfaction: but that satisfaction would have been greater if Mr. Gray had made it entirely an original work of his own. To have so done would have cost him, we think, much less trouble than he has here gone through, and his labour would have been, not only

more agreeable to himself, but more beneficial to his readers. The composite character of the book has prevented the unity of object and symmetry of arrangement which are of the first necessity in a work of science. We naturally and very earnestly desire to know exactly what parts of the volume are Dr. Turton's, and what are the improvements, corrections, and additions of Mr. Gray. The latter portions of matter are certainly extensive, and they ramify through the whole structure of the work. We should also have been especially gratified, speaking on the behalf of the public, if Mr. G. had embodied in the introductory part of this volume a paper of his own, of singular merit, which was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1833.

The alterations in systematic arrangement and nomenclature, in which both British and French naturalists have freely indulged themselves, we cannot but lament. An uncontrollable necessity, we admit, existed till lately; but now, seeing that Lamarck's system is generally received, and that the boldest innovators acknowledge the soundness of its basis, and the physiological propriety of its principles of classification, we cannot but earnestly desire that it might be closely and universally retained. It may and probably will be necessary to constitute new genera, and possibly families, and there can be no doubt that many species are yet to be discovered; but the orders and classes should not be disturbed. In forming new specific names, the greatest care should be taken for precluding any inducement to change hereafter, by securing propriety, simplicity, and etymological purity; and they should be formed from the Latin, while the generic terms are Greek. But alterations which touch class or even order, and changes of generic names which have once received the hall-mark, though some refined argument of more precise notification may be urged, ought to be sternly resisted. Hence, we should have been the more gratified had Mr. Gray adhered to the nomenclature of Lamarck. The deviation which he has permitted himself may plead greater convenience for the confined purpose of the present volume; but this immediate and temporary advantage is not adequate to that of training the student to the strict practice of the language which he must use for universal conchology; since to that most comprehensive form of the science every one ought to aspire. We have also another reason for entertaining this opinion. It is our earnest desire, and we would say our *hope*, that, provided his official engagements permit,* our so well qualified author would compose and

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* Mr. Gray has been appointed to succeed the eminent naturalist, Mr. Children, in presiding over the zoological department of the British Museum; an appointment full of advantage to the public, and reflecting honor upon

publish a complete synopsis of general conchology; presenting the system in the most luminous form, avoiding the extremes of sullen brevity and needless amplification, giving under each genus a sufficiently characteristic list of all the known species, and figures, in the style of those in the volume before us, of two or three species under each genus, and presenting adequate though concise notices of the place, habits, and physiology of the animals. Such a work is wanted in an extreme degree. It could not be small, nor at a low price, but it need not be of extravagant size and cost; and we are persuaded that a suite of volumes, answering to the idea which we indulge, would be gratefully received by the public, and would have an extensive circulation and permanent value.

Our regret is, that Mr. Gray did not succinctly describe Lamarck's ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth classes; the two orders of the eleventh, and the five of the twelfth, and then state that the objects of description in this work belong only to a small part of the third section of the first order, and the first of the second order of the eleventh class, namely, *Cl.* Conchifera, *Ord.* Dimyaira, *Sect.* Lamellipeda, *Fam.* Conchæ and Naiada; and *Ord.* Monomyaira, *Sect.* with ligament marginal and long, *Fam.* Mytilacea: and to the second and third orders of the twelfth class, namely, the Gasteropoda and the Trachelipoda,—orders which are by far the most abundant in species in the present condition of the earth.

Mr. Gray's method appears more simple and easy, but we are persuaded that, for the ulterior and more comprehensive purpose which we have mentioned, it would have been better to keep in the beaten track.

We shall cite a part of the passage to which we refer. It comes under the head 'Systematic Distribution.'

'Mollusca is the name given to that large division of the animal kingdom which is characterised by having a soft fleshy body, destitute both of a bony skeleton supporting jointed limbs, and of a hard ringed skin.

'They are covered with a muscular coat called a *mantle*, endued with a glairy humor, and are generally furnished with a calcareous envelope, called a *shell*, which is secreted by this coat for the protection of the body or of the more vital organs of the animal.

'They are generally elongate, walking on a single central foot or disk, and furnished with one or more pairs of organs on the head and sides. Their nervous system, which furnishes the most distinctive

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the judgment and fidelity of the high personages who have made it. They are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

characters of the larger groups of the animal kingdom, merely consists of a certain number of medullary masses distributed to different parts of the body; one of the masses being placed over the gullet, and enveloping it like a collar.

'This division of the animal kingdom is subdivided into five classes, in the following manner:

'A. *Crawling on a foot placed under the body.*

'I. *Gasteropodes*, which have a distinct head, furnished with eyes and tentacles, and are usually protected by a conical spiral shell.

'II. *Conchifers*, having the mouth placed between the gills, they and the body enclosed between the two leaves of the mantle, which are covered with *two* shelly valves united by a cartilage.

'B. *Destitute of any foot.*

'III. *Brachiopodes*,—having the mouth placed at the base of two spirally twisted ciliated arms, between the two leaves of the mantle, which are covered with two separate shelly valves. They live attached to other marine bodies.

'IV. *Pteropodes*,—having a prominent head, with one or two pairs of fins on the sides of the neck, by which they swim about in the ocean. The body is often covered with a thin glassy conoidal shell.

'V. *Cephalopodes*,—which have a large distinct head, furnished with eight or ten arms, by means of which they walk head downwards.

'Linnæus refers all the animals inhabiting shells to five different genera, viz. *Limax, Ascidia, Anomia, Clio*, and *Sepia*. These genera may be regarded as the types of the classes proposed by Cuvier. Poli had, before his time, considered three of them as orders, under the names of *Mollusca, Reptantia, Subsilientia*, and *Brachiata*.

'The terrestrial and fluviatile Mollusca, of which alone we have to treat in this little work, are confined to the first two of these classes. [Mr. G. merges the Trachelipodes in the Gasteropodes.]

'The shell, which is peculiar to this division of the animal kingdom, may be seen covering the young animal in the egg, before it has gained all its organs; as was observed by Swammerdam, and verified by the more extended observations of Pfeiffer, Turpin, and others. They are easily seen in the egg of the *Limnæi, Physæ, Ancyli*, and *Bithiniæ*, which have a transparent coat.

'The shells of the newly-hatched animals have been frequently considered as distinct species; and some very thin shells of land Mollusca, such as *Vitrinæ*, have been taken for the young of other well-known species, as *Helix hortensis*. These young shells are easily known by their always being of a pale horn colour; the whorls are generally rather irregular, and enlarge very rapidly; and the apex of the whorl which was first formed is generally large and blunt, compared with the size of the shell. They are always destitute of colour, for the animal does not deposit the coloring matter until after it has been hatched; and it is therefore generally easy to distinguish in the young shell (and sometimes also in the adult) that part of the top of the spire which formed the shell of the animal when in the egg.

'The shell is formed by the hardening of the animal matter, which is secreted by certain glands on the surface of the body, by means of

chalky matter which is also secreted by similar glands. It has been stated that the unhatched animal, very shortly after it is formed, begins to make its shell; and, when it is hatched, deposits on the edge of the mouth of the little shell which covered its body in the egg, a small quantity of the mucous secretion. This dries; and is then lined with some mucous matter intermixed with calcareous particles; and when this hardens, it again places on its edge another very thin layer of the mucous secretion, and again lines it as before. The mucous secretion first deposited forms the outer coat of the shell, and is of use in protecting it from injury, while the mucous matter mixed with lime, which is placed within it, forms the substance of the shell itself. This deposition of mucus, and of mucus mixed with calcareous matter, goes on as the animal grows, and feels the want of a larger shell for its protection: the shell is in fact moulded on the body of the animal itself, as the body grows; and for this reason any irregularity in the body is moulded in the shell.

'The animal has the faculty also of mending any break or injury that its shell may have received, if it is not of such a magnitude as to derange all the functions of the animal itself: and it mends them in the same manner as it forms its shell; that is to say, by depositing first a coat of animal matter, and then lining it with mucous matter mixed with chalk, to harden it. But as the animal is usually very desirous of getting the repairs done as quickly as possible, and is most probably damaged by the injury it has received, these repairs are generally much more roughly executed than the shell itself, and commonly destitute of regular color.

'The particles, which vary the color of the surface of the shell, are deposited while the shell is being increased in size, immediately under the outer mucous coat: and, as these particles are also secreted by peculiar glands, the color is always situated in a particular manner on each species, the glands being gradually enlarged, and gradually separated, but not changed in position by the growth of the shell. All the variations exhibited in the coloring of the different species, or in the different individuals of the same species, are produced by the permanent or temporary interruption of the action of these glands.'

—pp. 72—76.

In regard to this citation, we must repeat our regret that no method is furnished to enable the reader to distinguish Mr. Gray's additions from the original matter of Dr. Turton. There is here a clumsiness of diction which is not favorable to perspicuity. We doubt whether an uninstructed person (and for the aid of such in their laudable efforts books like this ought to be adapted), would comprehend the first sentence in the tenth paragraph: 'Animal 'matter, which is secreted by certain glands—by means of chalky 'matter which is also secreted.' Such a reader, attempting to make out the meaning, might ask, how glands secrete animal matter by means of chalky matter; and whether it is proper to say that the chalky matter is secreted at all? The information

intended might be given by saying, that as all animals derive mineral matter, chiefly lime and silex, from water and earth, this class of animals, the Testacea, is endowed with the property of largely separating carbonate of lime from water, which holds that substance in solution, and probably also from mineral masses with which they come into contact, and of combining it with the mucus (gelatin) superficially secreted by appropriate glands: the carb. l. is taken up by another system of glands in its most attenuated (probably molecular) state: it is combined with the mucus, and then deposited in the minutest parts; the substance thus produced soon becomes hard and insoluble, is increased by successive layers, and constitutes the shell. We cannot also but wish that one term had been used constantly to designate the carbonate of lime, for it is possible that some readers may be perplexed, and may suppose that some recondite philosophy lies in the variety of terms, *chalk*, *chalky matter*, *lime*, *calcareous matter*.

The load of diverse nomenclature is, we confess, a necessary evil; but we wish to see it lightened as much as possible. We are, indeed, obliged by the long list of synonyms under every species, and we admit that Dr. Turton and Mr. Gray were not at liberty to correct the etymological mistakes of the authors whom they cite; but we should have been glad to see some corrective administered to the evil, when the multiplication of names arises from nothing but ignorance. Thus we have *Limnæus*, *Limneus*, *Lymnæus*, *Lymnus* (perhaps an error of the printer), *Lymneus*, *Limnea*, and *Lymnæa*,—designations of one well known genus. Of these forms the first only is correct, answering to λιμναῖος, the adjective from λίμνη, *a pool*, *pond*, or *bog*. None of the rest can plead classical propriety; for there is no such word as λύμνη, and there is no adjective from λίμνη making the penult in ει, to justify the termination *eus*. As for the termination of gender, *us* or *a*, that must depend upon the understood substantive. Those who prefer the feminine had probably ἕλιξ, *helix* (a *spiral*, *corkscrew*, &c.), in their minds; but that word is never used, in either Greek or Latin, to signify any animal. The most rational reference of the ellipsis is *Limax* or *Turbo;* therefore we should abide by the masculine ending.

Again: we read 'Ancylus (River Limpet), so called from 'the close connexion by which the circumference of the shell is 'fixed to its attachment; or perhaps from the conical point, re-'sembling the handle of a cover; in which case it should be 'written *Ansulus* or *Ansylus.*' p. 247. Both these suppositions are erroneous. Perhaps the author of the first derivation had in his mind the surgical term (which is itself a barbarized word) *Anchylosis*. The second seems to have been invented on the ground of a supposed formation as a diminutive, from *Ansa;* a philological impossibility. The word is nothing but ἀγκύλος,

bent, crooked; expressing an obvious characteristic of the summit.

Among the water-snails (*Paludinidæ*) a separate genus has been erected under the name *Bithinia;* and having two British species, *tentaculata* and *ventricosa.* In the generic term we strongly suspect some philological oversight. If any allusion were intended to the ancient province in Asia Minor (which seems unlikely), the word should be Bithynia. According to an established and reasonable custom, names of *genera* ought to be from the Greek mint; excepting the instances (barely pardonable, but which, when once established, ought to be saved from innovation) in which this method has been resorted to for honoring any illustrious naturalist. We know not how to apply that solution in the present case: and the term is utterly irreconcilable with the marks of the Greek or even Latin coinage.

Indeed, the whole nomenclature of natural history cries aloud for a thorough revision. The mass of synonyms is an enormous evil, but the collections of them cannot be dispensed with. The more reason there is for wishing that *the best* term were determined, placed at the head of every article, and with rigorous loyalty adhered to.

While making these remarks, we must add our regret that, in the valuable work before us, we find no table explanatory of the abbreviations of reference. These are frequently single letters. Many readers may not be aware that t. stands for both *volume* and *plate*, and f. for a single *figure* on a plate.

For completing our account of this volume, we shall quote a periodical conducted by a combination of the most eminent naturalists in our country; Sir William Jardine, Mr. Prideaux J. Selby, Dr. Johnston, Professor Don, and Mr. Richard Taylor: the *Annals of Natural History*, vol. v. p. 288.

'Mr. Gray has fully supplied the deficiencies [in Dr. Turton's original work], and has produced a work of a very different and far higher character; which, except in name, in a portion of the descriptive letter-press, and in the greater part of the figures accompanying it, may be regarded as entirely new.

'Mr. Gray's *introduction* includes, among other interesting matter, a detailed account of no fewer than fifty species of land and fresh-water shells which have been erroneously, as he believes, introduced into the British list, with his reasons for their exclusion;—an outline of the geographical distribution of the native species, both with reference to other parts of the world and to the topographical divisions of our own country, accompanied by a tabular view;—notices of the localities which different species select;—an enumeration of the *fossil* species, belonging to land and fresh-water genera, hitherto discovered in Great Britain;—an historical review of the additions made to this department of our Fauna by each successive writer, from Merret downwards;—and a list of the British and the principal foreign works treating on the subject.

'An *Artificial Table of the Genera*, constructed for the use of the mere conchologist who confines his observations to the shell, is followed by some observations on the principal points to be attended to in the description of shells, founded on their relation to the animal, with reference to which alone they can be properly studied; and we then arrive at the more strictly systematic part of the work, the only part in which any portion of Dr. Turton's Manual has been retained. But even here, all that has been derived from the original work consists of the mere characters and descriptions of the shells, with a few occasional observations, all of which have undergone revision; while the outline of the distribution of *mollusca*, the characters of the classes, orders, families, and genera, the descriptions of the animals, the physiological and other notices accompanying these descriptions, &c., &c., which constitute the chief value of the work, have been added by Mr. Gray.

'The number of species described amounts to 128, arranged under thirty-eight genera; and all of these (with one exception, *Vertigo angustior*, which as the author states, could not be procured) are figured in the plates. Supplementary tables containing the more recently discovered species, having been added to those previously contained in Dr. Turton's work. The original plates have also, it is stated, been revised, compared with the specimens, and corrected where necessary; and enlarged details of some of the smaller species have been added. Wood-cut illustrations representing *the animals* of the different families, and of most of the genera, together with a few of the shells, have also been introduced in the form of vignettes, and the work is got up in a handsome and creditable style.

'It would be superfluous to recommend such a work, and so edited, to those for whose use it is intended, and to whom it can only be necessary to indicate its existence and contents.'

These sentiments, cited from so high an authority, augment the regret which we have before expressed, that Mr. Gray did not employ his great knowledge and talents in the composition of a work upon a more logical and luminous plan, and entirely his own, rather than have trammelled himself with the arrangements and expressions of another mind. This would have cost him not more trouble, and would have been a greater benefit to the assiduous cultivators of this elegant branch of natural knowledge.

We must add, that both the theoretical interest and *the practical usefulness* of this work are increased by an appendix of such details as are often passed over in silence by learned writers on this kind of subjects, whether from a sort of pride which will not descend to rustic homeliness; or from what is too often the fact, that the student in the cabinet is not always the patient explorer of muddy ponds and ditches. This appendix is an abstract from a recent work of M. Bouchard Chantreux upon the *Land and River Molluscs of the District of Calais.* It relates to the time of activity of this class of animals, day or night, their haunts, their

food, the characters of the eggs and the young, their growth, and their full age.

Mr. Gray concludes his work with the act of impressive adoration; 'O LORD, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom 'hast thou made them all. The earth is full of thy riches.' Ps. civ. 24.

Art. VI. 1. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book for* 1841. *With Poetical Illustrations.* By MARY HOWITT. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

2. *The Juvenile Scrap-Book.* By Mrs. ELLIS. For 1841. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

3. *Forget-Me-Not; a Christmas, New Year's, and Birthday Present for* 1841. Edited by FREDERIC SHOBERL. London: Ackerman and Co.

4. *Letters from under a Bridge and Poems.* By N. P. WILLIS, Esq. London: George Virtue.

5. *The Parlour Table-Book.* Written and Selected by the Author of 'Lives of the English Sacred Poets.' London: Rickerby.

AMIDST our graver occupations it is pleasant occasionally to turn to such volumes as now lie before us. Critics, like schoolboys, require times of recreation, when the mind may unbend itself, and profitably engage in pleasant pastime. Such alternations are as salutary to the mind as to the body, and if not occurring too frequently, will be found to exert a healthful and bracing influence. The intellect cannot always be employed with the abstract discussions of philosophy or the grave ratiocinations of morals without losing its elasticity or contracting the sphere of its usefulness. It is, therefore, wise as well as pleasant to mingle the light with the grave, to turn occasionally from the sage oracles of our philosophy to listen to the songs of Parnassus or the tales of fiction. More progress will thus be made even in abstruse research, than by an entire neglect of the lighter departments of our literature. In such seasons and in such occupations the wearied spirit gathers up its strength, and springs forward with a vigor and buoyancy of which it would otherwise be wholly destitute. We critics are sadly belied in this acrimonious and fault-finding age; many a gentle reader deems us sadly wanting in the charities of life, yet we verily believe that their own countenances are not more radiant with pleasure than ours as we con over the pages and scrutinize the engravings of these beautiful volumes. They are not to be regarded solely or even principally, as works of literature—the

poet and the tale-teller are both subordinate to the artist, from whose pencil their chief attraction and distinctive characteristics are derived. It is as works of art that we regard them, and in this point of view they are not unworthy of patronage.

Fisher's Drawing-Room Scrap-Book is an old favorite with the public, and appears this year with equal claims to favor as on any former occasion. It contains thirty-six well selected engravings descriptive of foreign and English scenery, with a few portraits of distinguished personages—living and dead—intermingled. Some of these plates are of distinguished merit, but having appeared in former works, need not be particularized here. A higher end than the gratification of taste is accomplished by these productions of our artists, they instruct as well as entertain by rendering more distinct and vivid our conception of distant regions and foreign habits. While sitting by our own fireside, with all the comforts of an English home about us, we are thus enabled to gain some faint conception of the sublime and beautiful aspects under which the works of God are to be seen in distant lands. This is no trifling advantage, and may be made subservient to high ends in the development and cultivation of the intellect. The present volume, like its immediate predecessor, is edited by Mrs. Howitt, who, in a short preface, characterized by good feeling, gratefully acknowledges the favor extended to her former labors, and avows her hope that she shall continue to deserve it. 'An author's 'best rewards,' says Mrs. Howitt, 'is the good will of the public; 'I say his *best*, for the public has discrimination, and does not 'zealously, and with one voice, applaud what is unworthy,— 'therefore to have won the public goodwill, is to have deserved 'it. I am grateful, and will continue to deserve it.'

The plates are accompanied by a running lyrical commentary, displaying the striking peculiarities of the editor's muse. Mrs. Howitt frequently sacrifices the melody of her versification to the production of graphic effect. She paints her scenes to the eye, and they stand life-like before us, but her end is attained at a cost which must render her productions less popular with many fastidious readers than they otherwise would be. The following stanzas are a fair sample of the literary contents of the volume.

'KATHARINE AIRLIE.

'Among the old traditions of my own family, is one which always interested me greatly. It is of a gentleman whose name was John Vavasour. He was handsome, and of good fortune; and, about the age of five and twenty, married a young lady from the north, by name Katharine Airlie. She was of good family, but without fortune; singularly handsome, and of the most amiable manners. Vavasour was of dissipated habits, and lived much in London, associating with the gayest men of the time. He never acknowledged himself as

married, but kept his wife, whom he treated with great neglect, and even cruelty, at a small house in Huntingdonshire. His dissipation led to his ruin; and with broken health, and sorely diminished means, came remorse, and some kindly affection towards his unoffending and ill-used wife. Like the prodigal son, he returned, intending to atone for so many years of unkindness: but he came too late; she had been buried only a few days, having died, as was believed, of a broken heart. His distress of mind at this unlooked-for event overturned his reason, and for about seven or eight years thereafter, he was the inmate of a madhouse.

'Oh, take that picture from the wall!
Dark shadow o'er my soul doth fall!
The past, the past returneth all!
Why didst thou die so early?
I dare not look upon thy face;
Grief rends my heart like black disgrace;
I think upon thy last embrace,
Ill-fated Katharine Airlie!

'Thy father's bending form I see;
Thy gentle mother's trust in me,—
I think of them, then think of thee,
And curse myself severely!
I loved thee in my sinless youth;
Thou gavest me thy maiden truth;
Thy heart, thy love, thy life in sooth;
My generous Katharine Airlie!

'Thou never spakest word unkind!
I only bore an altered mind;
I, I was fool, perverse, and blind;
Thou loved'st me sincerely!
Thou never spakest word severe;
I saw unmoved thy pleading tear;
Thy words of woe I would not hear,
Heart-broken Katharine Airlie!

'Thou art avenged, mine injured wife!
I with myself have bitter strife:
I feel the curse is on my life.
And I deserve it fairly!
I cannot bless thee now I would!
Thou hast departed to the good.
It was not meet, not just I should,
Who wronged thee, Katharine Airlie!

'Oh, let me go! I feel this room
Like to some prison-house of doom,
More dark, and narrower than the tomb,
Where art thou gone so early!

But little hold of life I have!
My brain is rocking like the wave!
Thou wilt not spurn me from thy grave,
My wife, my Katharine Airlie!'

The volume contains four posthumous lays of Miss Landon, the former editor, whose premature and tragical end was regarded with deep sorrow by a numerous class of admirers. We select the following for its simplicity and tenderness.

'NEFTAH IN THE JEREED.

'The word Jereed implies the Country of the Palm Branches; and the little azure sparrow, the subject of the following poem, is peculiar to that district, and is called The Father of Friendship.

'It is a little azure bird,
It has a plaintive cry,
It singeth mournful to the eve,
When none beside are nigh.

'But not the less its gentle song
Ariseth for the noon;
The day has not a lonely hour,
Unknowing that sweet tune.

'It loveth those with whom it lives,
It loveth where it dwells;
When the green palm extends its shade
Above the desert wells.

'Never those azure wings expand,
But on their southern wind;
At once it dieth, if it leave
Its native sands behind.

'It pineth with familiar love
For its accustomed sky;
And even in a golden cage,
It lieth down to die.

'And for the love it beareth them,
The natives hold it true,
That whosoever kills this bird,
Himself must perish too.

'A simple but a kind belief,
To keep it free from scaith;
And blessed whate'er in this cold world
Awakens love or faith.'

The Juvenile Scrap-Book will prove an acceptable visitor to our young friends, whose favor it solicits, and for whose entertainment and instruction it is well adapted. The volume contains sixteen engravings, with appropriate historical and descriptive illustrations by Mrs. Ellis, who in a modest preface craves indulgence for her present labor on the ground of her sojourn in a foreign land, and consequent separation from the 'impressions 'and associations' of home. In common with a large circle of friends, we deeply regret the cause of her absence from England, and trust the speedy renewal of her esteemed husband's health will render that absence but temporary. A life of such varied and useful labors can ill be spared by the church of Christ. Mrs. Ellis has succeeded very happily in linking together several of the plates, and has thus produced a more striking contrast or a more continuous and instructive narrative than could otherwise have been effected. As an instance of the former we may specify *the Heathen Temple at Tivoly*, *Malan Cathedral*, and *Dormeilleuse*, the scene of Felix Neff's evangelical ministry; and of the latter, *Loch-Leven Castle*, *Escape of Queen Mary*, and her *Embarkation*. The following stanzas, forming part third of the poetic illustration of the first of these groups, will give an average specimen of Mrs. Ellis's muse.

'THE PILGRIM'S REST.

'From the light of southern skies,
Where the stately columns rise—
Wanderer from the valleys green,
Wherefore seek this wintry scene?
Here no stranger steps may stay,
Turn thee, pilgrim—haste away.

'Here, what horrors meet thy sight,
Mountain wastes, of trackless height;
Where the eternal snows are sleeping,
Where the wolf his watch is keeping,
While in sunless depths below,
See the abodes of want and woe!

'Here, what comfort for thy soul!
Storm and tempest o'er thee roll,
Spectral forms around thee rise,
In thy pathway famine lies;
All is darkness, doubt, and fear,
Man is scarce thy brother here.'

'Tempter—cease. Thy words are vain.
'Tis no dream of worldly gain,
'Tis no hope in luxury dressed,
'Tis no thought of earthly rest,
Earthly comfort, or repose,
Lures me to these Alpine snows.

'I would seek, amid this wild,
Fervent faith's devoted child.
Holy light is on his brow,
From his lip are words that glow,
In his bosom depths of love,
Filled from heaven's pure fount above.

'I would follow, where his feet
Mountain-rocks and dangers meet.
I would join his simple band,
Linked together, heart and hand;
There I fain would bend my knee,
'Tis the place of prayer for me.'

The Forget Me Not appears this year with the familiar countenance of an old companion, whose snatches of poetry and pleasant tales always make his society productive of hilarity and entertainment. The engravings possess no great merit, but several of the literary contributions are entitled to considerable praise. We have marked for extract two poems by our old favorite Mr. Charles Swain, the one entitled *A Song*, and the other *The Wife of Sir Walter Raleigh*, both beautiful and worthy of preservation, but we must wave our purpose in favor of the following, by J. Forbes Dalton, Esq., in which, if we mistake not, many of our readers will recognize feelings with which their own hearts have been familiar.

THE FIRST-BORN.

'Hope and fear, philosophers say,
Chequer our lives like night and day;
And so, perhaps, they usually may.
But pleasanter far are feelings between,
Like the summer sunset and twilight scene,
When the brilliant heavens are all serene,
And the earth is clad in her darkest green,
And we quietly gaze in deep delight,
With our hopes and our fears all out of sight,
Not wishing for day nor dreading the night.

'Now, in such a mood for about a year,
It might have been less, but 'twas very near,
Had our good yeoman lived. For why?
He'd won the maiden of his choice,
His hopes and fears had all gone by,
He'd nothing left but to rejoice.

'And that he did in such a style,
It would have cheered your heart to see;
He seemed to live on Mary's smile,
And laughed with such a boyish glee.

How rapidly time sped his flight!
He loved as when love first began,
She was his whole and sole delight,
And Mary loved her 'own good man.'
A happier home, a happier lot,
They both declared the world held not.

'But hope and fear, long driven away,
Both came back on the self-same day.
Mary was ill and kept her bed,
John felt a very odd pain in his head,
Which his sister said was merely a whim,
And nobody else seemed to care for him.

'For there came an old lady who bustled about,
And contrived very soon all his household to rout.
For, although not a lady of high degree,
That she deemed herself mistress 'twas easy to see.
Yet, though ever in motion, still quiet was she,
As she glided along and appeared to be
Engaged in some awful mystery.

'How Mary was, John wished to know;
The nurse declared he 'must not talk;'
He paced his parlour to and fro,
But 'there,' she said, he 'must not walk.'

'He sat him down and laid his head
Upon his palm—all—all alone;
His manly heart o'ercharged with dread,
Yet dared he scarcely sigh or groan.

'Yet might he breathe a silent prayer
To him who can in silence hear;
He did—and lighter grew his care,
And Hope resumed the place of Fear.

'He listened, gazing on the floor,
Strange fancies o'er him 'coming thick,'
While the old clock behind the door
Had never seemed so slow to tick.

'And thus his anxious watch he kept,
Oft murmuring his loved one's name,
Lonely as though the household slept,
Till from her room a low sound came.

''Twas scarcely sound—but like the fall
Of fairy footsteps gathering round;
Then whisperings soft—then silence all,
As though 'twere hallowed ground.

'Then broke the spell—not with a word,
But an infant's cry. How it made him start!

He listened and he thought he heard
An echo in his heart.

'Twas nature's voice. That feeble cry
Awoke paternal love and pride;
Feelings with death alone to die,
Yet still he trembled for his bride;
Till his sister tripped in with a whisper of joy,
Saying, 'Mary is well, John, and so is your boy.'

'It now only remains of our First-born to state
What is told so exceedingly well in our plate.
His aunt and the nurse in his long-clothes arrayed him,
And then in the arms of the latter they laid him;
And so, in due form, to his father conveyed him,
And with high approbation and smiles surveyed him,
(As the painter's talent hath deptly portrayed him)
While they both ostentatiously displayed him,
As highly delighted as though they had made him.'

The volume contains many prose contributions, with some of which we have been much pleased. Among these may be noted *The School Master on Board*, by Captain Howard. *The Old Sexton's Chronicle*, by Mrs. Walker. *Royal Christenings*, by Miss Strickland. And more especially *The King's Banner Bearer*, by Miss Lawrance.

Mr. Willis' volume which we have placed fourth on our list, does not properly range with the class of Annuals. It possesses, however, some of their characteristics, and in the absence of a stricter classification may be advantageously noticed here. It consists of two parts, the first containing eighteen letters, descriptive of the scenery and mode of life, on the banks of the Susquehannah, where the author has fixed his residence after many years travel in Europe and the East;—and the second a collection of poems which has appeared in a separate form in America, and obtained considerable popularity. Of the letters, we find it somewhat difficult to speak. They are as peculiar as the title under which they are ushered into the world, and if they find favor, it must be with minds differently constituted from ours. We love wit and humour, and can make some excuse for their occasional excess, but we confess ourselves unable to wade through the strange jumble of all human things which these letters contain, without weariness and occasional disgust. There are redeeming passages in which the fine fancy and poetic temperament of the author shine forth unclouded, but the pleasure these minister is purchased too dearly by the perusal of the whole series. The poetry is of a different order, and deserves all the popularity which it has obtained among our Trans-atlantic friends, several of the pieces breathe the genuine spirit of Parnassus, and

would be creditable to the best of our living poets. We have been particularly pleased with *Malanie*, *Lord Ivon and his Daughter*, *The Wife's Appeal*, *The Leper*, and *The Healing of the daughter of Jairus*. These, however, are too long for extract, and do not admit of abridgment. We must, therefore, confine ourselves to the following, which, though beautiful of its kind, scarcely does justice to our author.

'There's something in a noble boy,
A brave, free-hearted, careless one,
With his unchecked, unbidden joy,
His dread of books and love of fun,
And in his clear and ready smile,
Unshaded by a thought of guile,
And unrepressed by sadness—
Which brings me to my childhood back,
As if I trod its very track,
And felt its very gladness.
And yet it is not in his play,
When every trace of thought is lost,
And not when you would call him gay,
That his bright presence thrills me most.
His shout may ring upon the hill,
His voice be echoed in the hall,
His merry laugh like music trill,
And I in sadness hear it all—
For, like the wrinkles on my brow,
I scarcely notice such things now—
But when, amid the earnest game,
He stops, as if he music heard,
And, heedless of his shouted name
As of the carol of a bird,
Stands gazing on the empty air
As if some dream were passing there—
'Tis then that on his face I look,
His beautiful but thoughtful face
And, like a long-forgotten book,
Its sweet, familiar meanings trace,
Remembering a thousand things
Which passed me on those golden wings,
Which time has fettered now—
Things that came o'er me with a thrill,
And left me silent, sad, and still,
And threw upon my brow
A holier and a gentler cast,
That was too innocent to last.

'Tis strange how thought upon a child
Will, like a presence, sometimes press,

And when his pulse is beating wild,
And life itself is in excess—
When foot, and hand, and ear, and eye,
Are all with ardor straining high—
How in his heart will spring
A feeling whose mysterious thrall
Is stronger, sweeter far than all;
And on its silent wing,
How with the clouds he'll float away,
As wandering and as lost as they!'

The volume contains, in addition to a handsome portrait of the author, ten engravings from the well known pencil of Mr. Bartlett, illustrative of various points of scenery referred to in the letters.

The Parlour Table-Book differs in character from all the preceding, it is less adapted for immediate popularity, but will be more permanently prized and be more frequently referred to than any of them. It consists of a selection from a wide range of authors eminent in their several departments, and will be found both a useful and interesting companion in the brief intervals of time which occur during more severe and continuous occupations.

Art. VII. 1. *An Act to provide for the Regulation of Municipal Elections in England and Wales, September,* 1835.

2. *The Times Newspaper, November* 5, 1840.

THE object of the Municipal Corporation Act was to elevate the moral condition of the people of England;—to teach the inhabitants of our cities and towns habits of self-respect;—and, by accustoming them to self-government, to cause them to appreciate free political institutions. Its framers aimed, not only at the suppression of corrupt bodies, that tainted the administration of justice, alienated public property, and bid defiance to public opinion, but desired to erect a system that, by bringing the democratic principle into play, should develop the active faculties—commercial and intellectual—of the community, and keep alive a spirit favorable to liberty. They felt that the principal security of freedom consisted in the administration of local business *by the people themselves;* for by such administration citizens acquire attachment to public interests and experience of public affairs, and thus become qualified to exert an influence over the supreme legislature.

Now, if instead of securing these ends, the municipal system corrupts and demoralizes the mass of the people resident in the municipal towns, and thus prepares them to be venal and willing slaves, it becomes a great public duty to examine that system in all its details, and endeavor to discover the leak or rotten plank that threatens to make it shipwreck.

We have now had five years experience of the municipal corporation act; and the result is a settled persuasion that *without the application of the Ballot and one or two other correctives, it will completely disappoint the intention of its originators, and produce a frightful catalogue of social and political evils.* There is an outcry among all honest men against the scenes which now attend municipal elections. Bribery, undue influence, intimidation, and drunkenness working among constituencies widely extended by *household suffrage!* These are but half the evils; and do not include frauds in the parish lists, frauds on the revision, frauds by personation, frauds by violation of promise, frauds by the forgery of voting papers, frauds by the circulation of false reports, and frauds by voting twice or more frequently:—November evils, falling as thickly and regularly as the asteroids!

It is published from the house-top that the Tories are rapidly regaining power in the corporations. Who can be surprised at such a circumstance? Ought we not to regard it as a consequence as necessary as that effect should follow its cause? The system lays the poorer rate-payers open to the seduction of money and intoxicating liquors; and the Tories have always funds at hand for the purposes of corruption. *The fact that the municipal electors give their suffrages to a party who never would have given them the franchise; who now protest against popular elections; and who would (if they could) wrest all power from the hands of those electors, proves that sinister influences have been brought into play.*

We shall, without waiting to analyse the statements* of 'conservative gain,' paraded by the Tory newspapers, which are certainly, in many instances, exaggerated, proceed to the discussion of the subject before us; observing the following order:—

First. The qualification of municipal electors.

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* The following is a summary of the results of the elections :—

The Liberals succeeded in . .	36 towns.
The Tories	27
Liberals succeeded unopposed in	15
Tories	17
Elections divided . . .	5—37
	100

Liberals completely successful or nearly so in	19 towns.
Tories	11

Second. The system of registration, and the revision of the voters' lists.

Third. The practices obtaining during the canvass and election.

Fourth. The mode of voting.

I. The constituencies of our municipalities at present consist of every male person of full age, who on the last day of August, in any year, shall have occupied premises within the borough continuously *for the three previous years*, and shall for that time have been an inhabitant householder, within seven miles of the borough, provided that he shall have been rated to the poor rates, and shall have paid them and all borough rates *during the time of his occupation*.

Against this qualification three different kinds of objections have been urged:—that it was too extensive; an objection made by the Tories: that it, needlessly, has been narrowed to those resident *three* years; a complaint made by friends of popular election and extended suffrage: and that by requiring proof of the payment of poor rates, not for the six months preceding August, but for the whole of the three years, an extraordinary facility is given to those interested in disfranchising electors; a fact which every one who has had opportunities of practical experience must readily admit. The first of these objections we think was fairly met by Lord John Russell in the speech with which he introduced the Municipal Bill to parliament. The noble lord, in stating the reason for adopting the qualification in question,—that is the existing qualification, observed:—

'I think we should consider those whom I may call *permanent* rate-payers, the inhabitants of the town, as perfectly fit and qualified to choose persons to represent them in its common council and government. It may often happen, and I think it does often happen, that the lower class of rate-payers, however well known and long established in the town, do not take such a warm interest in the election of members of parliament as not to be open to the various modes of seduction, and to those corrupt arts which have been ordinarily resorted to, to procure votes. I do not think that the same thing can be said when you place before them the propriety of choosing their own townsmen, perhaps their next-door neighbors, as persons fit to have a voice in the government of their own town. But there is another reason, as it seems to me, more conclusive than all, which is, that these rate-payers contribute directly to the expenses of the town. By this bill they will be obliged to pay the borough rate which may be required; and it is absolutely essential that they should not be exempt from it. Then according to the established principles, to the known and recognised principles of the constitution, it is right and proper that those who contribute their money should have a voice in the elections of persons by whom their money is expended.'

But the principles appealed to by Lord John are denied by the Tories. However they may disguise their feelings, they dislike the democratic character and tendencies of this qualification; and, when they have it in their power, *will make the evils of the municipal system, to which we now draw attention, an excuse for defacing its essential features;* unless those evils are remedied, in due time, by a friendly hand. They boast at present, for the sake of turning public opinion in their favor, of the 'triumphs' which they are achieving in the boroughs; but in private conversation, and occasionally in their newspapers, the fact that they meditate the invasion of existing civic rights, oozes out. An illustration of this remark is supplied by a recent article in the Times. Boasting of the achievements which the money, liquor, and full-stretched influence of the Tory party has accomplished, that journal * observes:—

'These municipal elections, be it remembered, are beyond all question the most *popular* appeals that are ever made to any English constituency. They are not confined to the £10 householders, like the parliamentary elections, nor yet to the freemen of the boroughs—still less to £50 tenants or freeholders, as in the counties. They rest upon *household-suffrage*—the very point which some of our ultra-reformers are now proposing as an improvement on the franchises conferred by the Reform Bill.

* * * * *

'Consider for a moment the two parties in any great town. The Conservatives, where are they to be found? Do they not embrace the far larger proportion of the higher ranks of the middle classes, including nearly all the active virtue and felt benevolence of the community? Of the most self-denying and resolute of all classes—the sincerely religious—must we not seek more than nine-tenths among the Conservative party? And can it be, that these things should fail to exert an influence, growing, as we now see it, year by year, over the judgment and choice of the respective constituencies?'

Yet notwithstanding this state of things, which one would have thought was sufficiently satisfactory, the Times, in the very same article, darkly hints that the new corporations are doomed to destruction. '*As to the graver question,*' it observes, '*of whether 'the new corporations, in themselves, are likely to prove beneficial 'to the inhabitants of these towns, or otherwise—that is a matter 'the decision of which must necessarily be postponed until honest and 'respectable men shall have had a sufficient trial of the working of 'the whole system.*' It is true that the present franchise is likely

* Vide Times, November 5.

to answer the purposes of the Tories; but it obliges them to court the suffrages of the people, and drains their coffers!

It is argued by those who object to the restriction to *three* years residence, that a much shorter period is required as the qualification of the parliamentary constituency, who exercise a much more important trust. But it is doubtful whether any man can acquire a sufficient knowledge of *local* circumstances to qualify him to take a part in municipal matters, in a shorter period than three years. The interests in the custody of parliament can be appreciated equally well by a man whether he resides at Exeter, Birmingham, or York:—*cœlum non animum mutat.* But peculiar local interests are not so readily understood. Beside, the body of ten-pound householders are necessarily a more permanent body, less liable to fluctuation, than a poorer and more widely extended class; and it may well be replied, that the restriction to three years continuous residence is necessary to prevent the improper manufacture of votes to carry some particular point. To serve the cause at the election in 1826, no less than 1870 freemen were made in Maldon; and it is well to provide against so scandalous an abuse in the reformed municipal corporations.

We object, however, to, and strongly protest against, the provision *which requires proof of the payment of rates for the whole of the three years.* It is the source of frauds without number. The parish books having, during that interval, passed through the hands of *six different overseers,* and perhaps as many assistants, the most extraordinary facilities are afforded for the erasure of names and items, and the foisting in of charges of arrears. And yet the provision is as *useless* as it is mischievous. It has been framed for the purpose of securing the payment of rates. But it is perfectly superfluous. The Poor Law Amendment act does not require its aid. An overseer is *compelled to make his payments quarterly.* If he fails to do so punctually, by 'the act* 'to amend the laws relating to the assessment and collection of 'rates for the relief of the poor,' he is liable to have his goods sold. He is obliged, therefore, to collect the rates immediately, and to allow no arrears. Finally his accounts are audited, confirmed, and allowed by the auditor before he leaves office. To suppose, therefore, that arrears remain due, except in the case of publicly known defaulters, is a gross absurdity. The mischievous operation of this provision will be better seen when we come to the second division of our subject.

II. *The system of registration and the revision of voters' lists.*

It is now generally admitted that REGISTRATION is a matter of

* August, 1830.

the highest political importance: and it cannot be too often impressed upon the public mind, that if the liberal cause is abandoned in the revision-court, it is abandoned irretrievably. Beside the hostility of *objectors*, most people will be surprised to learn that the municipal franchise is subject to *six perils* from overseers.

1. By the *omission* of a householder's name from the *rate-book*.
2. By putting his name *in pencil* in the book.
3. By omitting to *give credit* for paid rates.
4. By omitting his name from the *citizens' list* delivered by the overseer to the town clerk.
5. By informality in the title or superscription of such list.
6. By erasures in the rate-book and the insertion of spurious arrears.

It matters not that a man has established his claim in 1840; the ignorance or misconduct of an overseer, in either of these cases, may deprive him of his vote in 1841! Is not this monstrous? Does it not appear vexatious and tyrannical in the extreme, that householders should *annually* be subjected to the inconvenience of proving qualifications which they have already proved, and meeting objections which have already been met and answered? In a recent paper * on the subject of parliamentary registration, we made an observation which is equally applicable to the present case; 'When a man has once proved, to the satisfaction of the court, that he occupies a house of value sufficient to entitle him to the franchise, on what plea can he *annually* be required to prove the validity of his title, so long as he continues to occupy the same premises?' The liability to objection every year is one of the most vicious parts of the whole system. It produces exasperation and annoyance. It disfranchises multitudes who are persecuted by hired Tory objectors. *An effort is now generally made to pack the parishes with Tory overseers, in order that the rate books may be tampered with; or that Tory objectors and agents may have free access to the parochial records.* In many cases Tory objectors and electioneering under-strappers are appointed as deputy overseers. The provincial newspapers abound with the most shameful cases that arise in this manner. In many instances men who have died or have removed (who can therefore be *personated*), are retained on the citizens' lists. In others, liberals are omitted by tens from the rate books and lists!! and it is now an established plan, in cases where a *landlord* pays the rates of a number of houses, to give a receipt for A. B. 'and others:' thus destroying the proof of rating in the case of the 'others!' These facts must be forced upon the

* *Eclectic Review*, August, 1840.

attention of the legislature; for unless the evils we complain of be remedied, it is obvious that the unprotected burgesses will be borne down by Tory combinations.

We select two cases, which will illustrate, in a striking manner, the remarks which we have here made; one, where the omission of a householder's name from the rate book caused his disfranchisement; the other, where the insertion of spurious arrears of rates by a Tory agent was detected. We quote them from a liberal journal published in York.*

'John Johnson, the occupier of a house in Bilton Street, in the parish of St. Cuthbert, claimed to be inserted on the burgess list. He was objected to on the ground that he had not been duly rated. Johnson was conscious that he had regularly and punctually paid his rates. The rate book was produced, and it was discovered that in the rate of the 7th of January, 1839, *his name was omitted from the rate book.* A *blank* was left where his name should have been; but the house which he occupied was rated as usual, and the rate due from it was entered down as paid!!! On reference it was found that Mr. Johnson's name was on the rate immediately *before* that in January, 1839, and in the rate next after the same January. It was proved by a witness in court that Johnson had occupied the house for upwards of three years, and had not removed from it, or for a moment ceased to reside in it. Yet the court deprived this man of his vote!!!'

Now this case arose out of the fact that proof of the payment of rates, during the whole three years, is most unnecessarily required. The omission of the name may have arisen from accident or design; but in the next we have a case of positive malice and fraud:—

"Robert Scott, of Redeness-street, was objected to by the Tories. The ground of objection was demanded. It was replied that he had not paid all his rates. The overseer's books were produced, and it was discovered that in the rate of the 4th of July, 1838, the sum of *three half pence!!* was charged to him as arrears, while it appeared that he had paid the sum of 2s. 7½d. It was urged that these arrears *had never been demanded,* yet the court refused to allow the vote. On looking closely at the book it was discovered that there had been an *erasure* where the 7½d. had been written, yet the court refused to allow the claim! Fortunately the overseer's receipts were produced; and it was found that the receipt had been given by Mr. Ralph Horner (overseer) for 2s. 9d.!!! The vote was allowed at length, and Mr. Garwood observed that it was a most barefaced and disgraceful attempt to disfranchise an elector."

These cases prove how much depends upon overseers; and

* The Yorkshireman.

what chances the present system gives to objectors, to the disadvantage of electors.

At the recent revision at Liverpool, so extraordinary a number of objections were made by the Tories, that, at the conclusion of the revision, 5,000 objections remained undisposed of!!! The law provides that the revision shall commence on the 1st of October, and conclude on the 15th of that month. The court sat for fifteen days: yet all was labor in vain; for eventually they had to fall back upon the list of 1839. The Mayor of Liverpool in closing the court with propriety observed;* 'A legislative measure 'must, in my opinion, be applied to remedy a grievance so great 'as that which, for fifteen days, we have endured. It is not possi-'ble to revise a list of objections so indiscriminately made on this 'occasion as to exceed 7000 names; and I do hope and trust that, 'in future, either by making the objector pay costs where the ob-'jection shall be deemed frivolous and vexatious, or by some other 'plan, the evil of which we have all so just cause to complain may 'be removed.' His worship submitted the matter to the town clerk, and the following is the opinion of that officer upon the unprecedented circumstances of the case;—an opinion which appears to be consistent with the law:—

'Being called upon by the worshipful the Mayor, as the Town-clerk, to advise him as to the course which, according to law, he ought to pursue with regard to the list of burgesses now before him, I submit my opinion as follows:—The revision has now proceeded from the 1st of the month to this day, the 15th, inclusive. It commenced with a list of 14,417 names,—a list of 607 claimants in addition,—and a list of objections to 7303 names of the 14,417; and now, after having proceeded the full period allowed by law, save only so much of this day as would be barely sufficient to complete the requisite formalities, there remain of cases of objection unheard 5000, interspersed over the various pages of the list. The whole list is not revised;—what is required to be done by the act is not done;—the list is in point of fact imperfect and informal. The question then is, whether his worship can carry into effect the following provision part of the 18th section of the Municipal Corporations' Act:—'And the Mayor shall, in open court, write his initials against the names respectively struck out or inserted, and against any party of the said lists in which any mistakes shall have been corrected, and shall sign his name to every page of the several lists so settled.' If his worship should sign every page of this list he must certify 5000 cases as revised when not one of them has been before the court. In order to be prepared to advise his worship on the present state of things, which for some days past has been expected, I have availed myself of the opinions of eminent counsel,—amongst them Sir Frederick Pollock and Mr. Wightman,—and all

* Vide Liverpool Mercury.

whom I have consulted concur in the opinion, that his worship ought not to sign a list under these circumstances. The consequence will be that, in the opinion of all the counsel whom I have advised with, no burgess roll can be founded upon this list, and the provision of the Municipal Amendment Act, 1 Victoria, c. 78, s. 6, will attach. That enactment is as follows :—'And be it enacted, that in every borough in which, by reason of any neglect or informality, a new burgess roll of the said borough shall not have been duly made in any year within the time directed by the said act, the burgess roll which was in force before the time appointed for the revision shall continue in force until such new burgess roll shall have been duly made.' As to my own opinion I at first considered this case one of difficulty ; but after the fullest consideration I now entertain a decided opinion that the only proper course is for the Mayor not to sign the list ; and that the consequence must be that the burgess roll of last year will continue in force : which opinion I give to his worship under all the responsibility that can attach to it.'

R. Radcliffe, Town-clerk.

Town-hall, Oct. 15th, 1840.

The result was that several hundred qualified electors were disfranchised.—Yet the Tories boast of 'triumphs,' achieved in this manner ! The same party pursued a similar course at Leeds, and brought matters to the same issue. The result is, that 1300 persons, who would have possessed the franchise if the revision had been completed, have been disfranchised ! ! ! No one can peruse the speech of the Mayor of Leeds* without astonishment and indignation :—

'Our powers (said his worship) have now ceased by effluxion of time, and it is hardly necessary for me to announce to you that the Court has not been able to get through the revision so as to complete the new burgess roll. This has been caused by the very great unparalleled number of objections and claims which have been brought forward. The claims might very well have been got through, if this great number of objections had not been made, for by a statement which I now hold in my hand, being an analysis of the revision that has taken place in the first five wards, I have to announce to you that the number of objections substantiated is very small indeed. In those wards containing objections, there have not been *one hundred* made good. (Loud cries of 'shame, shame.') This is my opinion, and, as I think it will appear to every one who is disposed to consider the matter, is a very reckless abuse of the privilege which is allowed by law. Had it not been for that, as I have before said, the revision would have been got through, and the new roll made out ; but as it is I presume that the next election of counsellors for the borough must take place on the roll of the last year. There will be disfranchised in

* Vide Leeds Mercury.

the five wards which have been gone through upwards of *thirteen hundred* persons who would have possessed the franchise if this revision had been completed.'

Lord John Russell may be considered the parent of the Municipal Corporation Act :—will he be content to leave it in its present imperfect and anomalous condition ? If the practices we have described, which grow up and are fostered by the present system, are not put an end to, the whole municipal power of the country will become vested in the hands of the Tories; and the poor population of our cities and boroughs will be rendered reckless and depraved. Lord John Russell owes it to himself and the country to bring the subject before Parliament in the ensuing session. Let us now turn our attention to *the practices* which prevail during the canvass and election.

III. It is impossible to witness the scenes at a municipal election without feelings of intense disgust. One set of candidates canvass the wards, leaving the impression that there is *no other candidate in the field.* An advantage is thus gained over their opponents; for when once promises have been made, many electors will not retract them. The next step is to open houses, where all comers are supplied with pipes and ale. These houses are nightly visited by the candidates, who sit with the company and often carouse with them till midnight! Punch and ale are administered freely ;—every nerve is strained ;—customers canvass their tradesmen. Those who have promised their votes, are urged to violate their promises, and vote for the other party: and those who cannot be induced to do so, are entreated to go out of the way, and not vote as they originally promised. Banners and music increase the excitement; and the canvass may well be described, in the words of the Rev. Sydney Smith as, 'the ten 'days dominion of Mammon and Belial!' The most venal are directly bribed; and others are 'set down' as messengers, runners, and canvassers. In many places it is impossible to carry on a contested election without employing a large number of the latter class; who, being labouring and working men, say that they cannot give up their days' work without compensation. Thus the present system of voting begets canvassing, and canvassing begets practices unfavourable to the independence of electors.

The day of election comes on; and, excepting the bathing in horse-ponds, the hootings, duckings, and fractures of olden times, we have every evil attending parliamentary elections in operation. Business commences with *general breakfasts* supplied gratuitously. To those breakfasts, the Tories invite all those voters who are about to *split between both parties ; i. e.* give one vote to a Liberal, and the other to a Tory. As votes are delivered by *voting papers*, in the municipal system, an effort is made, at those breakfasts, to *change the voting papers.* A Tory agent asks

a voter to allow him to see if his voting paper is correctly filled up :—the agent says 'It is all right;' and slips back a paper, in which the names of the *two* Tory candidates are inserted, instead of the *Liberal* and *Tory* candidates ! ! Some are unable to read, and in the excitement of the first rush to the poll, it is almost impossible in any case, to detect the trick. Again : Tory agents lie in wait for stray voters;—invite them into public houses; and while they ply them with liquor, make alterations and erasures in their papers. These are the methods by which the Tories succeed; and at victories achieved by such degrading means, sounds of exultation ring through the land ! The manœuvres of Liverpool and Leeds are celebrated as 'conservative triumphs;' and changes effected by force of bribery, are pointed to as evidence of reaction in public opinion !

Without dwelling longer upon scenes which are familiar to many of our readers, and can readily be imagined by all, we shall advert to the last of the four points, which we proposed more especially to notice.

IV. *The mode of voting at municipal elections.*

The votes are taken by a most defective method of Ballot. It is not an open, *viva-voce* mode of voting; nor is it *secret.* It, in some cases, certainly protects a voter from sudden ebullitions of mob-wrath; but it does not keep him safe from his employer, or his customer, nor protect him from the vengeance of the Tory party, which is 'steady as the march of time, and keen as the 'scent of death.' It affords facilities to fraud, as we have already demonstrated; and gives security to the briber that the voter will fulfil his corrupt contract. A correct account of the polling is taken from the voting papers by the town clerk, which is open to public inspection. The voter, therefore, knows if he does not vote according to his bargain, that he will receive *no pay.* The presiding alderman, too, at the polling place of each ward, inspects each paper; and partizans, thus presiding, are known to smile on, bow to, and even say, 'thank you sir,' to the voter who has voted in conformity with his wishes. There is a Ballot box on the table, but it is useless; as there is a spy set on the electors, who intimates by his manner the direction of the votes, so correctly, that an account of the poll is published every hour ! The British public are already aware of the cases of intimidation which occur at our city and county elections; when landlords, who think, with the Duke of Newcastle, that they have 'a right 'to do what they like with their own,' order their tenants to the hustings and dictate to their tradesmen; *but they have as yet no adequate conception of the petty tyranny, narrowed into wards and parishes, and enforced upon householders of every grade, by residents inflamed by jealousy and resolved upon revenge.* The irritation of parliamentary elections subsides after a time; and there

is no one interested in maintaining a system of unrelenting local persecution. But the case is different in municipal affairs. *The persons offended reside in the parish or ward with the offenders ; the cause of offence recurs every year ! ! !* These considerations, it cannot be denied, are of the very highest importance ; and it is to be hoped, that those who are opposed to the application of the BALLOT to the parliamentary elections, will feel them sufficiently forcible to induce them to concede the protecting influence of that shield of liberty to the householders entrusted with the election of the municipal councillors. What independence of spirit can bear up against daily frowns from wealthy neighbours,—rebukes, and sarcasms, and desertions on the part of customers,—studied exclusion from every local trust of importance—the imposition of disagreeable offices ? How many are there who can exert free-will when the director of the bank asks a favor ? and who is there that does not feel alarm when it is hinted that at the next revision, all the cunning of the Tory objectors, and all the acumen of the Tory attorneys, will be levelled against his vote ? In many cases, overseers, churchwardens, and tax collectors pay their earliest visits to the houses of those poor men who have opposed the Tory candidate, and hector their families; in others, mechanics are dismissed from their employment. If a man votes against the Tories, he loses present rewards and future prospects; and gains their implacable enmity. *Under these circumstances the will is not free. Under this state of things it is a matter of human impossibility that men can make an unbiassed and independent choice.*

Let us then, have a system of real and genuine BALLOT established at municipal elections. Nothing else can cure these evils. Mr. Grote's admirable Ballot box, has now for some years been before the public, and no one has ever ventured to assert that it does not insure perfect secresy. Let us have this Ballot box then, in every municipal polling place in England; and let the present absurd method of voting be exploded ! We call upon the friends of free election, both in and out of parliament, to press the demand for the Ballot, at municipal elections, upon the legislature. They cannot refuse to yield it, in this case ; and if it proves successful in municipal elections,—as assuredly it will,—then, as a matter of necessity, it will be applied to ALL ELECTIONS. The friends of Ballot as a principle, and the friends of democratic municipal institutions must, therefore, unite and call for its adoption. The municipal corporation act can produce no salutary fruit without it. The more we reflect upon the circumstances of the country, and upon the principle of secret voting, the more we feel persuaded of the necessity of its application to them. The reform act is imperfect without it :—without it, the municipal system will be a scourge in the hands

of those who are inimical to popular institutions, and despise the spirit of democracy. In 1659, when first it was introduced into England, James Harrington, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, a commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, whose classic mind identified the Ballot with the freedom of the Greek republics, and the sturdy independence of the antique Roman, was its only* advocate;—the Ballot is now advocated by the great majority of the public journals of Great Britain and Ireland. When Harry Nevil, 'an ingenious and well bred gentleman,' (see Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses)* shortly afterwards, moved a resolution in Parliament, in favor of BALLOT, there were eight votes with him:—Mr. Grote's motion was upon the last division in the House of Commons, supported by TWO HUNDRED MEMBERS! The question will wax stronger and stronger; and, if the Reformers act consistently, in the present crisis, its speedy triumph is certain.

Beside the newly incorporated towns of Manchester, Bolton, and Birmingham, there are in England and Wales 178 boroughs, whose householders are exposed to the vitiating influences we have described. The existence of such evils, among so vast a mass of the population, cannot be regarded with indifference. The municipal towns, instead of being the fortresses of an oligarchy, locked with a golden key, must be rendered, what they were intended to be, nurseries of public spirit and liberty. But before they can be freed from Tory usurpation, provision must be made against frivolous objections to voters; provision must be made to protect the franchise of men who have proved their title and still hold their qualification; the period during which proof of the payment of rates is required must be abridged; and lastly, the BALLOT must be established!

Brief Notice.

Evangelical Synopsis. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, containing the Text according to the Authorized Version, with Marginal Readings and Parallel Passages; and Notes, explanatory and practical, selected from the writings of the most esteemed Divines and Biblical Critics of various Denominations; interspersed with original remarks. By Ingram Cobbin, A.M. London: Berger.

Though this volume is but part of a larger work comprising both Testaments, it will be observed that the title is so printed as to exclude

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* He published a tract entitled '*The Use and Manner of the Ballot.*'

all reference to the Old Testament; which gives it, not improperly we think, an entirety within itself, and has been done for the accommodation of purchasers who may desire a commentary with reflections on the New Testament only. Mr. Cobbin, the editor, considers 'that in the whole list of commentaries, there is not one to be found on the plan of '*the Evangelical Synopsis*. There is no other that avails itself in the same ample way of the information to be obtained from previous writers; no other that generally embraces writers of all denominations; and no other that claims the name of *evangelical*, retaining those sacred principles which the name implies, while it brings to its aid writers of every sect, and yet inculcates, in the spirit of the apostle, love to all those who 'love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.''

We are glad to find that all this has come within Mr. Cobbin's design, but we cannot accord the praise of the comprehensive catholicity to the 'Evangelical Synopsis' alone. In which of the above particulars is the Tract Society's commentary deficient? And what was Mr. Cobbin doing when he compiled the Condensed Commentary? Did he not then derive his materials from writers of all denominations, or did he then inculcate a spirit different from that described above? We have yet to learn that there is any ground for the exclusive claim of the Evangelical Synopsis to genuine evangelical catholicity; and are sorry that in order to set forth this, Mr. Cobbin should have deemed it necessary to depreciate other works.

The Evangelical Synopsis is, however, entitled to recommendation partly from the great variety of sources, critical, geographical, and doctrinal, whence its materials have been derived, partly from its varied adaptation; for it is not only calculated to assist the inquirer who may be anxious to ascertain the sense of the obscurer passages of the sacred volume, but to serve the purpose of a devotional commentary. At the close of every chapter we find a series of reflections not only pertinent but edifying. These are mostly from Scott, but occasionally from Guyse, Boothroyd, Henry, Gill, Ostervald, and others, and some few are original. Every book is preceded by an appropriate introduction. And at the close of the work, there is a catalogue of the authors quoted in the New Testament, and an index to the principal subjects contained in the notes.

An idea of the manner in which the notes are put together may be obtained from the following extract, which is on Eph. ii. 4, 'But God who is rich in mercy for his great love wherewith he loved us.'

4. *Rich in mercy, for his great love.*] The causes of our salvation are *mercy* and *love*. These are to be distinguished; the object of love is the creature simply, the object of mercy is the creature fallen into misery. Parents love their children: but if they be fallen into misery, love works in a way of pity—*Dr. Goodwin on Eph.* We must remark, that there are two kinds of grace—one of which is simply gratuitous, the other which besides is merciful. That which is purely gratuitous, is that which God manifests towards the innocent creature: that which is merciful is that which he displays towards the miserable and sinful creature.—*Du Bose. Rich in mercy*] a fine and full expression, in that impassioned and noble style of inspiration so peculiar to the apostle Paul. Who can exhaust the *riches* of a God?—and those riches are

here exhibited as consisting in *mercy*—the very kind adapted to supply the need of the impoverished and perishing sinner!—*Editor.* We may oppose and compare the two subjects in this verse, *dead in sin* and *rich in mercy*, as being two extremes—extreme misery, and extreme mercy; one in us, and the other in God. The greatness of our crimes manifests the riches of God's mercy; and the riches of his mercy absorb the greatness of our crimes. Had our sins been less, it must indeed have been mercy to pardon our sins, but not *riches* of mercy. If God had been only lightly inclined to mercy, he might indeed have pardoned smaller sins; but this would never have extended to persons *dead* in their sins; this belongs only to extraordinary and abounding mercy.—*J. Claude. For his great love wherewith he loved us.*] This God, without anything in us to induce him to it, has from all eternity set his love in a peculiar manner upon us, whom he has chosen and called, designing therein to bless us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ: chap. i. 3, 4.—*Dr. Guyse.*'

The preceding extract will show that some of the sources of which the editor has availed himself are such as the mere English reader is not yet familiar with. We observed with surprise that the name of Du Bosc was omitted in the catalogue of authors cited. If we may express surprise on another account, it is that the editor, whose familiarity with the best productions of the French pulpit is well known, should have made no effort to produce Du Bosc's Sermons on the Ephesians in an English dress. Former years were perhaps unfavorable to such an undertaking; but is there now no 'Library of Standard Divinity' in which these noble expository discourses might be included? To return—the work now noticed has two tolerably good maps, and in page 141 is a woodcut illustration after Lensden, the phylacteries worn by the Pharisees.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

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